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1911







**THE**

**SOUTHERN REVIEW.**

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**VOL. I.**

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**FEBRUARY & MAY, 1828.**

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# SOUTHERN REVIEW.

NO. I.

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FEBRUARY, 1828.

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ART. I.—1. *An Address on the Character and Objects of Science, and especially on the Influence of the Reformation on the Science and Literature, past, present and future, of Protestant Nations; delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, on Wednesday the 9th of May, being the Anniversary of the Literary and Philosophical Society of South-Carolina.* By THOMAS S. GRIMKE'. 8vo. Charleston. Miller. 1827.

2. *An Address delivered before the South-Carolina Society, on the Occasion of Opening their Male Academy, on the 2d July, 1827.* By WM. GEO. READ, Principal of the Same. 8vo. Charleston. Miller. 1827.

3. *Inaugural Discourse, delivered in Trinity Church, Geneva, New-York, August 1st, 1827.* By the Rev. JASPER ADAMS, President of Geneva College. Geneva. 1827.

WE Americans take nothing for granted—except, indeed, as it would appear from the tone of some recent publications—the immeasurable superiority of those who have lived to see this “Age of Reason” over all that have not been so fortunate. With this exception, however, (since we must needs consider it as such) all postulates are rigorously excluded from our most approved systems of logic—and when, in the fulness of time, those mathematicians shall rise up amongst us, who, according to a cheering prophecy of Mr. Grimké, are to throw into the shade, as intellectual beings, the Newtons and the La Places, no less than the Euclids and the Apollonius’, we shall scarcely be satisfied with their improvements in Geometry, unless they begin by demonstrating its axioms. We take up all questions *de novo*, and treat every subject of general speculation and philosophy, no matter

how frequently and fully discussed, or how solemnly decided elsewhere, as what is called at the bar *res integra*, that is to say, as fair game for criticism and controversy. Besides this, we may be permitted to observe, while we are upon this topic, that the pleasant exhortation, *mon ami, commence par le commencement*, seems to have been made expressly for our use. We are for coming out on all occasions, not only with the truth, but the whole truth, and seem utterly unable to comprehend the reason of that peevish rule,

Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,  
Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ævo.

For instance, it would not surprise us much if a member of Congress from one of the more enlightened, because less *ancient* and prejudiced States, should introduce a speech upon the Colonial Trade by a "brief" account of Columbus and his discoveries, as it is every day's experience to see even our leading politicians lay hold of the most casual and ordinary questions of commerce and finance, to spout whole volumes of the merest rudiments and generalities of political œconomy. There are some people, we dare say, in this censorious world who would be apt to consider all this as *outrageously* rational; but, perhaps, after all, it will not do in so new a country to adopt old ideas and assume established truths—and no one, we humbly conceive, can address the American public with effect, who is not himself patient enough to begin at the very beginning, and to accommodate his mode of discussion to this decided national predilection for elementary inquiry, and regular and exact demonstration according to the utmost rigour of the logical forms.

We have thought it advisable to premise thus much, at the very outset of our critical labors, by way of preventive apology, so to speak, for the manner in which we shall find ourselves constrained to examine many matters that are considered in other countries as quite settled. For instance, a formal discussion at this time of day, of the comparative merits of the Ancients and Moderns, and the advantages of a classical education, would be set down in England by the side of that notable argument to prove, that a general can do nothing without troops, of which, Cicero, if we mistake not, has somewhere made such honorable mention. But what might there very properly be rejected as supererogation, or even quizzed as downright *twaddling*, (to borrow a phrase from an English Magazine) may be imperiously called for by the state of public opinion on this side of the Atlantic. The Edinburgh Review, in an able and elaborate article on Cobbett's writings, dispatched *his* opinions upon the subject

now before us, in a summary and sweeping denunciation, as "his trash about the learned languages." But what shall we say, when, in the midst of a society once distinguished above all others in this country by these very attainments,\* a gentleman having so many and such high claims to our respect, as Mr. Grimké, declares it to be his solemn conviction—and that too formed, as he assures us, upon the fullest and fairest experiment—that they are absolutely good for nothing. Nor does that gentleman stand alone. We have frequently heard the same opinions expressed by persons of scarcely less authority and influence in the Southern States, to say nothing of occasional essays in the newspapers and periodicals, and discourses before the Philosophical and Literary Societies of other cities. It is quite impossible, therefore, we apprehend, however strongly inclined we might be to do so, to consider the instance before us as a mere *sporadic* case, deserving, indeed, on account of its peculiarly aggravated symptoms, to be remarked and recorded as a striking phenomenon in its kind, but not calculated to excite any alarm from its supposed connexion with the state of the atmosphere, or its probable effects upon the general health of the vicinage. We do believe, on the contrary, that this grievous malady is of an endemial or epidemic class, and that it behoves all, who, with us, think it a matter of serious public concernment that its progress should be arrested, to apply the most efficacious remedies, and adopt all necessary precautions with the least possible delay.

As our observations will be chiefly confined to such parts only of the three discourses named at the head of this article, as relate to the study of the classics, it will, of course, be unnecessary to enter into any thing like a detailed analysis of them. We will

\* Before and just after the Revolution, many, perhaps it would be more accurate to say most, of our youth of opulent families, were educated at English Schools and Universities. There can be no doubt that their attainments in polite literature were very far superior to those of their contemporaries at the North, and the standard of scholarship in Charleston, was, consequently, much higher than in any other city on the continent. We have still amongst us, a venerable relic of that cultivated and heroic age, whom we may single out without an invidious distinction, and to whom we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer a tribute justly due to such a union in one accomplished character, of the patriot, the gentleman, and the scholar—of the loftiest virtue, exercised in all the important offices and trying conflicts of life, with whatever is most amiable and winning in social habitudes, in polished manners and an elegant taste. To add that he is now crowning the honors of his useful and blameless life, with a blessed and venerated old age, is only to say, that he has received the sure reward *purè et eleganter actæ ætatis*. But there is something melancholy in the reflection, that the race of such men is passing away, and that our youth are now taught to form themselves upon other models. These improvements, with so many more, are beginning to spring up and blossom with great freshness and luxuriance about the favoured city of Boston—our Western Florence, in which industry has been the willing tributary of letters and the arts, and which is throughout all its institutions, its character and its pursuits, one great monument of what commerce has done to civilize and adorn life.

briefly state that the first in the order of time was Mr. Grimké's, which was delivered at the last anniversary of the Literary and Philosophical Society of this city; and, that its principal object seems to be, to make out, by a comprehensive survey of the history of the human mind, the two following propositions:—First, "that more has been done in three centuries by the Protestants, in the profound and comprehensive, the exact, rational and liberal developement, culture and application of every valuable department of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, than has been done by all the rest of the world, both ancient and modern, since the days of Lycurgus;" (page 50.) and, secondly, "that in every department of knowledge, whether theoretical or practical, where thinking and reasoning are the means and the criterion of excellence, our country must, if there be truth and power in the principles of the Reformation, (and that there is, no man entertains so little doubt as Mr. Grimké) surpass every people that ever existed." (page 65.) To establish and illustrate these propositions, our author has certainly spared no pains. Beginning at a period not more recent than the creation itself, he pries into the secret recesses of the garden of Eden, and speculates about the branches of science with which it were most reasonable to suppose that its happy inmates were particularly conversant. He has not, therefore, gone quite so far as the Rabbins, who ascribe to the first man the perfection of all knowledge and wisdom; and among whom, "as learned as Adam," is a proverbial saying. We will just remark in passing, that his notions of these primitive and paradisaical accomplishments reminded us, a good deal, of a grave disquisition in Dante's *Tractate de Vulgari Eloquentia*; in which, the father of modern poetry has endeavoured to shew, that Adam spoke, or must have spoken, or should have spoken before Eve—that his first word was *Eli* or *Eloi*—and his mother tongue (if it is not a catachresis to call it so) the Hebrew. From this remote period Mr. Grimké rapidly descends to the æra of the Reformation, distinguishing the intermediate space of about 5523 years (to imitate his own precision) by such epochs as the building of the Tower of Babel and its disastrous results—a gigantic enterprise, he observes, "to be undertaken by the new world when only 115 years old"—the call of Abraham, the exodus of the Jews, the age of Thales, &c. Looking back from the last mentioned æra to take a survey of what the human race had done to better its condition, or to elevate its character, Mr. Grimké affirms that "the moral improvement of man, and the cultivation of those sciences which relate to his political and moral welfare, were totally neglected;" and adds, with great emphasis, "THE PEOPLE

were as yet unnoticed and unknown in the history of science." We call the particular attention of our readers to these passages, and especially to the last, because we shall have occasion, in the sequel, to expose what appears to us, to be a singular confusion of ideas that runs through them all; and, indeed, through the whole discourse from which they are extracted.

But it is upon the second proposition that our author enlarges with the greatest fondness and triumph. He is evidently one of those that indulge in the pleasing day-dreams of perfectibility. He seems persuaded that the world, or at least this part of it, is to end, as other parts of it are fabled to have begun, with a race of (intellectual) Titans. In his visions of the future glories of his country, his imagination is wrought up to the highest pitch of rapture, and he pours out prediction after prediction with all a patriot's enthusiasm and a prophet's fire. "I fear not, he says, the great names of Archimedes, Aristotle and Plato, of Demosthenes and Cicero, of Tacitus and Thucydides. I *know* that we must excel them. I fear not the greater names of Bacon and Newton, of Locke, Butler, Hume and Robertson, Chatham, Burke and Pitt. I *know* that we shall surpass *them* also." (p. 66.) These immortal men, it seems, did but lay the foundations upon which *we* shall build up far more lofty and enduring monuments of genius and wisdom;—they were only allowed to point out the career which is to be run by *us*, and to enjoy a faint antepast and distant prospect of that glorious perfection, with which the efforts and aspirations of the human mind are destined to be crowned in this new land of promise. "Even in this autumnal age of the world (we continue to quote our author's words) at the going down of the sun, a nation has arisen, European in language and descent, which has laid the foundations of literature broader and deeper than ever nation did before,—in the nature of man, in the character of universal society, in the principles of social order, in popular rights and popular government, in the welfare and education of the people." Now we do not deny that all this is exceedingly brilliant and encouraging, and that it is impossible to read such passages as these (and they are a fair specimen of the spirit in which the whole discourse is written) without conceiving the highest esteem for the character of the author, and even kindling, in some measure with a zeal, apparently so cordial, in the holiest of all causes, that, namely, of the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind. But it is our very painful and prosaic duty to request Mr. Grimké, in his own language, "to curb this patriot feeling which hurries him on from flight to flight," and return for a few moments, to what in this aerial excursion he has more than once lost sight of,—the true

state of the question between himself and the venerable names of antiquity. We shall resume the subject as soon as we shall have paid our respects to Mr. Read and Mr. Adams.

The former of these gentlemen, upon being inducted into the office which he now so honorably fills of principal of the South-Carolina Academy, was requested by the committee of trustees or managers, to deliver a discourse explanatory of their views and anticipations, in making the changes that have been recently introduced into that important foundation. In performing this task, he very naturally adverted to the opinions of Mr. Grimké, which had been just before published, and in his examination of them, though very little time was allowed him for preparation, acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of a most numerous and respectable auditory. The style of this address, although occasionally too florid and ambitious, is in general, however, very good. We were particularly pleased with those idiomatic turns of expression with which it abounds, and a certain air of colloquial ease and freedom so rare in our American writing, and so essential to all true grace and elegance in composition. But we were still more pleased with Mr. Read's style of thinking.—This brief and hasty production shews him to be deeply imbued with an enlightened spirit of improvement, and to combine in rather an uncommon degree, for so young a man, the refined taste of a scholar, with more enlarged and philosophical views, than have always directed the studies of philologists and grammarians. We have very little doubt about the success of the experiment, of which the results depend so much upon his zeal and ability; and we need scarcely add, with what heartfelt satisfaction we anticipate a complete revolution, or at least a visible and decided improvement, in our hitherto defective system of elementary education. We would not be understood as denying all merit to the primary schools established in this city within a few years past, some of which, we are well aware, deserve the thanks of the community for the progress they have already made in the great work of reformation.\* But much—very much remains yet to be done before the system will be good for any thing, and the establishment of a rival institution of such promise as the Academy of the South-Carolina Society, under the conduct of a gentleman so zealous and accomplished as Mr. Read, can scarcely fail to inspire a new ardour, and lead to more vigorous and persevering efforts than have hitherto been made to perfect those improvements, and to secure the benefits of them to a future generation.

\* It is nothing but justice to state that these improvements received their first impulse from the Rt. Rev. Bishop England.

And, here, we will take the liberty of addressing ourselves more particularly to a class of men who occupy amongst us a post, which is, in our opinion, beyond all comparison or controversy, the most important of any in the whole circle of social avocations, especially in a country where the national character is, in a great measure, yet to be formed. It is vain to talk of having good schools until we get truly learned teachers, or of becoming a literary and refined *people*, until the education of youth shall be committed to accomplished and elegant, and we will add, enthusiastic scholars. From time to time, indeed, a few of our young men, by visiting foreign institutions at a very great expense, or by devoting themselves to these studies with a zealous and determined assiduity, scarcely to be expected at that early age, and by keeping out of the arena of professional or political ambition longer than is usual, or than may, perhaps, be quite expedient, will, probably, attain to a high degree of excellence in this kind. But such examples make no impression whatever upon the great mass of society, at least they produce no useful or meliorating effects. "They shed," to borrow a fine thought of Mr. Grimké's, "their unheeded beams on the moral desert around, and remind us of scattered stars, diffusing unnatural light amidst the gloom of an eclipse." Besides, the young scholar, after all his labours and vigils may, perchance, find himself in any thing but an enviable situation, and learn by his own painful—happy, if not worse than painful!—experience, the wisdom of that profound sentence of Tacitus, *ignota, (Parthis) virtutes, nova vitia*.\* It is, indeed, the unfortunate results which occasionally take place in isolated instances of this kind, that have given most colour to the speculations of those innovators in literature and education amongst us, who are urging us to forsake the fountains of living waters and to hew out for ourselves, after some rude and uncouth model in their great patent-office of untried projects and infallible quackery, broken cisterns that will hold no water. But where are we to find these erudite and accomplished teachers? Are we to fold our arms in indolent and supine imbecility until "the march of mind" shall bring about these changes in due season, or shall we send a solemn embassy across the Atlantic, to tempt by offers of extravagant emolument and honour, a small colony of adventurous scholars to come over and propagate literature in these parts? We answer, no such thing. We have the means of improvement within ourselves. Let our young schoolmasters begin by

\* The scholar will be reminded of poor Ovid's lamentation—

Barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor ullis,  
Et rident stolidi verba latina Getæ.





it all the advantage which one can promise himself, as a mere scholar, from a foreign tongue? Nay, how few, even of those who write their own language with the greatest accuracy and elegance, have pushed their researches into the mere minutiae and curiosities of its philology as far as many great critics have gone into those of the Latin and Greek.

Admitting, however, as we readily do, that it is a great advantage, inasmuch as it saves a world of pains at a period of life when time becomes more precious, to have been regularly bred under accomplished teachers; still we repeat, that this advantage is prodigiously overrated when it is considered as an indispensable condition of excellence. As to the doctrine of those who think that there is something magical in the very name of Eton or Westminster, who regard the learned languages as a sort of Mysteries into which an aspirant can be initiated no where else but in the sacred temple, and by none but hierophants of a privileged race, we need scarcely say, that no superstition was ever more extravagant. Latin and Greek are learned just as all other languages are, by long practice and critical observation in reading, writing, and speaking them, and by these alone. We incline to the opinion, indeed, that a self-taught student would, in these days, be more sure of acquiring a profound and exact knowledge of them than of the modern tongues; such are the facilities that are afforded by the best grammars, dictionaries, thesaurus', gradus', clavis', &c. Add to this, what is still more important than all, the excellent editions that have been published of the classical authors, with references and annotations adapted to every variety of capacity and of proficiency in this branch of knowledge, and affording the most satisfactory explanation of every difficulty that can possibly present itself to a scholar in the progress of his inquiries, so as very nearly to supersede the necessity of *viva voce* instruction. Considering these things, it becomes, we confess, altogether inconceivable to us how so many schools should have existed for the last half century, in the more populous parts of the United States, without, long ere this, filling the country with a race of accomplished scholars, not only sufficient to supply the places of their instructors and the ranks of the learned professions, but to diffuse an elegant taste, and the love of letters and of liberal pursuits throughout all classes of the community. Let any one who possesses a competent knowledge of the Latin grammar (and the same thing may be said of Greek, *mutatis mutandis*) and who has read the authors commonly taught at our academies, as imperfectly as they are commonly taught there, sit down with a determination to go through Livy's History, in one of the best

editions, (Crevier's for instance) twice, faithfully and laboriously, referring to the notes for an explanation of whatever may be obscure in the text, and reserving for future investigation and comparison those passages which he is unable immediately to understand, and we undertake to say, that by the time he shall have accomplished his task, all the difficulties that embarrassed and discouraged his early progress will have insensibly vanished from before him. Let him then proceed to read in the same manner all the writings of Cicero, but especially the Epistles, the Rhetorical works, and the more familiar treatises on philosophical subjects, devoting an hour every day to the drudgery of double translation, and he will find when he comes to extend his studies to other authors—Tacitus, Sallust, the Plinies, &c. that those passages which are obscure to him, will generally prove to have been the subject of dispute, even among veteran philologists. We are aware that this course requires great resolution and perseverance. No one, who has not experienced them himself, can have any adequate idea of the difficulties and discouragements that crowd about the threshold of these unaided studies. But labour is the price of all excellence,\* and it is fit that it should be so. It is by this discipline, and by this alone, that a thorough knowledge of any language, ancient or modern, or indeed of any thing else, can be acquired. *Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules, &c.* It was by such means that some of the most learned men of past times, Erasmus and Cujas for instance, self-taught scholars—the former in an age comparatively barbarous, the latter without the smallest assistance from any teacher—raised themselves to such a height of reputation, not only in divinity or the civil law, or in profound erudition generally, but also in the humbler capacity of linguists and philologists. It is vain to say that these are rare instances, and that it is unphilosophical to reason from exceptions. We deny the fact. The literary history of the last three centuries, and indeed of all ages, abounds with such examples, and even if it did not, no young man of a generous and aspiring mind ought to deem any thing impossible that has ever been accomplished by mortal man, especially if it be what is obviously due, not to the supposed inspirations of genius, but to mere dint of toil and perseverance.†

\* ————— τῶν πόνων,  
Παλουῶν ἡμῖν πάντα τ' ἀγαθὰ δοί.

*Epicharmus apud Xenophon: Memorab. l. ii. c. 1.*

† The text is a paraphrase of a favorite maxim from Macchiavelli. Non sia pertanto nessuno che si sbigottisca di non potere conseguire quello che è stato conseguito da altri; perchè gli uomini (come nella prefazione nostra si disse) nacquero, vissero e morirono sempre con un medesimo ordine.—*Discorsi.*

We are not satisfied, therefore, with the manner in which Mr. Read accounts for the miserable defectiveness of our school-education. It is not sufficient to say, that "the task of elementary instruction, offering but limited returns of dignity or emolument, has been suffered to devolve from its legitimate functionaries on the adventurers of learning; who, feeling the sting of genius, have wrested some slender opportunities from niggard fortune, and seek an honorable barter of their limited acquisitions for present support while pressing on in the paths of professional ambition." It is, indeed, a melancholy truth, that the education of our southern youth has been of late too often committed to these great men *in transitu*; but making all reasonable allowances for such cases, it still remains to be explained how it has happened that so many professors of Greek and Latin in our numerous American colleges, in possession of comfortable livings, and discharged from all other duties and engagements, have dozed over their sealed volumes in such stupid un-aspiring ignorance—how so many schoolmasters, in New-England for instance, looking to nothing beyond success as teachers in this elementary department, have been satisfied to "barter" (how "honorably" is none of our concern) for competent fees and a precious period of their pupils lives, such a wretched, vulgar, and worthless smattering of classical literature—how *all*, emphatically *all*, the attainments of a young man *liberally*, that is, expensively educated from his seventh or eighth to his fourteenth or fifteenth year, have been, with very few, if any, exceptions, limited to what is ironically called translating the ancient authors; in other words, rendering into uncouth or nonsensical English the most exquisite beauties of poetry and eloquence, without so much as the remotest idea, of what it is that has recommended to the admiration of all ages, those "Delphic lines," whose unspeakable harmony he utterly destroys by a barbarous pronunciation\*—above all, how the most frugal, money-making, managing, practical people in the world have quietly sate down under such enormous abuses, and borne, for no solitary good purpose that we are able to discover, a burthen of taxation that could only have been supportable

\* We mean, of course, the attainments for which he is indebted to the school-master and the school. In addition to the New-England authorities, cited in the next note, we beg leave to refer our readers to the 7th No. of the (Boston) Journal of Education, p. 409, where the writer, after presenting a view of the exercises exacted at the public examinations of the English universities, adds, "at the period when we were at our own Cambridge, the very idea of performing such exercises would have petrified both student and preceptor." As well it might! We add for ourselves, '*experto credis Ruperto.*'

because it was self imposed.\* Now we freely admit that Mr. Grimké is in the right, if he means, as we are more than half inclined to suspect that he does, *this* system of classical studies, and we scruple not to say, that we should most heartily co-operate with him in his efforts to explode it as soon as possible, as a criminal waste of a period of life, every moment of which ought to be sacred to improvement, if we did not think that we could even now descry above the verge of our horizon, the first flush of a kindling zeal and the dawn of a brighter hope.

The extent of our subject, and the limits within which we are constrained to circumscribe the present discussion of it, make it impossible for us to say more of the very sensible and well written discourse of our late fellow-townsmen, Mr. Adams, than that it exhibits an outline of the course of studies to be pursued at Geneva college in the state of New-York, together with a concise and comprehensive sketch of the recent improvements and present state of mathematical and physical science. As his opinions upon the subject of classical learning agree with our own, we hope he will be successful at once in making proselytes to his theory, and (what will be still better) living examples of its beneficial effects. One circumstance we cannot help remarking by the way, and that is, the great demand which from the case of this gentleman and from some others of a similar kind, we infer to exist in all parts of the United States, for the talents of able instructors of youth—to which, we may add, the evidence which such instances afford, amidst all the glaring imperfections of our system of elementary education, that the love—or as it would be more forcibly as well as accurately expressed in French, the *besoin*—of knowledge, is an essential element of the national character, and one of the “canon laws of our foundation.” Mr. Adams was called from the Charleston college, of which he was the principal, to preside over an institution of a similar, or even a still more important character, in the flourishing town of Geneva—a town, which is itself but a creation of yesterday, and in a country which has burst out upon our sight with all its rapidly increasing prosperity, and population, and improvements, with an unparalleled and almost magical suddenness.

\* This last notion may be found in an article of Blackwood's Magazine for February or March, 1819, which was written by a New-England scholar, a gentleman who is now endeavouring to improve the wretched system which he then censured with such just severity. As exception may be taken in *certain quarters* to what we have said of New-England schoolmasters, whom we mention because they might be expected to be the best, we refer, further, to Professor Tichnor, who will be allowed, we presume, to speak *en connaissance de cause*.—See his *Remarks*, &c. 1836.

It is now time to proceed to the subject of our controversy with Mr. Grimké. Two distinct questions are involved in it:—first, what are the merits of the Greek and Roman classics, considered merely as works of art, and as models for imitation; and, secondly, how far it is worth while, under existing circumstances, to study them, and more especially, to make them an essential part of a regular academic education. It is obviously impossible to do any thing like justice to the former question, (or indeed to either of them) in a single dissertation, that shall not run out to the size of a bulky volume. We purpose, accordingly, to illustrate and enforce our opinion upon the various subjects which it embraces, in a series of articles that shall appear, as occasion serves, in our future numbers. In the present instance, we shall confine ourselves, principally, to the business of refutation. We shall accept the issues which Mr. Grimké and other writers have recently tendered to the advocates of classical literature, and endeavour to shew that if this good cause is (*quod Deus avertat omen*) destined to be defeated before the enlightened tribunal of public opinion in this country, it will, at least, not be owing to the unanswerable force of these *new* arguments. We will fearlessly say of it, what has been said (if we recollect right) of the fifth book of Euclid's Elements, that "it has weathered the vicissitudes of opinion for 2000 years, and notwithstanding this new attack, we still conclude, as Barrow did more than one hundred years ago, *nisi machinis validioribus impulsa, in æternum durabit*."<sup>\*</sup>

But we must take the liberty of entering a preliminary *caveat* against any use, on the part of Mr. Grimké, of the authority of great names. As we are well aware that we shall have to do, through him, with a sort of illuminati, that consider all those by whose opinions we should, otherwise, be most desirous of fortifying our own, as inadmissible, because interested witnesses; and moreover, as men grievously abused by the delusions of a superstition altogether unworthy of this enlightened and philosophic age; we have no objection to dispense, on this occasion, with the services of our natural auxiliaries, but we must insist, at least, upon meeting our adversaries upon equal terms. In the forum of letters, whatever it may be in a court of law, we see no reason why ignorance should not be just as fatal to the competency of evidence, to say the least of it, as a very slight or rather perfectly ideal interest; and if we are fastidious enough to except to the only persons that know any thing about the matter, under the idea that their knowledge itself infers some bias, we

<sup>\*</sup> Edinburgh Review.

fear we shall scarcely be consistent with ourselves, unless we exclude those also who are, most probably, so little acquainted with the subject of the controversy that their testimony must necessarily be made up of vague hearsay and wild conjecture. We do, therefore, in the first place, solemnly protest against all and singular, the sentences in a certain note of Mr. Grimké's, beginning with "Dr. Dwight *was wont* to say; or "the author of the British Spy hath said;" or even, "the younger Lord Lyttleton (in Letters, by the bye, which he did *not* write) has not hesitated to say," &c. Dr. Timothy Dwight we have always been taught to consider as a very able man, *especially* in theology—and we have not the least doubt, that the present Attorney General of the United States is quite a formidable antagonist at the Bar. But, really, when we are sitting in judgment in the exercise of a self-constituted jurisdiction, upon Homer and Sophocles, or Demosthenes and Tully, it is too much to expect that we should receive exactly, as the responses of an oracle, the *dicta* of such a poet as the author of Greenfield Hill, or of such a writer as the biographer of Patrick Henry. We beg to be understood; we mean no personal disrespect to Mr. Wirt, nor would we cast a slur upon the memory of so respectable a person as Dr. Dwight, but we humbly conceive, that in giving up the authority of all the great men, without an exception, that Europe has ever produced, we have a right to expect that we shall not be required to defer very implicitly to the opinion of an individual or two of a new school, or even of ten times as many scores of individuals who—whatever may be their pretensions or their merits in other respects—cannot reasonably be supposed to be the best of all possible judges in such a case. For what W. Schlegel, whom Mr. Grimké has, to our infinite surprise, attempted to press into the service of his anti-classical "root and branch" reformation, says of the Antique in Sculpture, is true also of the remains of Greek eloquence and poetry; viz.—that there is but one voice throughout the whole of civilized Europe respecting its matchless excellence; and if ever it was called in question, it was when the taste of the moderns was fallen into a miserable state of mannerism and depravity. At least, if the merits of the latter have not been so universally and uniformly placed above all competition as those of the great masters in the plastic art, who have not even had a follower worthy of them but Canova, yet even in those branches of literature in which their modern rivals have sometimes been preferred to them, they have met with the fortune of Themistocles, and may seem fairly entitled to the first place, because each of their competitors, in his turn, concedes to them the second. For instance, Homer, in the

opinion of some British critics, may be inferior to Milton, but the same critics would be scandalized by any comparison between the Jerusalem Delivered, or the Lusiad, and the Iliad or the Odyssey; and although in France, since the earlier part of the last century, when all sound learning began to decline there, and in its stead, the crude speculations of sophisters, œconomists, encyclopædists and atheists came into vogue, the tragedies of Sophocles are considered as having been immeasurably surpassed by Corneille and Racine, yet it would be set down at Paris, as a most extravagant absurdity, to speak of Shakspeare and Calderon as rivals of the Greeks.\* In Germany, however, whose learned men, whatever may be thought of the accuracy or refinement of their scholarship, are the most impartial, precisely because they are most conversant with universal literature, and with what has been very expressively called its comparative anatomy, ample justice has been done to *all* the remains of ancient genius. If we were called upon to exemplify the difference between sound criticism and the petulant and presumptuous dogmatism of prejudice and ignorance, we should refer to W. Schlegel's course of dramatic literature for the one, and Voltaire's strictures upon the Greek tragedies, in his various prefaces, commentaries, &c. for the other.†

Another preliminary, but with a view to the issue of the controversy, a far more important matter to be adjusted between Mr. Grimké and ourselves, concerns the *ground* of his hostility to the classics, and the *extent* to which we could be understood as pushing his principles. We are not quite sure that we perceive the true scope of his reasonings. At one time he speaks as if his objection to the study of the ancient models were founded upon the supposed unprofitableness of it, by reason of the vast superiority of modern genius in every department of philosophy and letters. He puts the question, and predicts with a precision quite characteristic, that 'it will be reconsidered and decided by the educated men who shall *close* the *present* century'—"Whether the languages and authors of Greece and Rome are not to be re-

\* *Apropos* of France—Classical learning which had long been on the decline, perished entirely during the storm of the Revolution—what is become of her literature and her elegance? Where are the successors of Boileau and Racine, of Fenelon and La Bruyère?

† See Racine's preface to *Iphigénie*, which does as much honor to the judgment and candor of the author, as the tragedy itself does to his genius.

We have said, since the beginning of the last century, for it is a remarkable fact, that in the famous controversy about the ancients and moderns, during the reign of Louis XIV. Boileau and Racine took the compliments of La Motte and Perrault, (who asserted the equality of those two poets with any of the great names of antiquity) as so many outrages upon common sense, and disguised sarcasms upon themselves.



garded as institutions, once indispensable, invaluable; but having answered their end, shall they not yield, especially in our country, to a higher order of institutions, viz. the science and literature of modern nations?" But, at other times, he would seem to concede the superiority of the ancients, so far at least as style and execution are concerned, in poetry, in eloquence, in the narrative part of history, &c. while he objects to them a want of practical usefulness and of adaptation to the condition and characteristics of society in modern times, and especially in these United States. Thus, at page 61, we find the following admission, "Grant that Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon are not the rivals in style of Thucydides and Herodotus, of Livy and Sallust, &c." However, from the general spirit of his speculations, from the eternal recurrence of certain favorite phrases, such as "practical," "the people," &c. and from some single passages in which he has expressed himself to the same effect with peculiar emphasis and distinctness, we find it difficult to resist the conclusion, that his theory of education is such as would prove, in the long run, just as fatal to Milton and Shakspeare, or to Jeremy Taylor and Burke, as to the orators and poets of antiquity. We are persuaded, for instance, that if Mr. Grimké were to sit down to give us, as it was once the fashion for every philosopher to do, his scheme of an imaginary commonwealth, he would not only, after the example of Plato, expel from his ideal territory, the whole inspired tribe *en masse*, (except perhaps the inoffensive race of Didactic versifiers, with the "English Lucretius"\* at their head) but would exterminate along with them every thing that had in it the smallest particle of the divine spirit.† He would thus prepare his citizens for their place in his perfect polity, as Lucian's ghosts are fitted by Charon and Mercury for their residence on the other side of the Styx, by stripping them entirely of all the form and comeliness of life, and leaving nothing but the shade or the skeleton of a man to pine away in those dreary regions, an existence, without joy or hope, and any thing but vital. Thus, at page 70, our author reasons as follows:—

"What, though my country should never produce a Homer or a Virgil, a Phidias or an Apelles! What, though Michael Angelo and Raphael, Tasso and Shakspeare, may never have a rival in our land; yet have we already brought forth men, greater and better, wiser and more *valuable*, than the poet, the painter, the statuary, and the archi-

\* So Mr. Grimké is pleased to entitle Akenside. Plato made a similar exception.

† Divinæ particulam auræ.—Hor.

fect. Even at this day, have we done more for the solid, permanent, rational happiness of man, than all the artists that ever lived. One citizen, the fruit and example of *institutions virtuous*, benevolent and peaceful, wise and free, is *worth more* to his family, his social circle, his country, than the clouds of Aristophanes, the group of the Rhodian sculptors, or the transfiguration of Raphael. If the sons of Cornelia were her jewels, each citizen free, educated and happy, is to America, a pearl above price.

"The time is fast coming [prophecy again] when the wide spread influence of moral wisdom and of instructed common sense, shall assign to poetry and the fine arts, a rank far below that which they have held, from a *singular concurrence of circumstances* in the judgment of the world. When this consummation shall have been fulfilled [aye but not till then] the poet and the artist, however eminent, shall be classed far below the statesman and orator, the philosopher and historian. But let me curb the patriot feeling, &c."

We have only to repeat, here, what we have already said, that these sentiments are in the highest degree honorable to Mr. Grimké's heart, but we do not think that the occasion called for the expression of them. We readily admit, that if the stern alternative implied in the above extract were really presented to us in the nature of things; if the only condition on which we could possess the refined enjoyments of poetry and its kindred arts, were the sacrifice of all those substantial virtues and accomplishments that form the character and ensure the happiness of the man and the citizen, no rational mind could hesitate a moment to adopt the old Roman choice—

*Excudant alii, spirantia mollius æra, &c.*

But fortunately for mankind this is very far from being the case. The harsh and crabbed philosophy which would thus proscribe the purest pleasures, as well as the most elegant and ennobling pursuits of the human mind, is as false and superficial in theory as it is disagreeable in its effects and repulsive in its aspect. Indeed, if Mr. Grimké will pardon us for expressing ourselves with so much freedom, we will confess to him that we are at a loss to conceive how such an opinion could have escaped him in any other way than that of ingenious and sportive paradox. These principles have, in truth, a plausible air about them at first sight. They seem to rest upon the solid basis of utility, and to address themselves to a severe reason, in contradistinction to such as depend for their influence upon the illusions of feeling and an excited imagination. But push them a little farther and they lead to consequences so extravagant, as to reduce the whole argument, at once, to a manifest absurdity. They naturally, nay, almost inevitably engender that war of extermina-

tion which illiterate and vulgar fanatics, of all names and nations, have waged against the highest graces and embellishments of society. It is owing to precisely such notions as these, that the verses of Menander and Alcæus were effaced in the dark age, to make way for monkish legends and barbarous homilies; and, that in later times and under a change of opinions, the venerable monuments of Gothic architecture and the gorgeous ornaments of the cathedral and the monastery provoked the gloomy and unsparing rage of the Covenanters. Their full force was seen in the destruction of the Alexandrian library, because, said the Caliph, its numerous volumes have been superseded or condemned by the Koran,—and in the conduct of those frantic ribbalds who disgraced the character and impeded the early progress of the Reformation by their crimes and their follies, and who, in setting up their kingdom of the New Jerusalem, under Bernard Knipperdolling and Gerard Kippenbroch, began by burning all the books they could find except the Bible.\*

L'avarice, says La Rochefoucault, est plus opposée à l'économie que la libéralité. We have the same answer to make to those, who, in the matter of education would sacrifice what is really useful to their own narrow or perverse *theory* of utility, and out of sheer abhorrence of the luxuries and prodigality of learning, would indulge the neophyte in a very scanty allowance of its bare necessities. They who apply to literature this radical, levelling, degrading *cui bono* test—who estimate genius and taste by their value in exchange and weigh the results of science in the scales of the money-changer, may be wiser in their generation than the disinterested votaries of knowledge—but they have, assuredly, made no provision in their system for the noblest purposes of our being.† The same thing may be said of those, who, like Mr. Grimké, are for sacrificing what are rather ambiguously called the ornamental to what are just as absurdly considered as *par excellence* the useful parts of education. According to this theory a boy should be taught mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, metaphysics, and the metaphysical part of moral philosophy, and be allowed from his most tender years, we suppose, to dabble *ad libitum* in politics, speculative and practical—in other words, he is to be brought up in studies, which although they lead to far more important results, are, as a mere discipline for youth with a view to future usefulness in life, we really think, not a great deal better than the dry and thorny

\* See Jortin's *Erasmus*, v. i. p. 328. This account of the Anabaptists is taken from Perizonius' *Hist.* sec. xvi. p. 194.

† *Romani pueri longis rationibus assem, Discunt in partes centum diducere, &c.*—*Her. Agr. Pest.* 395.

dialectics of the Schoolmen, while no object should be suffered to approach him that may speak to his taste, his imagination or his heart. Our youth are to be trained up as if they were all destined to be druggists and apothecaries, or navigators and mechanists—or, if it sounds better, they are to be deeply versed in the œconomy of the universe, and the most recondite and shadowy subtleties of transcendental geometry, or transcendent psychology—but what, after all, ought to be the capital object of education, to form the *moral* character, not by teaching what to think but persuading to act well; not by loading the memory with cold and barren precepts, but forming the sensibility by the habitual, fervid and rapturous contemplation of high and heroic models of excellence; not by definitions of virtue and speculations about the principle of obligation, but by making us *love* the one and *feel* the sacredness of the other—would, in such a system of discipline, be sadly neglected. This is a radical and an incurable defect in the *cui bono* theory. If we compare different æras of history with each other, and inquire what it is that distinguishes the flourishing and pure from the degenerate and declining state of commonwealths, we shall seldom find that it is any falling off in mere speculative knowledge, or even in the mass of talent and ability displayed at any one time.—The softest Sybarites of Juvenal's day provoked his indignant satire by talking of morality with the sternness of Cato—courage was, no doubt, as well understood and defined by the Sophists who lectured to the slavish and cowardly successors of the Scipios, as it had been in the wars against Pyrrhus and Hannibal—and legislation became more ingenious just in proportion as it was less efficacious, according to the pointed saying of the great historian—*corruptissimâ republicâ plurimæ leges*.<sup>\*</sup> But what a difference was there, and how essential is that difference in the eyes of posterity, between the age of Cicero and that of Domitian (to go no further) in genius, in taste and in moral character!

Now if Mr. Grimké seriously means to associate himself with these Levellers and Fifth Monarchy Men of the Commonwealth of Letters of whom we have been speaking, we are afraid that we must fairly give up the controversy, and with it, all hope of ever reclaiming him from the error of his ways. We really cannot, with a clear conscience, undertake to promise, that Greek and Latin will make better artisans and manufacturers, or more thrifty œconomists; or, in short, more useful and skilful men in ordinary routine of life, or its mere mechanical offices!

<sup>\*</sup> Tacit. Ann. l. iii.

and avocations. We should still refer a young student of law, aspiring to an insight into the mere craft and mystery of special pleading, to Saunders' Reports rather than to Cicero's Topics; the itinerant field preacher would doubtless find abundantly greater edification, and for *his* purposes, more profitable doctrine, in honest John Bunyan, than in all the speculations of the Lyceum and the Academics; and we do conscientiously believe, that not a single case, more or less, of yellow fever, would be cured by the faculty in this city, for all that Hippocrates and Celsus have said, or that has been ever said (or sung) of Chiron and Æsculapius. It is true, their peculiar studies would not be hurt, and might, occasionally, even be very much helped and facilitated by a familiar acquaintance with these languages; and what would they not gain as enlightened and accomplished men! But it is not fair to consider the subject in that light only. It is from this false state of the controversy that the argument of Mr. Grimké derives all its plausibility. We, on the contrary, take it for granted in our reasonings, that the American people are to aim at doing something more than "to draw existence, propagate and rot." We suppose it to be our common ambition to become a cultivated and a literary nation. Upon this assumption, what we contend for, is, that the study of the classics is and ought to be an essential part of a *liberal* education—that education of which the object is to make accomplished, elegant and learned men—to chasten and to discipline genius, to refine the taste, to quicken the perceptions of decorum and propriety,\* to purify and exalt the moral sentiments, to fill the soul with a deep love of the beautiful both in moral and material nature, to lift up the aspirations of man to objects that are worthy of his noble faculties and his immortal destiny—in a word, to raise him as far as possible above those selfish and sensual propensities, and those grovelling pursuits and that mental blindness and coarseness and apathy, which degrade the savage and the boor to a condition but a little higher than that of the brutes that perish. We refer to that education and to those improvements, which draw the broad line between civilized and barbarous nations, which have crowned some chosen spots with glory and immortality, and covered them all over with a magnificence, that, even in its mutilated and mouldering remains, draws together pilgrims of every tongue and of every clime, and which have caused their names to fall like a 'breathed spell' upon the ear of the generations that come into existence, long after the tides of conquest and violence have swept over them, and left them

\* Nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre.—Cic.

desolate and fallen. It is such studies we mean, as make that vast difference in the eyes of a scholar between Athens, their seat and shrine, and even Sparta with all her civil wisdom and military renown, and have (hitherto at least) fixed the gaze and the thoughts of all men with curiosity and wonder, upon the barren little peninsula between Mount Cithæron and Cape Sunium, and the islands and the shores around it, as they stand out in lonely brightness and dazzling relief amidst the barbarism of the west on the one hand, and the dark and silent and lifeless wastes of oriental despotism on the other. Certainly we do not mean to say, that in any system of intellectual discipline, poetry ought to be preferred to the severe sciences. On the contrary, we consider every scheme of merely *elementary* education as defective, unless it develope and bring out all the faculties of the mind, as far as possible, into equal and harmonious action. But, surely, we may be allowed to argue from the analogy of things, and the goodness that has clothed all nature in beauty, and filled it with music and with fragrance, and that has at the same time bestowed upon us such vast and refined capacities of enjoyment, that nothing can be more extravagant than this notion of a day of philosophical illumination and didactic soberness being at hand, when men shall be thoroughly disabused of their silly love for poetry and the arts. Indeed we know nothing that at all comes up to this idea, but a tirade of one of Molière's comic heroes (Sganarelle we believe) against the pernicious charms of women—who, however, winds up his invectives, as might have been expected, by the bitter avowal—

Cependant on fait tout pour ces animaux là.

So it is, has been, and ever will be (it is more than probable) as long as man is constituted as he is. And the same thing may be said of poetry and the arts, which are only another form of it. For what is poetry? It is but an abridged name for the sublime and beautiful, and for high wrought pathos. It is, as Coleridge quaintly, yet, we think, felicitously expresses it, "the blossom and the fragrance of all human knowledge." It appears not only in those combinations of creative genius of which the *beau idéal* is the professed object, but in others that might seem at first sight but little allied to it. It is spread over the whole face of nature—it is in the glories of the heavens and in the wonders of the great deep, in the voice of the cataracts and of the coming storm, in Alpine precipices and solitudes, in the balmy gales and sweet bloom and freshness of spring. It is in every heroic achievement, in every lofty sentiment, in every deep passion, in every bright vision of fancy, in every vehement affection of glad-

ness or of grief, of pleasure or pain. It is, in short, the feeling—the deep, the strictly *moral* feeling, which, when it is affected by chance or change in human life, as at a tragedy, we call sympathy—but as it appears in the still more mysterious connexion between the heart of man and the forms and beauties of inanimate nature, as if they were instinct with a soul and a sensibility like our own, has no appropriate appellation in our language, but is not the less real or the less familiar to our experience on that account. It is these feelings, whether utterance be given to them, or they be only nursed in the smitten bosom—whether they be couched in metre, or poured out with wild disorder and irrepressible rapture, that constitute the true spirit and essence of poetry, which is, therefore, necessarily connected with the grandest conceptions and the most touching and intense emotions, with the fondest aspirations and the most awful concerns of mankind. For instance, religion has been in all ages and countries the great fountain of poetical inspiration, and no harps have been more musical than those of the Prophets. What would Mr. Grimké say of him whose lips were touched by one of the Seraphim with a live coal from off the altar; or does he expect the day to come when “the wide spread influence of moral wisdom and instructed common sense” shall assign to the Psalms or the Book of Job, in the library of a cultivated mind, a lower place than to Robertson and Hume? Milton pronounces “our sage and serious poet Spenser,” a better teacher than Scotus and Aquinas\*—and in another place, has expressed himself to the same effect so admirably; and, for our present purpose, so appositely, that we cannot refrain from citing the whole passage: “To which (*viz.* logic) poetry should be made subsequent—or, indeed, rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, and more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before, among the rudiments of grammar, but that sublime art which in Aristotle’s Poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castlevetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true Epic Poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what *decorum* is, which is the great masterpiece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play writers be, and shew them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry both in divine and human things.” (*Tract: on Education.\**)

\* Areopagitica—So Hor. Epist. i. 2, says of Homer,  
 —quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non  
 Pleniùs ac meliùs Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

We have enlarged the more upon this head, because we have uniformly observed, that those who question the utility of classical learning, are at bottom, equally unfavorable to all elegant studies. They set out, it is true, in a high-flown strain, and talk largely about the superiority of modern genius. But the secret is sure to be out at last. When they have been dislodged, one by one, from all their *literary* positions, they never fail to take refuge in this cold and desolate region of utility. They begin by discoursing magnificently of orators, poets and philosophers, and the best discipline for forming them, and end by citing the examples of A. the broker, or B. the attorney, or C. and D. members of Congress, and what not, who have all got along in the world without the least assistance from Latin and Greek. Just as if every body did not know that, as that sage moralist Figaro has it, *pour avoir du bien le savoir faire vaut mieux que le savoir*; and just as if our supposed great men had troubled their heads any more about the exact sciences and modern literature, than about the classics, or were not quite as little indebted to Newton, to Milton, or to Tasso, as to Virgil and Tully, and just as if an argument which proves so much, were good for any thing at all!

Assuming it, therefore, that our systems of education are to be founded on more liberal principles, and to aim at loftier objects, we proceed to point out a few other defects in the reasonings of Mr. Grimké. We have already had occasion to observe, in citing some passages from the Discourse, that there prevails throughout the whole of it a singular confusion of ideas, which those quotations were intended to exemplify. This confusion appears to be twofold, and consists, first, in not distinguishing between the *diffusion* of knowledge, and its *absolute* state or condition; and, secondly, in mistaking the progress of those sciences which are capable of being extended (as metaphysics and moral philosophy are *not*) by a mere accumulation of details, and an accession of new facts and principles, for a positive improvement or enlargement, rather, of the capacity and powers of the understanding itself.

\* See Bishop Lowth's first and eighteenth Lectures on Hebrew poetry. He cites, among other things, a famous passage on the same subject, from the Nov. Organon, l. ii. c. 13, with which we regret that our limits do not permit us to favor the reader. In addition to the instances adduced by that learned and elegant scholar to shew that poets were generally ranked among the Greeks, with the sophists or philosophers as instructors of mankind, see Isocrates Παραινέσις—*pasim*—Οἱ παλαιὸι φιλοσοφῶντες τὰ λόγια πρῶτον τῇ ποιητικῇ, ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκείνους καὶ διδάσκουσιν ἡδὴ καὶ πᾶσι καὶ πράττει μετ' ἡρώης. Strabo, l. i, c. 1. Eratosthenes who it seems, thought like Mr. Grimké, had pronounced poetry *πρακτικὴ μαθηματική*.



Examples of the former occur perpetually throughout the whole discourse, but we will content ourselves with the following citations:

"It is not customary to consider the history of science as connected with the history of society. In tracing the developement of its principles or their progressive application to *practical* matters, most authors have instituted no inquiry into their effects, beyond the immediate science itself, or the arts and other sciences connected with or dependent upon it. But what is the value of human learning if it do not bless as well as adorn society; if it enlighten its professors only *and not the people*? Is it only a matter of speculation for the intellectual powers of man, or of entertainment for his taste? Can its sublimity and beauty be objects of just admiration, unless it improve the condition of the ignorant and oppressed; while it enlightens and corrects, refines and elevates those, on whom the progress and future character of society depend? No. The true glory and excellency of science consist in its aptitude to meliorate the condition of man, and to promote substantial, *practical*, permanent improvement, in the education and government of the people," &c. p. 11.

"Take the whole body of Grecian philosophy, natural, political, moral, and social, and we must acknowledge that it exerted scarcely any salutary influence on the mass of the community—that their education was no part of its theory or practice; that it lived and moved, and had its being, *almost* independently of the very society which it adorned; and left behind no monument, save the writings of its devotees." p. 20.

"It is a melancholy and humiliating reflection, that the genius and learning, the eloquence and taste of Greece and Rome, did so little in the cause of truth, moral, political and philosophical." p. 21.

Then follows the grand inference—

"If the opinion expressed above as to their *usefulness in their own day*, with a view to the people on whom they conferred dazzling honors, but not *practical* blessings, be correct, it becomes a momentous question for those who devote so many precious years to the classics," &c. p. 22.

Now, we find no fault with the great leading idea in these passages when stated in the abstract. We, of course, agree with our author, that the light of knowledge ought to be diffused as widely as possible, and that it is the great distinguishing privilege of modern times, and the surest pledge of the future improvement and happiness of mankind, that by means of the Press, it *has* been diffused within the last three centuries and a half, and especially in our own day, to an extent altogether unparalleled at any previous period. It is also, we admit, very conceivable that a philosophic mind, of a certain turn, should dwell, as Mr. Grimké does, with more complacency and interest upon these beneficial effects of literature, than upon the beauties

of its most perfect works considered merely as objects of curiosity or of taste. But how does this concession benefit the argument against the study of the classics? What does the prodigious diffusion of knowledge in modern times prove, except what nobody ever doubted, that the invention of the Art of Printing was a great blessing, and that books, nowadays, especially of the coarser stereotype editions, cost a great deal less money and may be multiplied a great deal more easily than MSS. upon parchment? But what sort of connexion is there between the premises and the conclusion in the following proposition—Cicero's writings were not read by as many of his contemporaries as, on account of their extraordinary excellencies, it was desirable they should have been, *therefore* they ought not to be read at all by us! We would venture to back such an enthymeme against any thing that can be found among the logical exploits of the irrefragable Doctors. Or are we to understand, that the style of the classical authors which is so remarkable for clearness and simplicity now, was originally cabalistic or esoterical, on purpose that "the people" should not understand and profit by them, in imitation of what has been said of the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian priests. Or what are we to understand by it?

With respect to the other notion of our author, that the human understanding is at some future period (he has not precisely said when, but we presume it will be soon after we shall have thrown off the bondage of classical learning) to attain to a sort of Patagonian stature, and that too, as we infer, by the natural and inevitable progress of scientific discovery—we confess that it appears to us quite original. According to this new rule, the true measure or exponent of the *strength and capacity* of the human mind, at any given period, is the bulk of the Encyclopædia for the time being; and of two men, he will be, in point of intellect, the greater who knows one fact more than the other, however inferior to him in more important points. According to this notion, the last will always be first, and the disciple necessarily equal, at least, with a good chance of being superior, to his master. The honors that have been absurdly paid to Lavoisier and to Newton—to the men whose philosophical and creative minds bring order out of chaos, lay the foundations, discover the principles, and project the great outlines of a system—are due, it seems, to those humble followers, who by an isolated, perhaps an accidental, discovery, add another truth to the general stock. This confusion of two things, so perfectly distinct as extent of

knowledge, and vigour and originality of genius, needs no comment.\*

A late writer,† addressing himself to this very subject, remarks, that it is this diffusion of knowledge through the press, “and not the height to which individual genius has soared, that forms the grand distinction between ancient and modern literature. The triumph of modern literature consists not in the point of elevation to which it has attained, but in the extent of its conquests—the extent to which it has refined and quickened the mass of mankind. It would be difficult to adjust the intellectual precedence of Newton and Archimedes, of Bacon and Aristotle, of Shakspeare and Homer, of Thucydides and Hume; but it may be declared with certainty, that the people of modern nations in consequence of literature becoming more widely diffused, are become more civilized and enlightened.” These remarks are perfectly just, and it is amazing that the speculations of Mr. Grimké did not lead him to the same conclusions. The question, whether the ancient models ought to be studied, has immediate reference to the “intellectual precedence” of the great masters, but it has no connexion whatever with the general condition of mankind at that time. Nobody, we believe, ever pretended‡ that Homer lived in a very advanced state of society; yet we never heard that urged as a reason why his poems should not be read, though we think it is a very good one why they should be.

Before we quit this point, we beg leave to make one other remark. The superiority of the Moderns, from the causes just adverted to, is not confined to the mass of mankind—the *people* only. Great men, also, have been more completely enlightened. Their genius has not been (for it could not be) increased, but it has been purged of many errors and superstitions. Nothing could be more exquisite than the judgment of the Greeks, yet their successors listen with a smile of incredulity, or of pity, to

\* *Hæc nostra (ut sæpe diximus) felicitatis ejusdam sunt potius quàm facultatis, et potius temporis partus quàm ingenii*, as Bacon expresses it with admirable precision.—*New. Organ.* l. i. c. 23.

It is curious to observe the revolutions in opinion. It was quite fashionable about 200 years ago, to compare the moderns, in their intellectual relation to the ancients, to a dwarf mounted upon the back of a giant—seeing further, indeed, from the advantage of position, but no more to be compared with the mighty being under him than any other dependent, with him on whose bounty he subsists. In these times the picture is exactly reversed. The giant is mounted upon the dwarf, and is to go on, it seems, increasing in dimensions, until his stature shall reach the skies. The *superstition* of Europe believed too much of the past—the *enthusiasm* of America expects too much from the future.

† Dunlop *Hist. Rom. Literature.* Pref.

‡ We beg pardon of the ingenious and elegant writer in a late Number of the *Quarterly Review*, who, in reviewing Milton's Works, endeavours to make out, that the age of Homer was far from barbarous.

many of their opinions. In short, the influence of an enlightened *communis sensus*, in Quintilian's use of that phrase,\*—meaning not our common sense, (for in that, nothing could excel antiquity) but the general conclusions or results of inquiry and reasoning about such subjects as are most universally interesting to mankind—upon the speculations of great and ruling minds, has been very visible. The importance of this restraint upon the caprices and the infirmities of genius, will be obvious on a moment's reflection. There is no folly that may not be united to the most splendid talents; and the foremost men of all the world are always more or less affected by the spirit of the age in which they live. Thus Melancthon was a believer in judicial astrology and a caster of nativities,† and Bacon himself was not exempt from many superstitions of those times.

Hitherto, we think we are safe in affirming that the reasonings of Mr. Grimké have utterly failed. We would gladly pursue him through all his paradoxes, but we are alarmed at the length to which our remarks are already run out, and we must be as brief as possible in what is to follow. Our author, as we have seen, denies the Ancients all merit. "in moral, political, and social philosophy" to which he has elsewhere added what he calls the "philosophy of history." We will reserve all these for future occasions, except the first, touching which we will here submit a few remarks.

Mr. Grimké's assertion that the Ancients did nothing in ethics, struck us as one of the boldest (and that is saying much) in his whole Discourse. We have been always accustomed to think that if those refined ages have left us any thing, in any department of knowledge, of which the excellence is beyond all dispute, it is (after the Greek geometry, perhaps,) their Moral Philosophy. We presume it will not be considered as derogating from their merit in this particular, that they did not by mere dint of reasoning, *a priori*, make themselves partakers in the benefits of the Christian Revelation. Neither do we conceive ourselves responsible for certain strange customs and heathenish practices into which they occasionally fell in their conduct and way of living. We must repeat, once more, that the question here, is not what the mass of mankind in those ages *were* or *did*, but what the *élite* wrote and spoke, and not whether we should follow the example of the former, but whether we ought to study the literary works of the latter. We concede, therefore, to save trouble, that their morality—that for instance of Rome in the time of

\* Institut. Orator. l. i. c. 2.—*Communis sensus* may there be very well rendered "public opinion." † Jortin's Erasmus, l. 146.

the first Punic war—would not be good enough to stand the severe censure of London, of Paris, or of New-York. Let us now see how it fares in other respects with Mr. Grimké's proposition.

The science of Morals has been very properly divided into two distinct kinds. The one contemplates man as an active being, having duties to perform and obligations to fulfil, approving good and disapproving evil, pursuing happiness and avoiding misery and pain. The other regards this moral constitution itself, as a subject of inquiry and analysis, and aims at explaining its phenomena (with how much success Mr. Grimké may, perhaps, be able to inform our readers) in the same way as Natural Philosophy arranges and accounts for those of the material world. The former is obviously practical—the latter altogether speculative and metaphysical. Under the discipline of the first, we are taught to love virtue, to feel what is so beautifully called in the language of the Scriptures "the beauty of holiness,"\* to abstain from false and deceptive pleasures, and pursue only rational and solid good, to resist the temptations and to encounter with fortitude and patience the conflicts and sufferings of life—and above all things, "to hate the cowardice of doing wrong." In one word, it is the great object of this part of a "generous education" to fit a man, as Milton expresses it, for performing justly and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war. The end of the second is nothing more—its fruit, at least, has been and can be nothing more, than the gratification of a liberal—certainly, but still an unprofitable curiosity, by shewing *why* it is we love virtue, what is the principle of obligation, whether it is utility or a moral sense or sympathy, or what else that causes us to approve or to blame, &c. Now, in the former kind, the Ancients not only attained to a high degree of excellence, but there is nothing in all that the copious literature of modern times has to boast of—with the exception, *perhaps*, of Telemachus and the finest compositions of Addison—that will bear a moment's comparison with the dialogues of Plato and Tully, to say nothing of the numerous other remains of the Portico, the Lyceum and the Academy, that have come down to us. This position is quite incontrovertible, and has been, if we are not very much mistaken, stated in so many words by the author of one of the most ingenious, and by far the most eloquent work on the other, or metaphysical, branch of moral philosophy that has ever been published.† It is impossible, indeed, to imagine any thing more sublime and consoling, more sweet, more touching, more persuasive than the

\* το καλόν.

† Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments.

Apology for Socrates, the Crito and the Phædo of his great disciple, or the Somnium Scipionis, the whole Treatise de Senectute, but especially the close of it, the Tusculan Questions, nay, all that remains in this kind of the Roman orator. As for the metaphysical part of this science of human nature, we would express ourselves with a becoming diffidence\*—but we must be allowed to say, that until Mr. Grimké shall have put his finger upon any one thing, in the whole compass of it, that is perfectly settled and has been recognized as a profitable, and, as he would call it, *practical* addition to the stock of human knowledge, we shall continue to think it as we now do, very immaterial, whether the Ancients or the Moderns have had the best of it in this nocturnal, and what is worse, far from decisive, conflict of wits. Nothing is more possible than that we are ignorant of the understanding of these writers, instead of understanding their ignorance, according to the distinction of an ingenious admirer of the philosophy of Kant.† Be it so. We do, however, for our own part, cheerfully resign these thorny and unprofitable studies to those who profess to comprehend and to read with edification such things as the Theætetus of Plato, or the cloudy transcendentalism of the German school. In the mean time, without denying, as we do not deny, that a young man ought, about his seventeenth or eighteenth year, to study metaphysics, for several good reasons, we fearlessly appeal to our readers to decide whether he ought not to be deeply imbued with the spirit and the precepts of ancient ethics, conveyed as they are in a style, of which the faultless execution is the best discipline of taste, whilst its glowing eloquence fills every generous bosom with the most elevated and ennobling moral enthusiasm.‡

\* We really debated with ourselves a long time whether we should venture to encounter those awful personages, the Metaphysicians.

Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque silentes  
Et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte silentia late,  
Sit mihi fas audita loqui.

† Coleridge's Biographia Literaria.

‡ We will indulge in the freedom of a note, so far as to repeat that we are at a loss to understand how any discoveries—above all, any important and available discoveries for the purposes of education or discipline can be made in "the subjects of our consciousness," (to use Dugald Stewart's phrase for what is vulgarly called, the mind) or what there can be in ontology, pneumatology, psychology, or any other metaphysic-ology, except, indeed, a great deal of neology, and mere verbal refinements and distinctions of that notable kind that surprised Monsieur Jourdain so much, *videlicet*, that what one speaks so naturally and without knowing why or wherefore, is actually prose. "All a rhetorician's rules" &c. Rhetoric, once so important, however, is never talked of nowadays out of the grammar school, and we think it probable, metaphysics will share (as it deserves) the same fate.

We quote the following sentence from the old (and now obsolete) philosopher of Malmesbury—one of the most ingenious and original thinkers of any age or

In discussing the comparative merit of the Ancients and Moderns, we have sometimes seen it roundly asserted by those who come to their knowledge of the former by inspiration or instinct—that the literature, but especially the poetry of the latter, is more various, profound and passionate than that of Greece and Rome. The origin of this notion, we dare say, may be traced to certain speculations of the German critics, who maintain that there is a fundamental difference between the *beau idéal* of modern poetry and art, and that of the antique; giving to the one the name of the Romantic, to the other, its old title of the Classical Style. This distinction would form the subject of a very interesting inquiry, but we have not time to enter into it here. It may be as well, however, to expose the fallacy of one inference which we have known to be drawn from this or something like this view of the subject.

Thus, we have seen a remark of Dr. Johnson cited with great triumph by those who thought it time lost to study the ancient models, viz. that the Greek and Roman poets draw all their figures of speech from external or material objects. This notable discovery is considered as decisive of the superiority of modern genius, which is hence inferred to be more conversant with the depths of the heart and its passions, with abstract ideas and the operations of the world of spirits. The fact, we shall, for the sake of argument, admit, yet we really cannot perceive how such a sweeping conclusion is deduced from it. We suppose that if there is any body of poetry in the world, about the unrivalled sublimity of which, all the modern, *i. e.* Romantic critics are agreed, without a dissenting voice, it is the sacred poetry of the Hebrews. Now, not only may the same thing be predicated of it, but it is this very feature in the style of the Old Testament, that

country, and from whom even Locke, Hume and Burke, have successively condescended to borrow more than they have chosen to acknowledge. He was, as every body knows, the successor of Bacon, in England, and a contemporary of Des Cartes and Gassendi.

"On the other side, those men who write concerning the faculties, passions and manners of man, that is to say of moral philosophy and of policy, government and laws, whereof there be infinite volumes, have been so far from removing doubt and controversy in the questions they have handled, that they have very much multiplied the same. Nor does any man at this day so much as *pretend* to know more than hath been delivered more than two thousand years ago by Aristotle." *Hum. Nat. c. 13.* This thesis, with some slight modification, we are ready to maintain against all comers—with the exception of what philosophers "*pretend to*" each of whom in these enlightened times, is a *tanto promissus hiatus*. Thus we may see how the world wags. Hobbes had his day, and a brighter one than any has had since, and is forgotten—then Locke followed—then Berkely and Hume—then Drs. Reid and Beattie—then Dugald Stewart (who is still at it)—and now we think that Kant is likely to take possession of all who will not be prevailed on to abandon the inside for the outside of the skull, and to study the *organic* philosophy, of which we say something in another article.

the elegant Lowth extols as its distinguishing excellence.\* Nay, he further remarks, and that most justly, that some of the sublimest images of the prophetic writings are taken from the more familiar and humble, not to say vulgar occupations of life, from the barn, the threshing-floor and the wine-press. Even Milton, who has drawn together his materials from a greater variety of sources than any other writer, and whose mighty genius is for nothing more remarkable than the apparent ease with which it appropriates and applies, and melts and moulds into new and original combinations, the most multifarious learning that ever fell to a poet's lot, is still distinguished by an antique and severe simplicity, even in his boldest and vastest conceptions. We do not remember, in any of his works, rich even to gorgeousness and redundancy, in all sorts of imagery, any tropes or figures, that in their external form and character merely, give the least countenance to this notion of a romantic, or spiritual or mystical poetry, essentially distinct from the classical (not in its subjects or spirit, for that is certainly true, but) in its rules and proportions, its lineaments and contour. The same thing may be said of Shakspeare, and of all our great English classics. The poets of our day, indeed, have in quest of—novelty—a pursuit which has ever led to the corruption of taste, deviated from this primitive simplicity. Byron, especially, is remarkable for far-fetched allusions and quaint conceits, that are more worthy of Cowley than of himself, and this straining after effect, is precisely the besetting sin of his muse. However, as Johnson has somewhere else observed, it is surprising after all, how continually the same images are occurring in all literature—in new combinations, to be sure, and if properly introduced, always with the same effect of elevating, enlivening, or beautifying style; and it is one of the most curious and not the least instructive parts of criticism, to trace out the use and application that has been made of the same stock of figurative language in different ages and nations.† For the rest, it is, we think, rather puerile to lay so much stress upon mere imagery, which is far from being of the *essence* of a good style either in poetry or prose. High wrought metaphors and such like are seldom admissible in the

\* Lectures on Sacred Poetry, &c. Lect. 6, cf. Lect. 12, (p. 252) in which he extends his observations to Homer and Virgil.

† For instance, there is a simile in the *Paradise Lost*, l. ii, 486, beginning "Thus they their consultations dark," &c. which is uncommonly beautiful and striking, and which has an air of perfect originality about it—but we have found one not materially differing from it in the *Iliad*, II 297. *Οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι νῆας μὲν ἀνὰ κύματα δέχοντο* &c.



pathetic,\* and the noblest eloquence which the lips of man ever uttered—that of Demosthenes—is almost entirely free from them.

There is an argument to prove the superiority of the Moderns, which is, in some degree, connected with the last, and “is like unto it.” It goes to shew, not only that they are, but that they must necessarily be in possession of a richer, more various and more lofty literature, because they have more “materials of thought.” This, to be sure, is taking “the high *priori* road” to some purpose, and the demonstration would be perfect were it only as conclusive as it is brief and simple. But in the first place, it is on the very face of it a *gross non sequitur*, for we have heard of such a thing as *materiam superabat opus*. But what in fact, are those materials of thought of which the stock may be accumulated and handed down, with continual accessions from one generation to another? In short, in what departments of thought and of knowledge have the moderns decidedly gone farther than their predecessors? The reader will find them extremely well summed up by Mr. Adams, and by Mr. Grimké (who, however, claims for his favorites, much more than they have any right to) in the following enumeration:—

“The compass, gunpowder, paper, printing, engraving and oil-painting; the whole department of navigation, including ship-building; the system of modern tactics by land and sea, of modern commerce, political œconomy and banking; algebra, fluxions and the sublime works of Newton and La Place; anatomy and surgery; chemistry, electricity, magnetism and botany; the telescope and microscope; the time-piece, the air-pump, the steam-engine and galvanism; the *true* theory and practice of government; the *division and subordination of power*; the principles of evidence and trial; diplomacy, the balance of power and the law of nations; the *history of man*, of arts and sciences, and of literature; *philology*, and the *philosophy of history*; and lastly, a nobler and better scheme of morals, and a *profound, rational and comprehensive theology*—all these and numberless other *inventions, discoveries, and improvements*, are the work of the *modern world*. Wherever that world shall judge boldly,” &c. pp. 61—62.

Now here are materials of thought enough, in all conscience, but we should really be glad to know what there is in this interesting catalogue, striking out of it such particulars (philology for instance) as are the common property of the Ancients and the Moderns, that *quasi* “materials of thought” have had such a wonderful effect on *literature*, as to supersede entirely the study of the historians, moralists, orators and poets of antiquity. Every body perceives that *science* has been enlarged, and that the com-

\* *Trajicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri.*—*Hor.*

forts and accommodations of society have been wonderfully increased by them—but is it seriously pretended, that such things are calculated to make men more eloquent than the Greek language, a stormy democracy, and an Attic audience? Are the reasoning powers improved, merely by having more to reason about, and has the invention of the modern analysis and the application of mathematics to mechanical philosophy, made the Greek geometry less a model of simple and elegant demonstration? Are our future statesmen and jurists—our Cannings and D'Aguesseaus—to be formed in the chemist's laboratory, and to be armed for the forum and the deliberative assembly, with a retort and a crucible, or a supply of alkalis and acids?—*Could* such a history as that of Thucydides be bettered in the least by the mariner's compass or gunpowder, the telescope and microscope, the steam-engine and the time-piece? Is there any thing either sublime or beautiful in the convulsions of a frog's leg under the operation of galvanism, (see Mr. Adams) or that most edifying and instructive spectacle, the death of a mouse, for want of air, in an exhausted receiver? Besides, we do not exactly perceive how the contemporaneous state of science can be made to appear in a work of art, either directly or indirectly, without violating the rules of good taste—for instance, by exaggerated and scarcely intelligible metaphors, or, as in Good's Lucretius, by smothering a text of ordinary verses, under a load of notes stuffed with cumbersome pedantry. But if Painting is to come in for her share of “the materials of thought”—as there is no reason why she should not—we really should like to know how those who are hereafter to surpass the Transfiguration, will contrive to shew (admitting for a moment such an extravagance) that their superior excellence has been due, not to greater genius, but to the “march of mind.” Would it be expected, for example, of Washington Alston, that, by way of letting posterity see that he lived in this philosophic age, he should fill the back ground of an historical picture with globes and quadrants, and

\* We are glad on this part of the subject to be able to vouch such an authority as the late venerable Professor Playfair—whose prælections came more nearly up to our idea of the conversations of a Greek sage, than any thing we have ever listened to in that kind. He was the very personification of truth and science, in all their modesty, simplicity and sanctity.

“In nothing, perhaps, is the inventive and elegant genius of the Greeks, better exemplified than in geometry. The elementary truths of that science were connected by Euclid, into one great chain, beginning from the axioms and extending to the properties of the five regular solids; the whole digested into such admirable order, and explained with such clearness and precision, that no similar work of superior excellence has appeared, even in the present advanced state of mathematical science.”—*Dissertation for the Supplem. Encycloped.* p. 9.

We will add to this high authority, what Cicero says, Tusc. Qu. l. i.—In summo apud illos, (Græcos) honore geometria fuit. Itaque nihil mathematicis illustrius. At nos ratiocinandi, metiendique utilitate hujus artis terminavimus modum.

telescopes and electrical machines—or haply, with human skulls, not as a *memento mori*, but for a sign that the mysteries of phrenology had been brought to light? As for Poetry, which delights in wonders and prodigies—which seeks out its subjects where it catches its loftiest inspirations, in fabulous periods, in a heroic or feudal age, among argonauts and demi-gods, or pilgrims and crusaders,

And if aught else great bards beside,  
In sage and solemn tunes have sung,  
Of tourneys and of trophies hung,  
Of forests and enchantments drear :—

What she is to gain by the conquests of her arch enemy Truth, is really more than we can divine. In the progress of knowledge, the idols of fancy and the forms of enchantment that once covered the whole earth, have disappeared one by one. Look at the effect of the modern improvements in geography. Take the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco de Gama for an example; what have they done for the muse? So long, indeed, as a mist still hovered over the shores they had touched upon, so long they afforded scope for the marvellous, and haunts for fiction. Accordingly, the first adventures of the Portuguese gave us the *Lusiad*; and some time after the discovery of America, men dreamed of an *El Dorado* in its unknown climes. But now that the sea and the land have been so thoroughly explored, and such an immense accession of “materials of thought” (not to mention certain materials of a still more substantial kind) made to the stock of the geographer, the statist, the natural historian, the merchant, &c. what is become of the Poetry? So far, her stores, at least, seem to have been sorely diminished by these great discoveries. Thus, we have exchanged the Hesperian gardens for the Tooth Coast, and the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, and the young ladies themselves, and their dragon, for the Emperor of Morocco and the Mandingos, and the Congoes and the Hottentots. The Canary Islands or the Azores are scarcely a fit substitute for those Fortunate Islands of which poets sung, and which a hero sighed for, amidst the crimes and troubles of war and conquest;\* or, unless we take it to have been a prefiguration of the happiness we enjoy under our government of laws, we should not look with better success in the swamps and pine-barrens of the South, or on the rocky shores of New-England, for the place of that Elysium beyond the ocean, where the spirits of the just made perfect were to live forever amidst fragrance and flowers, and be refreshed by soft vernal airs. These illusions, at least,

\* Plutarch in Sertorio.

have been dissipated, as all such illusions necessarily are, by severe science—and those airy and fantastic images that “played in the plighted clouds” of fiction and popular credulity, taking so many pleasing shapes, and so many bright and beautiful and variable hues to the eyes of inventive genius, are utterly melted away in the broad and garish light that has filled the whole hemisphere.

After all, it is some consolation to reflect, that, if we are mistaken in our notions upon this subject, and if the increase of the “materials of thought” is, indeed, to produce such wonderful effects upon the creative powers of genius, Shakspeare and Milton must, ere long, cease to be talked of as unrivalled, as we own, considering “the march of mind,” it is high time they were. The mention of these great names, however, reminds us of what appears to be very much against this new theory, viz. that not only in England, but in all the other nations of Europe, except Germany, and in truth, throughout the whole history of letters, the æra of literature has preceded, sometimes by a vast interval, that of science. What have our philosophers to say to such a work as the *Divina Commedia*—on the very threshold of modern learning—three whole centuries before the age of Galileo and Bacon?

We now approach, with more confidence, the second question: how far it is worth our while to study the writings of the Ancients as models, and to make them a regular part of an academic course. We shall be obliged to be more brief upon this branch of the subject than we could wish to be, but will endeavour to urge some of the strongest grounds in favor of the established system.

And first, it is, independently of all regard to their excellence, a most important consideration, that our whole literature in every part and parcel of it, has immediate and constant reference to these writings. This is so true, that no one, who is not a scholar, can even understand—without the aid of laboured scholia, which, after all, can never afford a just, much less a lively idea, of the beauties of the text—thousands of the finest passages, both in prose and poetry. Let any one who doubts this, open Milton where he pleases and read ten pages together, and we think he will confess that our opinion is well founded. Indeed, a knowledge of Latin and Greek is almost as much *presupposed* in our literature, as that of the alphabet, and the facts or the fictions of Ancient History and Mythology, are as familiarly alluded to in the learned circles of England, as any of the laws or phenomena of nature. They form a sort of conventional world, with which it is as necessary for an educated man to be familiar

as with the real. Now, if there is no sort of knowledge which is not desirable and scarcely any that is not useful—if it is worth the while of a man of leisure to become versed in the Chinese characters, or the Sanscrit, or to be able to decypher the Egyptian hieroglyphics, what shall we say of that branch of learning which was the great fountain of all European literature—which has left its impress upon every part of it, of which we are every moment reminded by its beauties, and without which, much that is most interesting in it is altogether ænigmatical? It is vain to say, that good translations are at hand, which supersede the necessity of studying the originals. Works of *taste*, it is impossible to translate; and we do not believe there is any such thing in the world as a faithful version, that approaches to the excellence of the original work.\* They are casts in plaster of Paris of the Apollo or the Venus—and, indeed, not near so good, inasmuch as eloquence and poetry are far less simple and more difficult of imitation than the forms of sculpture and statuary. There remains nothing but the body—and even that, not unfrequently, so altered in its very lineaments, that its author would scarcely recognize it—while all “the vital grace is wanting, the native sweetness is gone, the colour of primeval beauty is faded and decayed.” It will not be so easily admitted, that the same objection holds in works of which utility, merely, is considered as the object, such as histories, &c. Yet it certainly does.—The wonderful, the magical power of certain expressions, cannot by any art of composition be transfused from one language into another. The associations connected with particular words and phrases, must be acquired by long acquaintance with the language as it came warm from the hearts of those who spoke it, or they are frigid and even unmeaning. What translation can give any idea to the English reader of the bitter and contemptuous emphasis, and the powerful effect with which Demosthenes pronounces his *Mánder anp*, or of the force of that eloquent horror and astonishment with which Cicero exclaims against the *crucifixion* of a Roman citizen?†

In this connexion, we would insist upon the stores of knowledge which are sealed up to all who are not conversant with the learned languages. This is a trite topic, but not the less important on that account. By far the most serious and engrossing concern of man—revealed religion—is built upon this foundation. The meaning of the Scriptures, which it is so important to un-

\* Pope's *Imitations* of Horace are better translations than his *Iliad*. They are just what Horace would have done in English.

† On this subject we refer once more to the admirable remarks of Bishop Lowth's *Lecture on Hebrew Poetry*.—*Lect.* 8.

derstand, can be explained only by scholars, and the controversies of the present day, turn almost exclusively upon points of biblical criticism, &c. How *can* a divine, whose circumstances allow him any leisure, sit down in ignorance of such things?—How *can* he consent to take the awful information which he imparts to the multitudes committed to his care, at second hand? Surely here, if any where, it may emphatically be said *tardi ingenii est consecrari rivulos, fontes rerum non videre*. Indeed, this single consideration is weighty enough, to maintain the learned languages in their places in all the Universities of Christendom.

But it is not to theologians only that this branch of study is of great importance. How is the Jurist to have access to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, of which Mr. Grimké expresses so exalted an opinion?—(page 26.) We agree with him in this opinion,\* and while we deem with a mysterious reverence of our old and excellent Common Law—uncodified as it is—still we would have our lawyers to be deeply versed in the juridical wisdom of antiquity. Why? For the very same reason that we think it desirable that a literary man should be master of various languages, viz: to make him distinguish what is essentially, universally and eternally good and true, from what is the result of accident, of local circumstances, or the fleeting opinions of a day. That most invaluable of intellectual qualities—which ought to be the object of all discipline, as it is the perfection of all reason—a sound judgment, can be acquired only by such diversified and comprehensive comparisons. All other systems rear up bigots and pedants, instead of liberal and enlightened philosophers. Besides, every school has its mannerism and its mania, for which there is no cure but intercourse with those who are free from them, and constant access to the models of perfect and immutable excellence, which other ages have produced, and all ages have acknowledged. To point the previous observations, which are of very general application, more particularly to a topic touched upon before; even admitting that modern literature were as widely different from the ancient as the enemies of the latter contend, yet that would be no reason for neglecting the study of the Classics, but just the contrary. Human nature

\* Mr. Grimké subjoins to the remarks referred to, an extraordinary one, and says, he rejoices in being able to make it, viz: that the excellence of the Civil Law was owing to Justinian's being a Christian. We are sorry to say, this opinion has to encounter the following difficulties. 1st. That the Golden Age of that Jurisprudence was three centuries before Justinian's reign; the age of Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, &c. 2d. That Ulpian, so far from being a Christian, was a most bigoted Pagan, and did all he could to poison the mind of Alexander Severus, with the maxims and the spirit of persecution.—*Gravin. Origin. I. C. l. i. p. 125.* 3d. Julius Cæsar had it in contemplation to "codify" the Roman Law.—*Sueton. in Divo Julio. c. 44.*

being the same in all ages, we may be sure that men agree in more points than they disagree in, and the best corrective of the extravagancies into which their *peculiarities* betray them, is to contrast them with the opposite peculiarities of others. If the tendency, therefore, of the modern or romantic style is to mysticism, irregularity and exaggeration—and that of the classical, to an excess of precision and severity, he would be least liable to fall into the excesses of either, who was equally versed in the excellencies of both. Certainly a critic who has studied both Shakspeare and Sophocles, must have a juster notion of the true excellence of dramatic composition, than he who has only studied one of them. Where they agreed he would be sure they were both right; where they happened, as they frequently do, to differ, he would, at once, be led to reflect much, before he awarded the preference to either, and to have a care lest, in indulging that preference, he should overstep the bounds of propriety and “the modesty of nature.” It is thus, we repeat it, and only thus, that sound critics, sound philosophers, sound legislators, and lawyers worthy of their noble profession, can be formed.

There are other kinds of knowledge, besides what is interesting to Divines and Jurists, locked up in the learned languages. Whole branches of history and miscellaneous literature—of themselves extensive enough to occupy the study of a life. Look into Du Cange, Muratori, Fabricius, &c. In short, we pronounce, without fear of contradiction, that no man can make any pretensions to erudition, who is not versed in Greek and Latin. He must be forever at a loss, and unable to help himself to what he wants in many departments of knowledge, even supposing him to have the curiosity to cultivate them, which is hardly to be expected of one who will not be at the pains of acquiring the proper means to do so with success. For we have always thought and still think—Mr. Grimké’s speculative opinions being outweighed by his own practice—that those who refuse to study a branch of learning so fundamental and so universally held in veneration as the classics, have forgotten “the know thyself,” when they prattle about profound erudition. In addition to all this, we venture to affirm that the *shortest* way to the knowledge of the History, Antiquities, Philosophy, &c. of all those ages, whose opinions and doings have been recorded in Greek and Latin, even supposing English writers to have gone over the same ground, is through the originals. Compare the knowledge which a scholar acquires, not only of the policy and the *res gestæ* of the Roman Emperors, but of the minutest shades and inmost recesses of their *character*, and that of the times in which they reigned, from the living pictures of Tacitus and

Suetonius, with the cold, general, feeble, and what is worse, far from just and precise idea of the same things, communicated by modern authors. The difference is incalculable. It is that between the true Homeric Achilles and the Monsieur or Monseigneur Achille of the Théâtre Français, at the beginning of the last century, with his bob wig and small sword. When we read of those times in English, we attach modern meanings to ancient words, and associate the ideas of our own age and country, with objects altogether foreign from them. In this point of view, as in every other, the cause of the Classics is that of all sound learning.

We mention as another important consideration, that the knowledge of these languages brings us acquainted, familiarly, minutely and impressively, with a state of society altogether unlike any thing that we see in modern times. When we read a foreign author of our own day, we occasionally, indeed, remark differences in taste, in character and customs; but, in general, we find ourselves *en pays de connaissance*. Modern civilization, of which one most important element is a common religion, is pretty uniform. But the moment we open a Greek book, we are struck with the change. We are in quite a new world, combining all that is wonderful in fiction, with all that is instructive in truth. Manners and customs, education, religion, national character, every thing is original and peculiar. Consider the priest and the temple, the altar and the sacrifice, the chorus and the festal pomp, the gymnastic exercises, and those Olympic games, whither universal Greece repaired with all her wealth, her strength, her genius and taste\*—where the greatest cities and kings, and the other first men of their day, partook with an enthusiastic rivalry, scarcely conceivable to us, in the interest of the occasion, whether it was a race, a boxing match, a contest of musicians, or an oration, or a noble history to be read to the mingled throng—and where the horse and the rider, the chariot and the charioteer, were consecrated by the honors of the crown, and the renown of the triumphal ode. Look into the Theatres where “the lofty grave tragedians” contend, in their turn, for the favor of the same cultivated people, and where Aristophanes, in verses, which, by the confession of all critics, were never surpassed in energy and spirit, in attic purity and the most exquisite modulations of harmony, is holding up Socrates—the wisest of mankind—to the contempt and ridicule of the mob; if that Athenian Demus, that could only be successfully courted with such verses, does not disdain the appellation. Next go to

\* Isocrates Περὶ Ζευγυρος.



the schools, or rather the shady walks of philosophy—single one object out of the interesting groupe—let it be the most prominent—he, in short; who for the same reason was made to play so conspicuous a part in the “Clouds.” Consider the habits of this hero of Greek philosophy, according to Xenophon’s account\* of them; how unlike any thing we have heard of among the Moderns; passing his whole life abroad and in public—early in the morning visiting the Gymnasia and the most frequented walks, and about the time that the market-place was getting full, resorting thither, and all the rest of the day presenting himself wheresoever the greatest concourse of people was to be found, offering to answer any question in philosophy which might be propounded to him by the inquisitive. Above all, contemplate the fierce democracy in the popular assembly, listening to the harangues of orators, at once, with the jealousy of a tyrant and the fastidiousness of the most sensitive critics, and sometimes with the levity, the simplicity, and the wayward passions of childhood. Read their orations—above all, his, whose incredible pains to prepare himself for the perilous post of a *demagogue*, and whose triumphant success in it, every body has heard of—how dramatic, how mighty, how sublime! Think of the face of the country itself, its monumental art, its cities adorned with whatever is most perfect and most magnificent in architecture—its public places peopled with the forms of ideal beauty—the pure air, the warm and cloudless sky, the whole earth covered with the trophies of genius, and the very atmosphere seeming to shed over all the selectest influence, and to breathe, if we may hazard the expression, of that native Ionian elegance which was in every object it enveloped.

It is impossible to contemplate the annals of Greek literature and art, without being struck with them, as by far the most extraordinary and brilliant phenomenon in the history of the human mind. The very language—even in its primitive simplicity, as it came down from the rhapsodists who celebrated the exploits of Hercules and Theseus, was as great a wonder as any it records. All the other tongues that civilized men have spoken, are poor and feeble, and barbarous, in comparison of it. Its compass and flexibility, its riches and its powers, are altogether unlimited. It not only expresses with precision, all that is thought or known at any given period, but it enlarges itself naturally, with the progress of science, and affords, as if without an effort, a new phrase, or a systematic nomenclature whenever one is called for. It is equally adapted to every variety of style

\* Memorab. l. A. 10.

and subject—to the most shadowy subtlety of distinction, and the utmost exactness of definition, as well as to the energy and the pathos of popular eloquence—to the majesty, the elevation, the variety of the Epic, and the boldest license of the Dithyrambic, no less than to the sweetness of the Elegy, the simplicity of the Pastoral, or the heedless gaiety and delicate characterization of Comedy. Above all, what is an unspeakable charm—a sort of *naïveté* is peculiar to it, and appears in all those various styles, and is quite as becoming and agreeable in a historian or a philosopher—Xenophon for instance—as in the light and jocund numbers of Anacreon. Indeed, were there no other object in learning Greek but to see to what perfection language is capable of being carried, not only as a medium of communication, but as an instrument of thought, we see not why the time of a young man would not be just as well bestowed in acquiring a knowledge of it—for all the purposes, at least, of a liberal or elementary education—as in learning Algebra, another specimen of a language or arrangement of signs perfect in its kind. But this wonderful idiom happens to have been spoken, as was hinted in the preceding paragraph, by a race as wonderful. The very first monument of their genius—the most ancient relic of letters in the Western world—stands to this day altogether unrivalled in the exalted class to which it belongs.\* What was the history of this immortal poem and of its great fellow? Was it a single individual, and who was he, that composed them? Had he any master or model? What had been his education, and what was the state of society in which he lived? These questions are full of interest to a philosophic inquirer into the intellectual history of the species, but they are especially important with a view to the subject of the present discussion. Whatever causes account for the matchless excellence of these primitive poems, and for that of the language in which they are written, will go far to explain

\* Milton is, perhaps, more sublime than Homer, and, indeed, than all other poets, with the exception, as we incline to think, of Dante. But if we adopt his own division of poetry into three great classes, viz. the Epic, the Dramatic, and the Lyrical—the *Paradise Lost*, like the *Divina Commedia*, is more remarkable for Lyrical, (and sometimes for Dramatic) than for Epic beauties—for splendid details, than an interesting whole—for prophetic raptures bursting forth at intervals, than for the animation, the fire, the engrossing and rapid narrative of a metrical Romance. Who cares any thing about the story or the plot, or feels any sympathy with the dramatic personæ—not even excepting Adam and Eve, whose insipid faultlessness reminds one of the Italian proverb—*tanto buon che val niente*. Besides, are not the preposterous vauntings and menaces of the Devil against the Omnipotent, like the swaggering insolence of a slave behind his master's back—or his conspiracy like that of Caliban with Trinculo and Stephano, against the magic powers of Prospero? Devoted, as we are proud to avow ourselves, to Milton, we have always felt there was something even savouring of the comic in his Rabbinical plot.

the extraordinary circumstance, that the same favored people left nothing unattempted in philosophy, in letters and in arts, and attempted nothing without signal, and in some cases, unrivalled success. Winkelman\* undertakes to assign some reasons for this astonishing superiority of the Greeks, and talks very learnedly about a fine climate, delicate organs, exquisite susceptibility, the full developement of the human form by gymnastic exercises, &c. For our own parts, we are content to explain the phenomenon after the manner of the Scottish school of metaphysicians, in which we learned the little that we profess to know of that department of philosophy, by resolving it at once into an original law of nature: in other words, by substantially, but decently, confessing it to be inexplicable. But whether it was idiosyncrasy or discipline, or whatever was the cause, it is enough for the purposes of the present discussion, that the *fact* is unquestionable.

In one of Mr. Grimké's notes, (p. 77) we have the following remarks upon the story of Demosthenes having repeatedly copied the great work of Thucydides with his own hand.

"Were instructors in *our* day to recommend an imitation of this example of the Athenian orator, it would be considered as *downright folly*. If the student of Divinity were told to copy Butler's *Analogy*, the student of Law, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, the student of Belles Lettres, *Kames* or *Alison*, and the student of Philosophy, Paley or Locke, it would be pronounced an unpardonable waste of time, and a very unintelligible mode of improvement."

Undoubtedly it would, and by no man sooner than Demosthenes himself, if he had the good fortune to live again "in *our* day." But what earthly analogy is there between the two cases? In that of the Greek orator, we see a young man preparing himself for the very hazardous career of a public speaker, in such an assembly as we have already described—the shrewd, sagacious, cavilling, hypercritical, but most polished and *musical* Athenian Demus—by endeavouring to acquire a perfect command of his language—the great instrument by which he was to accomplish every thing. In order to effect this, he not only attended the schools of Isæus and Plato, but he did what was still better; he selected the *model* which he thought most perfect, and traced its lineaments over and over again, until he acquired, or rather surpassed, if possible, the excellencies of his great master. Besides, Mr. Grimké does not seem to be aware that the Greek language, admirable as it was in itself—vast and

\* Histoire de l' Art, &c.—Liv. 4.

various as its powers had appeared in the older poets—and much as had been done for its prose by Plato, Isocrates, and others, had not yet attained to its utmost perfection—at least, for the purposes of popular declamation; and that it was actually reserved for Demosthenes, by these very studies which would, it seems, be looked upon as “downright folly” in *our* day, to give it its last finishing—to impart to it,

——the full resounding line

The long majestic march and energy divine :\*

but whoever heard Butler's Analogy or Kames' Elements commended for style, and who could not master their sense and argument without copying them at all?

But our main purpose in quoting these remarks of Mr. Grimké, was to advert to the conclusion he draws from them, which we shall endeavour to turn against his own argument. It is as follows :

“Does not this act of Demosthenes very remarkably illustrate the fundamental difference between the Ancients and Moderns, that the former regarded *style* as an *end*; the latter as a means: that the former excel *CHIEFLY* in *style*, the latter *PRE-EMINENTLY* in *thought*.”

We will treat this sentence (which we print just as it stood in the original) as Jupiter, among the poets, so often treats the prayers of unhappy mortals—half of it shall be granted, the other half dispersed in air. We think it undoubtedly true, as a general proposition, that the Ancients, especially the Greeks, were more fastidious in regard to style than the Moderns, and this is the very reason why they have been, and ought to be, universally preferred as models to form the taste of youth upon. But it is as undoubtedly wrong to affirm, that they were less scrupulous about sense or thought. Of their extreme delicacy and correctness of taste, innumerable proofs might be cited from all the writings of antiquity, but especially from that rich mine of philosophical criticism, both theoretical and practical, the rhetorical writings of Cicero. His manner of expressing himself upon this subject is quite remarkable. He speaks of the niceness and scrupulosity of the Attic ear—which was so great that a single false quantity or misplaced accent would excite the

\* So says Philostratus. *βίος Ιωνικιστεύς*. In Cicero's time, the Pseudo or soi-disant Attics, who pestered him with their affectations and impertinences, held up Thucydides as the most perfect model of Attic purity and elegance. The orator himself, however, declares for Demosthenes—*Quo ne Athenas quidem ipsas magis credo fuisse Atticas*.—*Orat. ad Brut.*

† *Teretes et religiosas aures Atticarum*.—(We quote this and the following from memory.)

clamours of a whole theatre,\* besides many other instances which our limits forbid us to adduce. An example of the same thing that has always struck us very forcibly, is to be found in the gibes which *Æschines*, even upon an occasion of such extraordinary interest and importance as the famous accusation of *Ctesiphon*, so confidently indulges in, with regard to certain expressions that had escaped his great rival in former debates; as if, said *Demosthenes*, it concerned the well-being of the Commonwealth, whether I used this word or that, or stretched forth my arm thus or thus. Yet we are willing that the whole cause of Greek literature should depend upon that single controversy, and upon the opinion of any liberal and enlightened critic, as to the merits of those very orations so laboriously prepared, and so unsparingly censured. Indeed (as has already been remarked with respect to the Comedies of *Aristophanes*) what better proof can be given of the wonderful refinement of an Athenian audience than that this peerless orator felt it *necessary* to take so much pains in preparing his harangues, and met with such triumphant success in delivering them? It is impossible to imagine a work of genius, executed in a more simple and severe taste; and *Hume* does not, we think, exaggerate their merit when he affirms, that, of all human productions, the orations of *Demosthenes* present us with the models which approach nearest to perfection.† But wherein, principally, did that wonderful excellence consist? In this—that his style, elaborate and admirable as it was, seemed to make no part of his concern, and that he was wrapt up, with his whole heart and soul, in the subject—in the occasion—in the measure proposed—in the glory of Athens, and the welfare and liberties of all Greece. So it is with the other Greek classics. This naked simplicity of style, united with the highest degree of refinement, is what strikes a modern reader most, especially before he is become familiar with it. Yet this peculiar people, who would tolerate no expressions but the most chaste and natural‡—who would have spurned from the *βήμα* a public speaker that did not know how to sink the rhetorician in the statesman and the man of business§—to whom any thing like the ambitious ornaments so much admired in this philosophic age, would have been an abomination||—this people it

\* At in his (numeris et modis) &c. tota theatra reclamant,—*Brutus*. Something like this may be seen in the parterre of the Théâtre Français; but Paris is not Athens. † Essay xiii. of Eloquence. ‡ See Longinus, c. 3.

§ *Isocrates Πρωτομάρτυς* in exordio.

|| *Cicero* characterizes the Asiatic style—as opimum quoddam et tanquam adpate dictionis genus—(a felicitous and untranslatable phrase) which the Rhodians did not relish much, and the Attics could not tolerate at all. We fear the style so much in vogue nowadays—in Scotland especially—is in this category.

is, that are represented as considering *style* as an *end*, instead of a *means*, and as sacrificing sense to sound !

The conclusion which we draw from Mr. Grimké's premises is, as we have already intimated, that this supposed *defect* of the classical authors, would be alone sufficient to keep them where they are in our schools. We shall now add the last consideration which our limits will permit us to suggest, on this part of the subject.

In discussing the very important question whether boys ought to be made to study the Classics, as a regular part of education—the innovators put the case in the strongest possible manner against the present system, by arguing as if the young pupil, under this discipline, was to learn nothing else but language itself. We admit that this notion has received some sort of countenance from the excessive attention paid in the English Schools to prosody, and the fact that their great scholars have been, perhaps, (with many exceptions to be sure) more distinguished by the refinement of their scholarship, than the extent and profoundness of their erudition. But the grand advantage of a classical education consists far less in acquiring a language or two, which, as languages, are to serve for use or for ornament in future life, than in the things that are learned in making that acquisition, and yet more in the *manner* of learning those things. It is a wild conceit to suppose, that the branches of knowledge, which are most rich and extensive, and most deserve to engage the researches of a mature mind, are, therefore, the best for training a young one. Metaphysics, for instance, as we have already intimated, though in the last degree unprofitable as a science, is a suitable and excellent, perhaps, a necessary part of the intellectual discipline of youth. On the contrary, international law is extremely important to be known by publicists and statesmen, but it would be absurd to put Vattel (as we have ourselves seen it done, in a once celebrated Academy, in a certain part of the United States,) into the hands of a lad of fifteen or sixteen. We will admit, therefore, what has been roundly asserted at hazard, and without rhyme or reason, that classical scholars discontinue these studies after they are grown wise enough to know their futility, and only read as much Greek and Latin as is necessary to keep up their knowledge of them, or rather to save appearances, and gull credulous people ; yet we maintain that the concession does not affect the result of this controversy in the least. We regard the whole period of childhood and of youth—up to the age of sixteen or seventeen, and perhaps longer—as one allotted by nature to growth and improvement in the strictest sense of those words. The flexible

powers are to be trained rather than tasked—to be carefully and continually practised in the preparatory exercises, but not to be loaded with burthens that may crush them, or be broken down by overstrained efforts of the race. It is in youth, that Montaigne's maxim, always excellent—is especially applicable—that the important question is, not who is most learned, but who has learned the best. Now, we confess we have no faith at all in young prodigies—in your philosophers in teens. We have generally found these precocious smatterers, sink in a few years into barrenness and imbecility, and that as they begin by being men when they ought to be boys, so they end in being boys when they ought to be men. If we would have good fruit, we must wait until it is in season. Nature herself has pointed out too clearly to be misunderstood, the proper studies of childhood and youth. The senses are first developed—observation and memory follow—then imagination begins to dream and to create—afterwards ratiocination or the dialectical propensity and faculty shoots up with great rankness—and last of all, the crowning perfection of intellect, sound judgment and solid reason, which, by much experience in life, at length ripens into wisdom. The vicissitudes of the seasons, and the consequent changes in the face of nature, and the cares and occupations of the husbandman, are not more clearly distinguished or more unalterably ordained.—To break in upon this harmonious order—to attempt to anticipate these pre-established periods, what is it, as Cicero has it, but, after the manner of the Giants, to war against the laws of the Universe, and the wisdom that created it? And why do so? Is not the space in human life, between the eighth and the twentieth year, quite large enough for acquiring *every* branch of liberal knowledge, as well as they need, or, indeed, can be acquired in youth? For instance, we cite the opinion of Condorcet, repeatedly quoted, with approbation, by Dugald Stewart, and if we mistake not, by Professor Playfair too, (both of them the highest authority on such a subject,) that any one may, under competent teachers, acquire all that Newton or La Place knew, in *two* years. The same observation, of course, applies a *fortiori* to any other branch of science. As for the modern languages, the study of French ought to be begun early for the sake of the pronunciation, and continued through the whole course as it may be, without the smallest inconvenience. Of German, we say nothing, because we cannot speak of our own knowledge; but for Italian and Spanish, however difficult they may be—especially their poetry—to a mere English scholar, they are so easy of acquisition to any one who understands Latin, that it is not worth while even to notice them in our scheme. All that we ask then,

is, that a boy should be thoroughly taught the ancient languages from his eighth to his sixteenth year, or thereabouts, in which time he will have his taste formed, his love of letters completely, perhaps enthusiastically awakened, his knowledge of the principles of universal grammar perfected, his memory stored with the history, the geography and the chronology of all antiquity, and with a vast fund of miscellaneous literature besides, his imagination kindled with the most beautiful and glowing passages of Greek and Roman poetry and eloquence; all the rules of criticism familiar to him—the sayings of sages, and the achievements of heroes, indelibly impressed upon his heart. He will have his curiosity fired for further acquisition, and find himself in possession of the golden keys, which open all the recesses where the stores of knowledge have ever been laid up by civilized man. The consciousness of strength will give him confidence, and he will go to the rich treasures themselves and take what he wants, instead of picking up eleemosynary scraps from those whom, in spite of himself, he will regard as his betters in literature. He will be let into that great communion of scholars throughout all ages and all nations—like that more awful communion of saints in the Holy Church Universal—and feel a sympathy with departed genius, and with the enlightened and the gifted minds of other countries, as they appear before him, in the transports of a sort of Vision Beatific, bowing down at the same shrines and glowing with the same holy love of whatever is most pure and fair, and exalted and divine in human nature.—Above all, our American youth will learn that liberty—which is sweet to all men, but which is the *passion* of proud minds that cannot stoop to less—has been the nurse of all that is sublime in character and genius. They will see her form and feel her influence in every thing that antiquity has left for our admiration—that bards consecrated their harps to her\*—that she spoke from the lips of the mighty orators—that she fought and conquered, acted and suffered with the heroes whom she had formed and inspired; and after ages of glory and virtue, fell with *Him*—her all-accomplished hope—*Him*, the LAST of ROMANS—the self-immolated martyr of Philippit. Our young student will find his devotion to his country—his free country—become at once more fervid and more enlightened, and think scorn of the wretched creatures who have scoffed at the sublime simplicity of her institutions, and “esteem it” as one expresses it, who learned to

\* Milton—Areopagitica.

† Who can read Appian’s account of this ever memorable battle without shedding tears?



be a republican in the schools of antiquity,\* "much better to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, than the barbaric pride of a Norwegian or Hunnish stateliness," and let us add, will come much more to despise that slavish and nauseating subserviency to rank and title, with which all European literature is steeped through and through. If Americans are to study any foreign literature at all, it ought undoubtedly to be the Classical, and especially the Greek.

The very difficulties of these studies, which make it necessary that so many years should be devoted to them—the novelty, the strangeness of the form, are a great recommendation. This topic is a most important one, and we would gladly follow it out ; but we have already far exceeded our limits. We will just observe, that the reason which Quintilian gives for beginning with the Greek, is of universal application. The mother-tongue is acquired as of course—in the nursery—at the fire-side—at the parental board—in society—every where. It is familiar to us long before we are capable of remarking its peculiarities. This familiarity has its usual effects of diminishing curiosity and interest, and of making us regard, without emotion and even without attention, what, if it came recommended by novelty, would leave the deepest impression. It is so with every thing in nature and in art. "Difficulties increase passions of every kind, and by rousing our attention and exciting our active powers, they produce an emotion, which nourishes the prevailing affection."† Before his eighth year, a boy should be perfectly well grounded in the rudiments of English—and then, if his master be a scholar that deserves the name, he could learn his own language better by having occasion to use it in translations, both prose and metrical, of the ancient languages, than by all the lessons and lectures of a mere English teacher from his birth to his majority. Indeed, it would be difficult, in the present state of our literature to imagine any thing more insipid, spiritless, imperfect, and unprofitable than such a course. But we must break off here.

We were going to appeal to experience, but we know the answer that will be made. It is not sufficient ; but, this too, must be deferred. In the mean time, we earnestly exhort our readers to consider the state of the question as we have put it. Not to have the curiosity to study the learned languages, is not to have any vocation at all for literature : it is to be destitute of liberal curiosity and of enthusiasm ; to mistake a self-sufficient and superficial dogmatism for philosophy, and that complacent indolence which is the bane of all improvement for a proof of

\* See Lowth's first Lecture before referred to. † Hume's Essay XXII. of Tragedy.

the highest degree of it. As somebody quoted by Horne Tooke says, *qui alios a literarum et linguarum studio absterrent, non antiquæ sapientiæ, sed novæ stultitiæ doctores sunt habendi*. Mr. Grimké's speculative opinions we think utterly erroneous—his excellent example cannot be too closely imitated—but it is unfortunately easy for all to repeat the one, while few have the industry and perseverance to follow the other.

ART. II.—1. *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry: or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation, &c.* By JETHRO TULL, of Shelborne, in the County of Berks. To which is prefixed an Introduction. By WILLIAM COBBETT. London.

2. *The Manures most advantageously applicable to the various sorts of Soils, &c.* By RICHARD KIRWAN, Esq. 7th Edition. London. 1808.

3. *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry.* By Sir H. DAVY, LL.D. F. R. S. &c. Philadelphia and Baltimore. 1821.\*

4. *A New System of Cultivation, without lime or dung, or summer fallows; as practised at Knowle farm, in the County of Sussex.* By Major General ALEXANDER BEATSON, late Governor of the Island of St. Helena, &c. Philadelphia. Matthew Carey & Son. 1821.

FROM the time of the ancient Romans to the book of Jethro Tull, we know of little that has added to the theory or practice of Agriculture, that deserves to mark an era in its history either as an art or a science. The *Rei Rusticæ Scriptores* (I. Matt. Gesner. Leips. 1735 4to.) including M. Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius, not forgetting Virgil, have furnished the materials of Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, and Dickson's Husbandry of the Ancients: which, if meant to supersede the original authors, should be read in conjunction with the agricultural Travels of Chateaubvieux, and the Vestiges of Ancient Customs in Modern Italy, by the Rev. Mr. Blunt. From Hesiod, and

\* To this edition is added, "*A Treatise on Soils and Manures, by a practical Agriculturist*," which is an encumbrance of no value whatever.

from the *Geoponika* collected by Cassianus Bassus, very little worth notice, either in practice or theory, can be collected.

To Tull, succeeded the Agriculture dependent on a rotation of crops; then the Turnip husbandry, of which Lord Townsend, who introduced it into Norfolk, has the merit. The investigations of the chemical action of manures, by Kirwan and Davy, have thrown some light on this most important branch of Agriculture as a science. To their contributions we mean to add some ideas of our own; which, in truth, is the motive that has induced us to offer to our readers, the observations submitted to them in the present number of this Review.

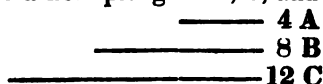
The works of Du Hammel de Monceau, the experiments of M. Creté de Pallevil, the improvements introduced by M. Lavoisier on his own farm, and some of the late treatises on Agriculture by M. Yvart, M. Bosc, and others in France, are marked by much knowledge and good sense: but no country has paid half as much attention to this subject as Great Britain: it is there only we can see profuse expenditure in tillage judiciously and profitably employed; and if the theory and practice of Agriculture have improved, we must attribute it chiefly to Jethro Tull, Home Lord Kame, Arthur Young, Marshall, Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Coke of Norfolk, and the elaborate surveys made under the direction of the English Board of Agriculture.

It is not our intention to go through a regular course of Husbandry, or to enter minutely into a review of the doctrines, theoretical and practical, or the various merits or demerits of the books, whose titles we have prefixed to this article, and which we have again carefully perused for the present purpose. But we wish to give a brief view of the prominent points of British Agriculture, which, however familiar in that country, we are inclined to believe are not so well known, or so much appreciated as they deserve to be in this: and on the theory of manures in particular, we are desirous of expressing our opinions, because we feel persuaded that the English writers have been deficient in confining their views and explanations to the laws of Chemical Philosophy.

Jethro Tull, who published in 1731 and 1733, and who died in 1740, may be considered as the father, 1st, of the practice of pulverizing the soil to a degree not in use before. It is true, he considered this practice essential, not only as affording a more easy passage to the tap-roots, and the lateral fibres of roots, and encouraging their growth, but as a complete substitute for manuring; inasmuch as he considered earth itself, as a pabulum or food of plants: wherein he was undoubtedly in error:—2ly, of the Drill-Husbandry:—3ly, of the Horse-Hoeing Husband-

ry:—4ly, of the abolition of Fallows :—and 5ly, as the obvious result of his principles—Deep Ploughing.

It is long before the precepts of good sense and sound philosophy are brought into common practice. We think it may be said, that accurate pulverization and deep ploughing, are, as yet, very uncommon in our Southern States generally, and in South-Carolina in particular ; although the hot and dry summers of a southern climate seem peculiarly and loudly to call for this practice. Suppose a field ploughed 4, 8, and 12 inches deep,



when rains come, on whose moisture the plants will have to subsist during, perhaps, a two-months drought, the four-inch ploughing will be thoroughly soaked with moisture for four inches down to A ; and the water will percolate with difficulty through the unstirred ground from A to B ; but will run off, in great part, to supply springs and hollows at a lower level, and be lost to the field. But if the ground be ploughed, eight inches from the surface, down to B, there will be a body of moist earth for the gradual supply of the roots, eight inches deep instead of four ; and will, therefore, last twice as long as the moisture contained between the surface and A. So, if the ground be well ploughed and stirred as low as C, the supply of moist earth will take a long period of evaporation from below, before it be exhausted. The absolute quantity of moisture retained, will of course depend on the capacity of the soil for retaining moisture ; but be this more or less, the above reasoning will hold good : the ground will be thoroughly soaked, so far and no farther than it can permit the water to percolate ; when the under soil is so hard as to present an obstacle to its passage, it will run off to some lower level, or be converted into a reservoir of water, which the heat of the earth will gradually evaporate among the roots of the plants. To make a sandy soil more retentive of moisture, Gen. Beatson's plan of manuring with half burnt clay, pulverized, to the amount of from thirty to fifty loads per acre, would, undoubtedly, be attended with the happiest effects ; and we are fully inclined to believe this would be an addition, as valuable, at least, as the same quantity of stable manure ; for it would be more permanent. Deep ploughing, therefore, furnishes a reservoir of moisture for the roots to feed upon, when the surface earth is parched by long-continued heat. All this is familiar to every gardener ; and we believe this mode of explaining one of the good effects of deep ploughing in our climate will be intelligible and perhaps convincing : but it will take a long time to persuade

a planter or farmer, that the practice of a gardener will repay the cost.

Another advantage of deep ploughing and pulverization, is the facility it affords to the tap roots and side shoots that branch off from the main root, to extend themselves, to find nourishment, and to contribute to the growth of the plant. About the middle of October, we went into a cotton field of poor and sandy soil, and plucked up two plants by the root; digging down (not a difficult operation) to the bottom of the main tap root. One of them was from a part of the field where the soil was loose and well pulverized for about four inches deep; the other plant was taken from a part of the field where the earth appeared to be more baked and hard; the larger root (the first mentioned) was seven inches long from the surface of the ground; the other was six inches long. The root from the part of the field most loose and pulverized, was about double the size of the other, and its side shoots about six times the thickness of the other; it weighed also about three times as much. The whole field had not (from appearances) been stirred by the plough more than about four or five inches deep; but the superior size of the larger root was manifestly owing to the facility afforded to the side shoots in their search for food. We think it not too much to say, that had the whole field been ploughed twelve inches deep, the crop on the same space of ground would probably have been doubled. All that we have read, and all that we have seen, convinces us, that the nearer Agriculture approaches to Horticulture, the more perfect will it be, and the better will it remunerate the labour expended.

General Beatson, from examining the East-Indian and Chinese ploughs, so light and simple in their structure, and the effect produced by them, arrived at the opinion, that deep ploughing could be effected more easily, more cheaply, and as perfectly, by means of light ploughs or scarificators drawn by one horse, and repeatedly working in the same furrow till the required depth was obtained, than by heavy ploughs drawn by four oxen or horses; and that the required pulverization of the soil would be more easily and effectually produced by this repetition, than by one deep ploughing in the common way. Hence, he runs a light plough or a scarificator six or eight times along the same furrow. If the facts detailed in his book are fairly related, of which we see no reason to doubt, the practice recommended by him, is attended with the desired success; and a great improvement on small farms it will assuredly prove. Heavy ploughs and a numerous team, cannot be prudently purchased, or easily maintained, but by farmers on an extensive scale, who can supply constant work to this expensive team; and, therefore, deep and ef-

fectual ploughing cannot take place where farming is carried on, on a small scale, or where the tenant or occupier is straitened for capital. The practice of gardeners in respect of deep stirring the earth and effectually loosening the sub-soil, appears to be the greatest practical improvement that could be introduced into Agriculture. Every modern garden, commenced upon approved principles, is dug all over at first, full two spits deep.

The next improvement of Jethro Tull, was the introduction of the Drill: this introduced, as an immediate consequence, the Horse-Hoe, and the Horse-Hoe gave the death-blow to Fallows.

During a long period, commencing about the time when Arthur Young began his most useful career as an agricultural observer, the horse-hoeing husbandry carried on a struggle throughout the more cultivated parts of England, with the broad cast. This competition has continued until the present time; but we have reason to believe that in the farming where wheat makes the usual quadrennial crop, it is, for the most part, put in broad-cast. This has arisen, as it seems to us, not from any intrinsic superiority of the broad-cast husbandry, but from the greater care and attention required in the horse-hoeing culture than in its competitor. Whenever a gardener can drill his seed, he does so. He finds that drilling does not require above a fourth-part of the seed; that the plants can be thinned more easily, and more easily weeded; and that they can be easily confined to the exact space of ground he chooses to allot to them. We cannot help repeating, that the more nearly Agriculture can be made to resemble Horticulture in its rules and its manipulations, the more perfect and the more profitable will it become. We are persuaded that the practice of the gardener is an argument in favour of the drill husbandry; for the same reasons for adopting it apply to both.

The greater facility afforded of stirring up the earth about the roots of plants, thus enabling the soil, in dry weather, to imbibe more easily the dews of the atmosphere, and the carbonic acid which is usually near the surface—and of effectually killing weeds, thereby rendering a fallow useless—of applying manure more economically—and of saving seed\*—are arguments in favour of the drill and the horse-hoe, so substantial, that no practice of a common farmer (who can seldom be brought to look further than the beam-end of his plough) ought to be opposed to

\* The usual quantity of wheat, sown in England, upon ground well prepared, is two and a half bushels, and the crop from twenty-two to twenty four bushels. Mr. Coke of Norfolk, and his tenants, by means of high manuring, are enabled to sow four and a half bushels per acre, and they procure from thirty to thirty-five bushels as a common crop. In the drill-husbandry, half a bushel is abundance.

it. The practice of men who follow the common routine with much prejudice and little knowledge, ought not to weigh against principles as practicable as they are intelligible.

The abandonment of fallows is a saving of, at least, one-fifth of the produce of the whole country. There is no modern French author on agriculture, who does not regard the prevalence of *Jacheres* as an infallible mark of ignorance and prejudice. We are ready, however, to grant, that it may sometimes happen that a field is so full of the seeds of weeds, that the most expeditious way of cleaning it, is to let them grow up, and then repeatedly destroy them in hot weather before they are out of flower, by the plough, the horse-hoe, or the scarificator; for a weed can never be destroyed unless you permit it to grow. But what are we to say to an American fallow?—where the land is allowed to *rest*, as it is called, by bearing a plentiful crop of weeds, running to seed, instead of a crop of useful plants!

At present, the broad-cast seems to prevail in Great-Britain over the drill-husbandry, even in Mr. Coke's Norfolk farming, where, in consequence of high manuring, they sow from four to five bushels of seed-wheat to the acre, and where the expense of drilling would be repaid threefold by the saving of the seed. But we are of opinion that no great hazard of mistake will be incurred, by predicting, that as knowledge increases among the agricultural class, the neatness and precision of the drill-culture will prevail.

The *rotation of crops* does not appear to have been insisted on by the Ancients. Nor, indeed, so far as we know, any where but in Great Britain, where it has been carried sometimes to an inconvenient extent. Wheat is the material of bread in Europe; and, therefore, the wheat crop is the main object of farming there. All the other operations of farming in Great Britain are subservient to the perfection of the wheat crop. Thus, when a farmer lays out his farm, he considers, first, what quantity of manure will be required to give a good coating of dung to his farm every four years, particularly his arable land; then, he calculates the quantity of stock necessary to supply the required manure; then, he apportions his meadow land, and his turnip husbandry, so as to enable him to feed the necessary quantity of cattle; and the straw of the grain crops is appropriated to the feeding of the stock in the farm yard.

In the most approved style of British husbandry, the wheat crop occurs every fourth year. Wheat is never sown two years in succession: it is not considered as good farming even to permit two grain crops to come in succession, unless a clover crop be sown with the second grain crop. Wheat is never put in im-

mediately after dunging the ground, this is an established rule; the crop is liable to be choked with weeds, or to run into straw. It usually follows potatoes, or oats and clover, or some horse-hoed crop. The kind of crops put in, in rotation, depend partly on the market demand, and partly on the nature of the soil.— Thus, cabbages on a clay soil, and carrots in a sand. The latter crop, for feeding cattle and horses, deserves more attention than has hitherto been paid to it in the sandy parts of the Carolinas and Georgia. The beautiful shining coat produced on horses that have a full allowance of carrots with corn, instead of hay, and the improvement in their wind as well as in their general appearance, we have often witnessed with delight. (See also an account of the culture of carrots, and their use in feeding horses, by Robert Billing, of Weasenham, Norfolk, 1765.)

The general course that the experience of the best English farmers seems to have settled upon, is to manure every fourth year, and to raise a crop of wheat every fourth year. Barley and oats, with clover, are in common practice. Rye, so much used in our Middle States as food for horses among the German farmers, and for whiskey every where, is not a common crop in England. As food for horses, oats are preferred there; and for whiskey, wheat and malted barley. The success of Tull, who took twelve wheat crops in succession without manure, depended on his planting, not every year on the same rows, but on the intervals. We are inclined to think, however, that whatever may be the advantages of deep ploughing and accurate pulverization, no practice will dispense with dunging; more especially, since the French discovery that the *Cerealia* which contain gluten, and the *Tetradynamis* and Indigo that contain albumen, require nitrogen and animal manure, to be raised to perfection. In the succession of crops, the modern farming of Great Britain, in its improved state, rejects fallows; substituting in lieu of them, a drill crop that requires horse-hoeing and weeding. In this country, we pay very little attention to Agriculture as a science, excepting, perhaps, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia: the common farmer depends on the common routine. Hence, we see every where worn out lands bearing annually a crop of weeds running to seed; which half a dozen fallows can hardly extirpate. We think it well to repeat, that no seed of a weed can be killed in the ground. To kill the weed, you must permit the seed to become a plant, and plough it up or hoe it down in hot weather, while in early flower at the latest. In a good and profitable course of farming, no soil is ever worn out; it can be cropped for twenty years in the most profitable manner, and be in better heart at the end of the time, than at first.



The *Turnip Husbandry* is almost peculiar to England. Campbell, in his *Political Survey of Great Britain*, (v. III. p. 79, 2d edit. Dublin, 1775) gives the merit of its introduction into Norfolk, to "the great" Lord Viscount Townsend, one of the patrons of the drill culture. Loudon, in his compilation, No. 4877, says, it is due to Dawson, of Trogden, in Berkshire, and to Bailey, of Chillingham, in Northumberland; but he does not cite his authority. As Clover and Gypsum constitute the basis of Pennsylvanian Agriculture, so the Turnip and Clover husbandry may be considered as characteristic of Great Britain.

Columella, l. ii. c. 10, entitled, *Quod solum cuique Legumini conveniat*, mentions the Napus and the Rapum, apparently as varieties of the Turnip; and says, that they are food both for men and cattle; for which last purpose the Gauls use them. In England, we believe the Nape is the Norway or Swedish Turnip; an admirable plant for enduring the hard winters of our North-American climate. Neither this plant nor the Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus*) which has the same good quality, and is excellent for hogs, appear to us sufficiently appreciated. Pliny speaks highly of the Turnip culture.—Hist. Nat. l. xviii. c. 13, and l. xix. c. 5. The success of the Turnip culture in England, occasioned George II. to direct an account of this system to be drawn up for the use of his subjects in Hanover.—*Camp. Pol. Surv.* v. III. p. 80.

The great merits of the Turnip husbandry are—1st. It enables the farmer to put in practice a profitable course of crops on a light soil, which would hardly bear wheat without it. 2. Turnips are the cheapest and most profitable food for cattle: affording more saleable meat for the same expenditure of value. In England, the taste of the Turnip in milk, prevents their being applied to the feeding of milch cows: but a little boiling water added to the milk, causes the turnip flavour to evaporate. 3. Turnips, when cattle are stall-fed on them, furnish the most plentiful manure; and when fed off the land by sheep, (enclosing by hurdles or by nets, a portion of the turnip-field, according to the number of the flock, removing three sides of the temporary fence when the turnips within are consumed,) they afford one of the most convenient and satisfactory methods of manuring a field for a wheat crop, hitherto discovered. The waste of the turnips and the sheep manure ploughed in, put the farmer in no fear of a crop of weeds, so inimical to the wheat.

All turnips should be drilled: the flat surface should be thrown up in ridges: they should be kept perfectly clean both by the horse-hoe and by hand-weeding. If sown broadcast, they should be hoed with a hoe not less than ten inches long: it is useless

to try this husbandry without a determination of keeping the whole crop as clean as a garden. The produce in weight from an acre is very great if good care be taken of them during their growth; viz. from 5 to 15 tons in good soil; and in the moist climate of Ireland double or treble that weight. Individual turnips in England and Ireland, hoed as above mentioned, grow from 6 to 14lbs. in weight. Campbell, in his *Political Survey*, v. III. p. 79, says that at Tudenham, in Norfolk, a turnip has been known to weigh 29lbs. But they do not grow large in a southern climate, nor is the general produce per acre so great. They flourish best in a northern climate, and an atmosphere rather moist. We have seen the Swedish turnip introduced with excellent effect in Virginia. Still, it promises to become a very beneficial crop to a stock farmer on light land, even in the South. Moreover, as connected with this culture, employed in feeding stock, is the great amount of manure which it is calculated to afford; this is an advantage of the very first consideration. A wheat, or any other crop, may be safely put in, after feeding off a field of turnips with sheep, and proper subsequent ploughing. Sir H. Davy says, that 1000 parts of turnip yield, 042 of nutriment; of which 7 are mucilage, 34 sugar, and 1 gluten; so that an acre of turnips producing ten tons, will be about equal in nutriment to 15½ bushels of wheat.

In England, they use the juice of turnips to adulterate cider: and they make a kind of wine from it, used also for the purpose of adulteration, but in what way we know not.

The next consideration of importance, is the theory and practice of *manures*.\*

By a manure, in popular language, is meant any animal or vegetable substance added to the soil, which will undergo, or which has previously undergone decomposition by putrefying.

More accurately, manures comprehend any addition to a soil, by which it is rendered more capable of promoting the growth of vegetables planted in it.

Hence, a manure may act by altering the mechanical texture of a soil, *in relation to the roots of plants planted in it*; so as to enable them to take firm hold of the soil for support, or to penetrate more easily into the soil, in every direction that the roots may require. As when Clay is added to Sand, or Sand to Clay, to make it more or less adhesive.

\* Much of the substance of what follows on the subject of manures, is the same with the views taken of it by Dr. Cooper, in his edition of the *Domestic Encyclopedia*. Art. *Agriculture and Manures*:—where these subjects are treated differently, and, as we think, more accurately than in the British books on Agriculture.

A manure may also alter the texture of a soil, *in relation to its capacity for imbibing or retaining moisture*. The hot climate and long continued droughts of the Carolinas and Georgia, require a different texture in this respect, from the moist and misty climates of Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland.

A portion of Clay consisting of one hundred parts by weight, being wetted until no more water would drop from it, was found to have imbibed and retained two times and a half its weight of water : the same weight of Chalk (Carbonate of Lime) retained one half its weight ; and the same weight of Siliceous sand, one quarter of its weight. These experiments made by Bergman, are cited by Mr. Kirwan, in his treatise "On Manures," (p. 45.) The experiments of Fabroni are to the same purpose. Hence, whether the first mentioned, or the last mentioned intention be required to be fulfilled, Clay or Marle is a proper manure for Sand, and Sand for Clay, and Calcareous earth for both. But the constituent portions of the various earths in a soil, fertile as to its capacity for retaining moisture, cannot be ascertained until very many facts and experiments have been observed and detailed, beyond what we know at present : and in relation also, not merely to the quantity of rain that falls in an average of years on a given place, but to the relative proportion of dry and wet weather on the average of a series of years. Thus, at Stockport and Manchester, in England, the yearly fall of rain will be about 36 inches, according to Dr. Percival, and the number of rainy days may amount to 234 in a year, as a friend of ours has counted. As many cubic inches of rain may fall in Charles-ton in a dozen days, as in the 234 days of rain in the neighbourhood of Manchester ; so that the expression of a moist and rainy climate, relates not so much to the quantity of rain that falls, as to the number of days and hours the rain occupies in falling.— Fifty inches of rain per annum, with three months of drought, will not constitute a rainy climate.

Probably, five parts of Siliceous sand, three parts of Calcareous earth, or Carbonate of Lime, and two parts of pure Argillaceous earth, would be a mixture that might deserve to be regarded as fertile, as to the view now under consideration. The proposal of General Beatson to manure with Clay baked in an oven, or half burnt, so as to be perfectly friable and pulverizable without losing its capacity for imbibing and retaining moisture, seems to us an improvement of no slight importance. Trusting to his description and calculations, we regard the expense as very moderate. So treated, the Clay can be ground into a coarse powder, and intimately mixed with the soil which it is meant to improve.

Besides the ways and manners above mentioned, manures may be applied also to *stimulate the living fibres of the plant*; and they may be applied as a pabulum or food, to *nourish the plant*. Hitherto, in all the British publications on manures, they are considered either as acting mechanically, or by their chemical decomposition as affording the substances which are taken up as nutriment. Kirwan, indeed, "On Manures," (p. 48) seems to think that saline substances may act as condiments to plants; and enable them to take up more food. His excepting Gypsum, arose from his considering this substance as a septic, a promoter of putrefaction in vegetables, and, therefore, as having no other action than what it exerted on the dead matter employed as a manure. Sir H. Davy, in his fifth Lecture, seems to think it necessary to combat the notion that vegetables are possessed of *life* in the same sense as animals; whose life he seems to consider as emanating from a superior immaterial principle. We shall cite the passage in a note,\* and only observe upon it here, that a man may

\* *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry*, (p. 170).—"It is impossible to peruse any considerable part of the vegetable statics of Hales, without receiving a deep impression of the dependence of the motion of the sap upon common physical agencies. In the same tree, this sagacious person observed, that in a cold cloudy morning, when no sap ascended, a sudden change was produced by a gleam of sunshine of half an hour, and a vigorous motion of the fluid. The alteration of the wind from the South to the North, immediately checked the effect. On the coming on of a cold afternoon after a hot day, the sap that had been rising began to fall. A warm shower and a sleet storm produced opposite effects." [Well: is there any physiologist who denies the effect of heat and cold, upon physiological action? Are not the manifestations of life in the winter-torpidity of cold-blooded animals, dependent on these changes?]

"Many of his observations likewise shew, that the different powers which act on the adult tree, produce different effects at different seasons. Thus, in the early spring, before the buds expand, the variations of temperature, and changes of the state of the atmosphere, with regard to moisture and dryness, exert their great effects upon the expansion and contraction of the vessels; and then the tree is in what the gardeners call, its bleeding season." [And is not the physiological effect of atmospheric dryness and moisture equally apparent in the human frame; in Phtisis, in Asthma, in Rheumatism, in Gout?] "When the leaves are fully expanded, the great determination of the sap is to these new organs. Hence, a tree which emits sap copiously from a wound, while the buds are opening, will no longer emit it in summer when the leaves are perfect; but in the variable weather towards the end of autumn, when the leaves are falling, it will again possess the power of bleeding in a very slight degree in the warmest days, but at no other time." [Who ever doubted that heat and cold acted respectively as a stimulus and a sedative on the animal fibre?]

"In all these circumstances, there is nothing analogous to the irritable action of animal systems. In animal systems, the heart and arteries are in constant pulsation. Their functions are unceasingly performed in all climates and in all seasons; in winter as well as in spring, upon the arctic snows and under the tropical suns.—They neither cease in the periodical returns of their nocturnal sleep, common to most animals, nor in the long sleep of winter peculiar to a few species. The power is connected with animation, is limited to beings possessing the means of voluntary locomotion; it co-exists with the first appearance of vitality, it disappears only with the last spark of life." [Can Sir H. Davy tell us how the partial suspension of vitality during winter in vegetables, differs from the same phenomenon in cold-

be an excellent Chemist, and a miserable Physiologist; and that his notion of the life of animals being a sub-agent of some governing superior principle, will carry him just as far beyond the bounds of common sense, as of orthodoxy. This is reviving the Archæus of Van Helmont, and the Anima of Stahl. That the superior immaterial principle which is usually ascribed to man, as a characteristic of his species, is common to the whole tribe of animals from the human being to the musquitoe, the oyster, or the earth-worm, is an opinion not warranted by known facts or sound philosophy.

The best account we can give of a Vegetable and Animal, is nearly that of Mr. Keith, in his *System of Physiological Botany*. (v. II. p. 471.—Lond. 1816.)

A *Vegetable* is an organized and living substance, springing from a seed or a germ which it re-produces: effecting the developement of its parts by the intromission and assimilation of *unorganized* matter, derived from the soil by means of the roots, or from the atmosphere by the action of the leaves: and possessing fibres irritable and contractile on the application of stimulus; but possessing no nervous apparatus, serving as the organ of feeling, or of voluntary locomotion.

An *Animal* is an organized and living substance, springing from an egg, or embryo, which it again produces: effecting the developement of its parts by means of the intromission of *organized* substances or their products: possessing fibres irritable and contractile on the application of stimulus; and a nervous

blooded animals? Have not both the one and the other a vital power of resisting to a great degree, the effects of cold, and of preserving the vegetable and animal temperature unaffected by the atmospheric change? Can Sir H. Davy make the alligator and the sea-horse, or the white bear, companions of the same climate?]

"Vegetables may be truly said to be living systems in this sense, that they possess the means of converting the elements of common matter into organized structures, both by assimilation and re-production." [In the name of common sense what are these but the peculiar and characteristic powers of life? Of life, acting independently in these respects of any law of mechanical or chemical philosophy? Is the production of progeny one of the common *physical agencies*?] "But we must not suffer ourselves to be deluded by the very extensive application of the word *life*, to conceive in the life of plants, any power similar to that producing the life of animals. In calling forth the vegetable functions, *physical agents* alone seem to operate; but in the animal system, these agents are made subservient to a superior principle. To give the argument in plainer language, there are few philosophers who would incline to assert the existence of any thing immaterial in the *vegetable economy*."—[no more than in the animal economy of an elephant, or a sponge.] "Such a doctrine is worthy only of a poetic form. The imagination may easily give Dryads to our trees, and Sylphs to our flowers, but neither Dryads nor Sylphs can be admitted in vegetable physiology; and for reasons nearly as strong, *irritability* and *animation* ought to be excluded." [Upon this strange assertion, it will not be unfair to observe, that Sir H. Davy ought to have furnished more unexceptionable reasons in support of an opinion, contradicted by every known Botanist and Physiologist, during a century past, and universally rejected in the present day.]

apparatus, the organ of perception or feeling, of intellect, of moral qualities, and of voluntary motion.

Animal matter can generally be distinguished from vegetable matter, by the strong phosphoric odour which the former does, and the latter does not exhale while burning.

It is probable that the decompositions and combinations which take place during digestion, assimilation and secretion, both in animals and vegetables, are results of galvanic action, put in force by the principle of life; but no other power or principle than that of life, can account for re-production, as the result of the stimulus given to the ovum, the seed, or the germ, by the male of every species, both in vegetables and animals. No chemistry of the laboratory, no "physical agency" can explain this.

The intromission, digestion, assimilation, and secretion of food, both in animals and in vegetables, are processes carried on in direct defiance of all mechanical and chemical laws of action, (Sir H. Davy's Physical Agencies.) Chemical action takes place and prevails in dead only, not in living matter. The living powers of vegetables and animals counteract and control chemical action.

That irritability, contractility, and increased action, can be produced in the vegetable as well as in the animal fibre, by the application of any stimulating substance, is well known to Botanists; particularly in the more manifest instances of the *Mimosa*, the *Dioncæa muscipula*, the *Drosera*, the *Cactus tuna*, the *Berberis*, the *Stylidium glandulosum*, &c. So, the action of light upon the motion of a plant; the action of heat on the development and maturation of leaves, flowers and fruits; the attraction of distant nutriment and moisture on roots, and above all, the phenomena of impregnation and assimilation, seem to have no more to do with Sir Humphrey Davy's Physical Agencies than they have with the phenomena of a game of chess, or the music of a ball-room. Can any "physical agency" account for the apparent voluntariness that so frequently takes place in the impregnation of the Water Lily? Or for the sleep of plants, or the incessant motion of the leaves of *Hedysarum gyrans*? Respect for the well earned reputation of Sir H. Davy, as a Chemist second to no other, has induced us to dwell upon this refutation, perhaps needlessly. We shall, therefore proceed, and in the course of our reasoning, consider a plant as other Botanists and Physiologists consider it, a living being.

Manures then may act by *stimulating the fibres of a plant to stronger action*. By inducing them to eat and drink more, and digest and assimilate more perfectly: as when we take pepper

and mustard, and salt and wine in reasonable quantity, or quinine, when vital action is languid. Also, by exciting the healthy living fibre to throw off a diseased or dead fibre; as we apply stimulant applications to ill-conditioned sores to excite the healthy parts to slough off the diseased parts.

The substances used that produce this effect, are generally Lime, Gypsum, Salt and Soap-boiler's ashes. Hitherto, they have been employed empirically; the point of view in which they are now considered, was hinted at by Kirwan, in a solitary sentence already quoted, and stated at length in Cooper's edition of the *Domestic Encyclopedia*: but no where else that we recollect.

If these substances do not act as forming part of the pabulum or food of the plant: if they do not act by altering the mechanical texture of the soil, there is no other mode of accounting for their action than that now suggested; unless, indeed, we recur to Kirwan's theory of their *septic* power, which is by no means established by experience in practice, or by sufficient experiments instituted for the purpose. Nor if it were, will it account for the effects produced. We are not prepared or disposed to deny, that these substances, employed in useful proportions, *may* act as septics upon undecomposed manure in the ground; but nothing certain of this nature is yet known on sufficient authority.

They do not constitute the food of plants. Nothing can enter into the composition of a plant, unless accidentally, that is not an essentially component part of a vegetable. We find siliceous, aluminous, calcareous earths in plants: we find common Salt, Gypsum, Soda, Potash, Phosphat of Lime, and other substances in plants, when these substances are found in the soil wherein the plants grow. But the same plants can and do grow to perfection without them. When these substances are dissolved in minute quantities in the juices which the plants by their roots drink up from the soil, they will of course enter into the sap; and if the vital power of the secretory vessels be not strong enough to excrete them, they will be deposited in the vessels and joints of the plants. As the siliceous Tabasheer in the joints of the Bamboo; as the Siliceous earth in the straw of the Cerealia, and the scowring Flag. So, the charcoal of an old tree will very often strike fire with steel; not so the charcoal of a young tree. So, Gypsum has been found in rhubarb, and calcareous earth in potatoes manured with Lime. So, the Salsola Sodæ will yield Soda near the seaside, and Potash, when planted for some time inland. All these instances are manifestly cases of accidental product; and the substances enumerated are by no means essential parts of the plants wherein they happen to be found.

I conclude, therefore, that they cannot be considered as pabula. Moreover, the increase in weight of vegetable food from these manures cannot be accounted for from the weight of the manure put on. Thus we were present at the laying out of a clover-field, of which one half was sown with clover without manure of any kind, and the other half was sown with ground gypsum after the clover had just appeared above ground, in the proportion of not quite two bushels, but more than a bushel and a half to the acre. The clover hay from the unmanured part, was a ton and a half per acre; and double that quantity from the portion of the field manured with gypsum. Now, the quantity of gypsum employed, even if every particle of it had been taken up and converted into food, could not have added more than its own weight, or about 120lbs. : but its effect was, to produce an increase of a ton and a half. So, when Lime is strewed on the soil, it remains there; it is not eaten and digested by the plant. Both Lime and Gypsum also, are manures for more than one or two years. Hence, the increase of vegetation cannot be accounted for from their mechanical action, or from any chemical action, or from their forming any part of the food of plants. As to chemical action, it is none; for Gypsum is not decomposable in the common atmospheric temperature; and the Lime in a week becomes carbonated by attracting carbonic acid from the atmosphere.

As to common salt, we know too little, experimentally, about it. Mr. Legrand, (*Young's Annals of Agricult.* v. V. p. 149) found that so far as sixteen bushels per acre, it was an useful manure: from thence to forty bushels, it gradually destroyed vegetation. Mr. Parke, the Chemist, published a letter on the advantages of using salt as a manure, which Judge Peters procured to be re-published in Philadelphia, but we know no result of experience on this subject.

Soap-boiler's ashes are a common manure in England: they consist of Glauber's Salt, common Salt, Sulphuret of Soda, and various impurities, whose action can only be explained on the suggestions we have just made.

Sea-sand, the mud of salt marshes, and other substances of a saline nature, must be referred to the same explanation. They are all stimuli—they irritate the fibres of the roots—they excite stronger action. The perspiration from the leaves in a clover-field manured with Gypsum, is obviously increased, as well as the general vigour and growth of the plant.

Manures may act by *furnishing nutriment to the plant*: as a pabulum or food, convertible into the substance of the plant itself. Nothing can be an essential part of a plant that does not,



when decomposed, furnish the substances of which a plant consists. Of what substances does a plant consist? Take a piece of oak-wood, fresh from the tree; weigh it; cut it into small pieces; put it into a glass retort; lute on a glass receiver; and to this, lute on also a bent glass-tube to go under the shelf of a pneumatic trough, and convey into inverted receivers the gases that would otherwise escape; apply fire gradually; distil and receive all the products. First, an aqueous and acid vapour will come over, which may be condensed in the receiver. This is accompanied with an empyreumatic oil, and is, in fact, the pyroligneous acid procured by the gunpowder makers, when they distil wood to make their charcoal. Then come over gases, viz. carbonic acid gas, carburetted hydrogen, carbonic oxyd and hydrogen. In the retort, when no more products come over, you get charcoal, the same bulk as the wood, and about one fourth or one fifth part in weight.\* Burn the charcoal, and about one part in 250, by weight, in an old tree, will be ashes; the rest will burn away in the open air, in the form of carbonic acid gas. Of these ashes, part are carbonate of potash, and the rest, earths of the same nature with the soil in which the tree grew. The carbonate of potash in the ashes of oak-wood, amounts to about four pounds in a bushel, or 1-15 part. In hickory, they amount to six pounds in a bushel of ashes.

The essential oil of the pyroligneous acid, is convertible by means of a red heat in an iron retort, into carbonic acid and carburetted hydrogen; that is, into carbon and hydrogen.

The acid liquor, which is vinegar, is formed out of oxygen, carbon and hydrogen.

The water is oxygen and hydrogen.

The gases that come over, are chiefly carbon and hydrogen: in the carbonic oxyd, a small quantity of oxygen.

The earths are not essential to the plant, either in kind or quantity; and the alkali is about  $\frac{1}{12}$  of  $\frac{1}{250}$ th, and of this nearly one half is carbonic acid, which is oxygen and carbon.

Hence, a plant may be considered as composed of carbon and hydrogen, with oxygen in a far less proportion than either.

Suppose we take pine-wood instead of oak: the only difference will be, that from the resin of the pine we shall obtain more carburetted hydrogen by means of a red heat, but the elements of the plant, will be the same; and so will it be whatever plant we take for the experiment. In this analysis nothing is lost.—The whole plant, decomposed into its elements, is there. Hence,

\* By the experiments of Mr. Mushet, of the Clyde iron works, 100 parts by weight of oak wood, furnish 76,895 of gas, water and acid; 22,682 of charcoal; and 0,433 of ashes, of which last, we know about 1-15th is carbonate of potash.

if a plant contain nothing as an uniform and constant part of it, but carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, and about  $\frac{1}{1000}$ th part of potash, nothing can afford nourishment to a plant, but what is decomposable into carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, either spontaneously when exposed to the atmosphere, or by the action of the vegetable organs of the plant itself.

It is true, in some plants already mentioned, and which contain gluten and albumen, nitrogen becomes a constituent part; this can be furnished either by the atmosphere, or by animal manure.

We make use of chemical reasoning and chemical terms, and we call in the aid of Physiology, because we are not addressing ourselves to the servant who ploughs the ground, but to his master. It is in vain to suppose that the theory of Husbandry can be understood by a man who is not well acquainted with the elements of Chemistry and Physiology. This last most useful branch of knowledge, is strangely neglected in our Colleges and Universities; although it lays at the root of all Physics, of all Metaphysics, and of every disquisition relating to the nature of animals and vegetables. The wagon loads of words without meaning, that an accurate knowledge of the elements of Physiology would enable us to dispense with, is truly astonishing. But, *à nos moutons*.

Under what forms, when applied, are carbon, hydrogen and oxygen taken into a plant as nutriment?

What parts of the plant does nature employ for the purpose?

Hasenfratz and Kirwan, were both persuaded that carbon was the chief pabulum of plants. It is true, that we procure from 20 to 25 per cent. of charcoal, and that the carbon in the condensed liquor, and in the gases obtained, is considerable: but, we should probably mistake, in ascribing more than one-half of the weight of a plant to carbon; the hydrogen and the water (hydrogen and oxygen) will, probably, make up the other half.

Carbon alone, whether applied in the shape of charcoal, coal, or soot, is utterly indecomposable. Sir H. Davy says he dissolved a small part of charcoal in water in a tube hermetically sealed: but the only experiment really worth noticing, is one by Arthur Young, who dissolved charcoal by boiling it in a solution of Carbonate of Potash; in which form, it was a most powerful manure. I know of no way in which it can become part of the food of plants, but when taken up by the roots in its nascent state of extrication, by decomposition of the substances, fluids, or gases containing it, or by the decomposition of atmospherical carbonic acid by the leaves; which, indeed, is the great source of its supply.

Hydrogen is found in connexion with water, and almost every other decomposable substance acting as a manure, whether producing fluids or gases.

Nor is there any difficulty in accounting for oxygen contained in plants, so abundant on every side are the sources of it.

But let us examine the most usual Manures of nutriment.

*Stable-yard Manure.*—As this has been a vegetable before, there can be no difficulty in conceiving that it may become a vegetable again. It has either fermented into the soluble butyraceous mass of the old farm-yard management, or it is employed fresh, and permitted to undergo a gradual decomposition in the soil. In the first method, it acts sooner, and in the same quantity more efficaciously: but this management of a dung-heap, occasions a loss of at least one half of the nutritious matter, dissipated in the various gases that are extricated, or permitted to run away by the rains falling on the dung-heap. Every such heap of dung should have a covering over it, to preserve it from excessive heat and from moisture.

The great advantage of a long previous fermentation of the dung, especially when mixed with fresh lime, is to kill the seeds of weeds, which the mere digestive powers of horses and cattle are unable to effect. In every other respect, the most advantageous and economical use of dung, is to plough it under ground in its fresh and recent state.

*Night-soil.*—Beyond all doubt the most powerful and efficacious of all manures. It would be no exaggeration to say, that if the economy used by the Chinese, or even by the French and other inhabitants of the continent of Europe, were used in America, at least ten millions worth of produce might be added to the crops of this country. In France, the *fosses d'aisance inodores*, and the dried Night-soil sold as a *Poudrette* for manure, are in common use. This substance should be mixed with at least an equal quantity of slacked lime, which takes away all odour, and then, with three or four times its quantity of common earth, and made into a compost.

*Mud from Ponds—the Cleanings of Ditches, &c.*—Require to be previously fermented to kill the seeds of weeds.

*The Sweepings of Streets* are liable to the same remark.

*Ground Bones.*—These contain Phosphate of Lime, Carbonate of Lime, and from one-third to one-half of animal gelly, fat, and albumen. In Paris, bones are employed in the manufacture of portable soup. The bones are boiled in water to get at the fat and mucilage; then they are digested in diluted muriatic acid for about ten or twelve days; then washed in cold water to separate the solution of Lime and Phosphate of Lime;

the transparent gelatine remains in shape of the bone. It is dissolved in boiling water ; it is flavoured to the palate of the cook who manufactures it ; concentrated into portable soup, and so sold.

When young, we attended a Veterinary School in London, and a Repository of Dead Horses, at St. John's, Clerkenwell. Let us give the history of a DEAD HORSE. The owner sends him to the currier, to whom he is worth about half a guinea. The currier sends him to the Repository, where he is skinned, and dissected before the pupils who attend, and who pay from a guinea to two guineas a year for the privilege. The currier takes the skin. The flesh is cut off, boiled, and sold to the retailers of cats' meat and dogs' meat, who sell it about the streets of London at three half-pence per pound. The bones being broken and boiled, the fat, when cold, is taken off and sold to the makers of cart-grease for carriages. The bones are then ground by means of a steam-engine, and sold in powder to the farmers to be used (like soot) as a top-dressing for wheat : both these manures containing volatile alkali when decomposed, and supplying nitrogen. The bones contain, after being boiled, full one-third of their weight of animal gelatine, which, undergoing putrefaction and gradual decomposition, becomes a valuable manure. All the bones from the plains of Waterloo, were actually collected and exported to England, principally to Hull. The price of ground bones at that port, about three years ago, was 2s. 10<sup>d</sup>. sterling per bushel.

The bodies at Waterloo, were first searched over for money, watches, trinkets and clothes. Then came the purveyors of human hair, for the supply of the makers of false hair, wigs, curls and frizettes ; then came another class, who extracted from the dead bodies, all the sound teeth, for the supply of the dentists ; then, when the flesh had putrefied, the collectors of bones searched the field for *their* harvest.

Frequently, the ground bones instead of being bought by the farmers for manure, are sold to the manufacturers of volatile alkali and sal ammoniac, for distillation ; sometimes, for the hafts of knives and forks, and the common imitations of ivory.

*Woollen Rags, refuse parings of Skins*, and other animal matters, having previously been vegetables, are well adapted, by gradual decomposition, to be converted into vegetables again.

*Spring Crops* of tares, vetches, buckwheat, or any other vegetable sown early, and ploughed in, just as they begin to flower, constitute a very judicious mode of supplying manure to the earth, when no other is to be procured. It may be asked, if

you plough into the ground the crop which the ground has already nourished, what do you gain? The reply is, you gain the whole of the nutriment that the crop has acquired from the air, and from the decomposition of water: an amount of nutriment, probably, equal to one-fourth, *at least*, of what the plant can furnish by gradual decomposition. This brings us to the question, what parts of the plant does nature set to work to obtain nutriment and supply the growth?

First—The *Roots*. There is no evidence whatever, that the roots of a plant can take in any solid matter, or any gaseous matter, unless previously dissolved in water. The sap of every tree and plant, whether ascending or descending, is a fluid; holding in solution more or less of the substances destined to become parts of the plant itself. How does this fluid ascend by means of the roots? Assuredly not by capillary attraction, which would stop at an inch or two; nor by any of Sir H. Davy's "physical agencies," which are utterly worthless to account for the phenomenon. Our mode of explaining it, is as follows: a drop of fluid, containing nutriment, comes in contact with a root fibre in search of nutriment. The mouth of the fibre, that is, the internal sides of the tube, become stimulated; they contract on the drop of fluid, and by a contraction *à tergo*, propel it upwards, where another part of the containing tube being stimulated in like manner, contracts in like manner, and the drop is thus propelled to the very top of its course, in consequence of the irritability of the living fibres of the containing vessels.\* In its course, it undergoes the processes necessary to form it into the nutriment, and assimilate it to the substance of the plant. This is done by means of the peculiar organization of each plant, acting as the nature of the plant requires.

Were we to propose a theory, it should be, that the organization of vegetables and animals, includes and arranges a series of galvanic batteries; by means whereof, decompositions and recompositions are effected in organized bodies, which the chemistry of the laboratory cannot explain. We strongly suspect,

\* We are aware of the theory of Monsieur Dutrochet in his late book, "*L'Agent immédiat du mouvement vital dévoilé dans sa nature, et dans sa mode d'action, chez les végétaux et chez les animaux.*"—8vo. Paris, 1826. M. Dutrochet is of opinion that the lymphatic tubes through which the sap ascends, are incontractile; but for no valid reason in support of this doubt that we can discover. If the vegetable fibre be possessed of vegetable life, it must be contractile; this being the characteristic property of living fibre. Nor can his obscure explanation by endosmose and exosmose be satisfactorily admitted, without admitting the contractile property of the cells and membranes introduced in his explanation; nor does the application of galvanism in the experiment of M. Porret, or in that of M. Dutrochet, negative the contractility of the living fibre—especially as those experiments did not succeed with inorganic substances.

that when two dissimilar bodies come in contact, electrical effects, chemical effects, and caloric, more or less, are always produced : whenever two dissimilar bodies, with an intervening conducting fluid, capable of acting upon one of them, come together, galvanic effects are produced. And these arrangements are certainly found in every living vegetable and animal. But the view we can as yet take, is not clear : we see as yet through a glass darkly ; and, to use the language of the Poet, " the present affords but a glimpse through the gloom." However, discoveries are in progress, and in this, as in every other respect, we may cheeringly say of the march of mind, *Ca Ira*.

During the decompositions of the sap, the observations of Gay-Lussac and Thenard, which we see nothing to controvert, will apply. Whenever hydrogen and oxygen unite in a vegetable, so that the oxygen is to the hydrogen in a greater proportion than is found in water, the result is an acid. Whenever they unite in the same proportions that form water, the produce is saccharine, or mucilaginous, or fecula, or woody fibre. Whenever they unite so that the oxygen is in a less proportion than in water, we have resins, oils, gum-resins, caoutchouc, &c. In these cases, carbon forms the third ingredient.

In Pine and Fir trees, there seems no doubt but water itself is decomposed, and oxygen is given out, during the formation of pitch, turpentine, &c. Is the common prejudice, so prevalent in South-Carolina, in favour of a summer's residence in the pine-woods, confirmed by this explanation ? It seems so to us.

So much for the function of the *roots*. But the *leaves* also play their part in the business of nutriment. The experiments of Priestly, Ingenhouz, Sennebier, and Woodhouse of Philadelphia, have established the fact, beyond all doubt, that the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, is decomposed by the leaves of a plant, when the leaves are stimulated into action by the light of the sun. This, we suspect, is one of the great sources of the supply of carbon ; and of course, a crop ploughed in, adds to the soil as so much gain, all that the leaves have acquired from the atmosphere. But this addition of carbon, induces also from the roots, a greater supply of hydrogen and of oxygen ; which would not have been needed, had not this additional carbon been procured by the industry of the leaves. The theory of manure, therefore, by means of crops ploughed in, while in early flower, is supported by all the considerations above suggested.

Such are the observations we have thought it worth the while of our readers to consider on the leading points of practical and theoretical Agriculture. Let no one turn aside contemptuously

from theory ; for, until the theory of the art be well established and generally understood, the practice will be desultory, empirical, and unintelligible. It is to the enlightened part of our community that we are to look for useful explanations, and permanent improvements in the practice of this first of arts. The suggestions of this paper, therefore, are addressed to the well-informed class of our readers, in hopes of exciting attention and reflection among those of our citizens, who are most capable of adding to the common fund of useful knowledge.

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**ART. III.—1.** *The Campaign of 1781, in the Carolinas; with Remarks, Historical and Critical, on Johnson's Life of Greene, &c.* By H. LEE. Philadelphia. 1824.

**2.** *Letter of the Earl of Moira (formerly Lord Rawdon) to General Henry Lee, in relation to the Execution of Colonel Isaac Hayne.* Written, 1813: Published, 1824.

THE work which stands at the head of this Article, is one of those controversial publications which owes its existence to Johnson's "Sketches of the Life of Greene." It is written by Henry Lee, of Virginia, son of the late General Henry Lee, who states, that he wishes it to be regarded merely as "the effort of a son to defend the memory of his father. It is not our purpose, however, to enter into the merits of the controversy between the author of the "Sketches," and of the "Campaign of 1781." We do not propose to become umpires between these literary combatants, but merely to call the attention of our readers to an incident in our revolutionary history, which is alluded to in the work before us, and which produced the letter of the Earl of Moira. We mean, THE EXECUTION OF COLONEL ISAAC HAYNE.

Perhaps, no event involving the fate of an individual, ever excited deeper interest in the public mind than that execution.

From one end of the continent to the other, the transaction filled every bosom with indignation, and threatened to give to the war a darker and more melancholy character. Every circumstance connected with it was fully canvassed, every minute detail was eagerly listened to, and public opinion, at least, in this country, finally settled down into a conviction, that a more barbarous and useless sacrifice of the life of an innocent and estimable man, never disgraced any age or any country. Nor was this sentiment confined to those who had taken part with the Americans in the great struggle:—We have the authority of eye and ear witnesses of the fact, that the excitement in Charleston, (then a Royal garrison) among the adherents of the British Government, was deep and profound, and the expression of *their* regret and condemnation by no means stifled. Even in England, the fate of Colonel Hayne, created an interest scarcely inferior to that produced by the death of André. The merits of the proceeding were discussed by the press, and within the walls of Parliament, with a boldness and freedom, which shewed, that however it might be in the power of the Ministry to prevent an official inquiry into the subject, they could not prevent the formation and expression of opinions extremely unfavorable to the conduct of the Royal commanders in South-Carolina. It is not to be supposed, that under these circumstances, any justification or apology that could have been offered for the act, was omitted. The public attention both in Great Britain and this country was too much roused, the reputation of Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour too deeply involved in the inquiry, to permit them to remain indifferent, or to omit to offer any defence of which the act was susceptible. Accordingly, we find that the grounds on which they pretended to justify their conduct were immediately after the execution of Colonel Hayne, explicitly stated and publicly avowed, and every thing they had to urge in their defence was submitted to the judgment of the world. Public opinion was formed on these full and authentic materials, and when the transaction came finally to be recorded in the histories of the day, the proceedings, documents and arguments in relation to it, were all referred to, as the basis of the judgment which the impartial historian felt himself compelled to pronounce. We venture to say, that if there be a single event connected with our revolutionary history, on which a fixed and settled opinion has been entertained by all classes of men, it is, that the execution of Colonel Hayne was an illegal and barbarous act of vengeance, executed by Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, without even the shadow of excuse or apology—and, that this opinion rested not on the prejudices and passions



of the day—not on loose rumours or doubtful allegations—but on well authenticated, notorious and admitted facts. Under these circumstances, it was certainly calculated to excite no little astonishment, that an attempt should have been made upwards of thirty years after the transaction occurred, and when almost all the contemporaries of the parties had been “gathered to their fathers,” to give an entirely new aspect to the affair.—The author of the “Campaign of 1781,” attempts to excuse the course he has pursued in publishing the letter of the Earl of Moira, by suggesting, that “it will afford a fair opportunity to such of his (Colonel Hayne’s) surviving friends, as may be best acquainted with the facts, to give a definite and categorical refutation of whatever incorrect opinions or inaccurate statements it may contain, and to satisfy, not their countrymen, but the world, that the doom of this lamented patriot was as *unmerited*, as the fortitude with which he met it, was touching and heroic.”

But it does appear to us, that in publishing the letter of Lord Moira, (if there was any propriety in publishing it at all) Mr. Lee would have done but a simple act of justice to the memory of Colonel Hayne, and we think to the reputation of his own Father, if he had turned to the histories of the day, and demonstrated from them, that *the facts of the case* afford no support for the apology now offered by one of the perpetrators of the deed. If he had taken this course, one of the most interesting events in our history would not have been subjected to suspicion, the memory of one of the most distinguished of our martyrs, would not, even for a moment, have been sullied by the breath of calumny, and we should have been saved the trouble of exposing the misrepresentations of the Earl of Moira.

The author of the “Campaign of 1781,” speaks of the letter of the Noble Earl, as distinguished for “its calm and elevated tone, its lucid and modest statements, its mild sensibility and noble moderation,” and expresses his regret “that the liberal and enlightened *were induced* to entertain opinions so injurious to the character of its author.” “It is plain (adds Mr. Lee) *from this document*, that many of the circumstances previous to the Execution have been misunderstood in this country; and, that in so far as the resentment and abhorrence which the calamity occasioned, received aggravation from them, it was unfounded;”—and he concludes by charging Judge Johnson with “re-echoing, amplifying and distorting the prevailing *misapprehensions* regarding it.” Now, we regret extremely that we are not informed, which are “the many circumstances,” connected with the execution of Colonel Hayne, that have been “misunderstood

in this country," and we confess that we cannot comprehend how it was possible that a simple letter from Lord Moira, unsupported by a single document of any kind, could be deemed of sufficient weight and authority to overthrow the statements of every American historian, including General Lee himself, and to stamp as "prevailing misapprehensions," historical facts never questioned until now. Will the author contend that the loose statements of Lord Moira in a letter written on ship-board, upwards of thirty years after the melancholy transaction to which it refers had taken place, *could* be sufficient to disprove facts, stated by Dr. Ramsay, who was present at the time, and speaks, (as we have every reason to know) *from his own personal observation and knowledge*? Shall they be received as conclusive, against the concurring testimony of every American officer who witnessed the transactions?—Of every historian who records them—and even against the public documents, copies of which were carefully preserved, and are recorded by Ramsay in his History of the Revolution in South-Carolina? If Mr. Lee does not contend for all this—if he is not disposed unconditionally to declare that the mere unsupported statement of a British officer, shall outweigh all other testimony in relation to the events of our Revolution, we think he will find it extremely difficult to specify one of the "many circumstances," bearing at all on the merits of the question, which "it is plain" from this letter "have been heretofore misunderstood." We are surprised that it did not occur to a writer so ingenious as Mr. Lee has proved himself to be, that Lord Moira was the worst possible authority on the question, and that his unsupported assertions, so far from being conclusive, must absolutely go for nothing, as they can, in this case, no more be received in the Forum of Letters than they could in a Court of Justice. So far as he gives us arguments on acknowledged facts, and no further, can he be listened to. He is a party to the cause, and of all living men, was the most deeply interested in perverting judgment. If the Execution was a murder, he is one of the perpetrators of the bloody deed; if it was a mere act of wanton cruelty and oppression, the stain rests upon him. The statements of such a man, in his own favour, and especially when marked by a determination to transfer to his partner in guilt, the whole blame of the transaction, certainly cannot afford that species of moral evidence on which alone we would be justified in reversing the judgment of all the American historians: nay, of the whole American people on a point which has now remained undisturbed for upwards of forty years. We repeat, therefore, it is wholly unaccountable to us how the author of the work before us could have taken for granted all

the loose and unsupported statements of Lord Moira, and jumped at once to the conclusion, "that it was now plain that the circumstances were misunderstood," inasmuch as the noble Earl had written a letter, in which he had, very plainly, *said so*. We will venture to assert, that, tried by the same test, there is not a single incident in our revolutionary history that has been supposed to reflect credit on our arms, or dishonor on the enemy, but can be plainly shown to have been altogether misapprehended. Let Mr. Lee read "Tarleton's Campaigns," and take for granted every thing therein asserted, without further question or inquiry, and we think he will find that many, nay, almost all of the circumstances recorded by the American writers on the subject, including the author of the "Memoirs," are mere "misapprehensions." Tried by that test, what is to become of the character of Lee, and of Greene, and even of Washington himself? Does the author really believe that *Wcymys*, or *Watson*, or *Brown*, could not, as well as Tarleton or Moira, make it plainly appear, (if their own statements could suffice for that purpose) that all the circumstances by which "the liberal and enlightened are induced to entertain opinions injurious to *their* characters," were altogether "misunderstood?" And thus, one by one, may our history be rifled of every incident calculated to confer honor on the American character. We do solemnly protest against the indulgence of this false and sickly sensibility towards the British officers who disgraced themselves by their oppressions during the revolutionary war. But we are done with the author of the "Campaigns of 1781". As he has left us in the dark as to the circumstances which he considers as disproved by the letter, and to which he calls the attention of the friends of Colonel Hayne, we have no alternative but to resort to the letter itself, and going through (even at the risk of being tedious,) all the circumstances therein stated, with a view to injure the reputation of Colonel Hayne, to inquire how far the statements are sustained by historical facts.

In order to understand the force and bearing of the arguments to which we are about to call the attention of our readers, it is necessary to accompany them by an exposition of the case of Colonel Hayne, (as it is presented by the historians, from Gordon and Ramsay, down to Lee and Johnson,) with which we shall take the liberty of interweaving a few facts drawn from other unquestionable sources. We think it proper, however, in the beginning, to declare, that we shall not be content with examining the case of Colonel Hayne on legal or constitutional principles merely. We cannot rest satisfied with shewing that the avowed grounds on which Lord Moira and Colonel Balfour pre-

ceeded, were altogether untenable. We must do more—we feel ourselves called upon to prove that the deep feeling which that event excited in the army, and throughout the country, sprung from no unworthy sources—that the opinion which has assigned to Isaac Hayne a conspicuous place among American Martyrs, rests on no doubtful grounds. In short, that the page which emblazons the purity, patriotism, and self-devotion of this gallant officer, is not now to be torn from the history of the Revolution, and substituted by a cold record of pity for his misfortunes, and regret for his errors. If, in the prosecution of our design, we shall find ourselves compelled, unequivocally, to condemn the conduct of the Earl of Moira and his coadjutors, we shall do so with reluctance, and we trust, without asperity. We can have no desire to rouse sleeping passions or enkindle dormant prejudices. But to the sanctity of American history, all other considerations must yield. To the vindication of the fair fame of our revolutionary worthies, every thing but truth must be fearlessly sacrificed. Before we sat down to the preparation of this article, we endeavoured to obtain accurate information from those who knew Col. Hayne during the Revolution, who were present when he came to Charleston in 1780—who saw him brought in a prisoner in 1781, and were personally acquainted with the transactions which preceded and accompanied his examination, condemnation and death. Most of the friends and companions of Colonel Hayne, have, it is true, “paid the debt of nature,” but a few still survive, and we have now before us the written statements of men whose names and characters give the stamp of authority to all their allegations.

Isaac Hayne, destined to become so unfortunately conspicuous in the revolutionary war, was a South-Carolina planter of unblemished character and independent fortune. He was descended on the father's side from English ancestors, who came over to South-Carolina in the year 1700, bringing with them sufficient property to enable them to establish themselves respectably, as planters, about forty miles from Charleston. The Revolution found this family reduced to but two individuals of mature age, (Abraham and Isaac Hayne,) both of them in easy circumstances, well-educated gentlemen, married, and settled on their plantations, and (except when occasionally called upon to serve in the Provincial Assembly, or to perform other parochial duties) exclusively devoted to the cultivation of their *plantations*, on which (contrary to the practice in our times) they resided the whole year. Though neither of these gentlemen seemed to have a military turn, or to have been animated by an ambitious spirit, the war was destined to be peculiarly calamitous to them. They

both took up arms in behalf of their country; the one, fell a victim to the prison ship; the other, perished on a scaffold—while their estates were devastated, and their families almost annihilated. Isaac Hayne, of whom it is our duty more particularly to speak, was distinguished among his neighbours as *a just man*, a man, in every sense of the word, of *principle*; kind and conciliating in his disposition, accomplished in his manners, and withal, known to be firm and immoveable in his adherence to what he believed to be his duty. In politics, he was a zealous whig, and though as a subject, it was impossible to be more scrupulous in fulfilling every public duty; yet, no one who knew him could have doubted on which side he would be found in such a contest as that which sprung up between the mother-country and the colonies in 1775. We are told by Lee, that prior to the year 1780, he had risen to the rank of captain in a corps of militia cavalry, and that he was, at the same time, serving as a senator in the State Legislature. We learn, from the same authority, that, at the siege of Charleston, he was found acting as a private in that corps, having resigned his commission and returned to the ranks, in consequence of a junior officer having been unjustly put over his head. At the time of the fall of Charleston, the corps in which Col. Hayne served was not employed within the lines, but in the rear of the British army, and when Charleston fell, it was of course disbanded, and the members returned to their respective homes. The military principle is well settled, that all the outposts of an army share the fate of the main body, and therefore, we presume, that the corps of which Col. Hayne was a member, was entitled to all the privileges secured by the capitulation of Charleston, which stipulated for the protection of the persons and property of the vanquished. Mr. Hayne retired with his family to his farm, and there he would unquestionably have remained to the termination of the war, but for events to which we must now advert.

The British officers, on the fall of Charleston, considered the whole State as virtually subdued, and very soon began to throw off all restraint, and to act towards the inhabitants as towards rebels, who had been brought back to their allegiance by the force of arms. It has been remarked by Dr. Ramsay and others, that if the conduct of affairs, at that period, instead of being confided to narrow-minded and cruel men, had been committed to mild, humane, and judicious public officers; if, instead of attempting to punish those who had revolted, they had prudently declared an amnesty; and, practically observing a generous mildness and forbearance, had endeavoured, by gentle means, to draw back the people to their allegiance, there might have

been a very different issue to the contest. But Providence, which, in its wise dispensations, is constantly bringing good out of evil, had ordered otherwise; and, on reading over the list of outrages practised towards the colonists, we are compelled to conclude with Ramsay, that it was the deliberate purpose of the Royal commanders, at this time, to break the spirits of their opponents, and to bring them back to the Royal fold by the mere influence of terror.

At the period of which we are speaking, the fortunes of the south were at their lowest ebb; nearly the whole State, if not conquered, had been overrun:—Gates had been defeated and driven out of the State, and almost the only resistance to British authority, was offered by the remnant of Marion's gallant band, which still occupied the swamps, whence it issued from time to time, to hang upon the rear, or threaten the advance of the numerous parties of the enemy who were traversing the country in every direction. At one period, even this last hope of Carolina, was so reduced, that we are informed by the historian, "that Marion's whole force consisted of about twenty-five men, living without shelter in the swamps; and employed in manufacturing swords out of old saws taken from a mill." The Civil Government was, also for a time, suspended. Governor Rutledge had been compelled to fly to an adjoining State; and, looking at every thing around him, the most devoted of our patriots might almost have despaired of his country. The British officers, who, from the beginning to the end of the war, never understood the true nature of the contest, believed that their work was done.—They appear never to have perceived that this contest did not originate merely in excited passions; that it did not owe its existence to any of those transient causes which sometimes urge a people to fly to arms on the first favourable opportunity, only to lay them down under the pressure of reverses. Ours was a *war of opinion*, which cannot be terminated in a field of battle, in which the victors gain nothing beyond the ground on which they stand. A people engaged in such a struggle can never be subdued by *the sword*. It is only by the slow and silent operation of moral causes, moulding the principles, sentiments and habits of a people to the wishes of their rulers, that a nation, deeply excited and fairly involved in such a contest can ever be reduced to subjection.

The whole country was, at this time, overrun by small parties of royalists; the men employed in these predatory excursions were usually needy adventurers, the very scourgings of the gaols, horse-thieves and desperadoes, let loose like so many blood-hounds, with free license to plunder and to gorge themselves

with the blood of the helpless Americans. Though it may be true that neither Lord Rawdon nor Col. Balfour took any part, personally, in such proceedings, yet these outrages passed under their eyes, and if they did not see them, it was because they deemed it politic to turn away from the scene, and purposely to keep themselves in ignorance of practices, of which it became them to know nothing—but the benefits of which they hoped to reap. The British had stipulated that the prisoners on parole should be protected in their persons and their property, but with the full power of extending this protection, they suffered them to be indiscriminately plundered; their estates to be devastated; their slaves carried away; their stock driven off; their houses burnt; and their crops destroyed. Even the persons of the Americans were treated with as little ceremony as their property; every species of insult was heaped upon their heads; their wives and daughters were insulted in their presence, and on the slightest attempt at resistance by the heads of families, they were cruelly beaten and often savagely butchered. One of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of this city, who was an eye-witness of many of these outrages, declares, in a paper now before us, “that the bare recollection of them, even at this day, almost curdles the blood in his veins.”\*

We have now before us a file of the Royal Gazette, for the years 1780 and 1781, published “by authority” in Charleston, an examination of which, shews that the *Commandant* had deliberately adopted a system of *coercion*, by which, all those who had taken part in the Revolution were to be compelled to come back to their allegiance to the British Government. We all know (what fully appears from these papers) that prisoners, on parole, were often arrested and put into loathsome dungeons—that the prison-ships were crowded with gentlemen of the highest character and standing, denied the comforts, and often the necessities of life; that all prisoners were, by proclamation, prevented from disposing of their property, or following any pursuit or profession, and heavy penalties were threatened to those persons who should employ them in any species of labour. Turned out of their own houses, deprived of their property, prohibited to labour, and treated with every species of insult and contumely, it is not surprising that the spirit was sometimes broken, and the wretched and starving American compelled to seek bread for himself and his children, by swearing allegiance to the British Government. Against such—as with more than Roman fortitude, bore up against these unjust and cruel persecutions—was

\* Keating Simons.

prepared one still more cruel, which was to fill up their cup of bitterness. While they were themselves arrested and confined in the prison-ships, or sent to St. Augustine, an order was issued by Colonel Balfour, directing that the families of all such as did not forthwith return to their allegiance should depart from the city; but whither they were to fly, or how they were to procure the means of subsistence, it was impossible to conjecture. In the midst of this state of things, Mr. Hayne found himself in the beginning of the year 1781—the whole country, in and about his plantation, being in the actual occupation of the Royal militia. The small-pox, then the most dreadful pestilence known in America, had broken out in his family. His wife and several of his children lay at the point of death. At this unhappy and critical period, he was imperiously required by the Commander of the British forces in his immediate neighbourhood, *to take up arms as a British subject*, or to repair immediately to Charleston as a prisoner. A separation from his family, by which he must have left a beloved wife and helpless children, in the last stages of a fatal disease, to the humanity of an enemy, on whose tender mercies he well knew how little reliance could be placed, seemed now to be inevitable. Resistance was, of course, out of the question, and enchained by his affections to the dying bed of an amiable wife and two lovely children, flight was impossible. His conduct, on this trying occasion, is thus related by Lee:—“Colonel Bellingall, of the Royal militia, in the district of Hayne’s residence, waited on him from personal respect, and communicated the orders he had received. Hayne asserted his *inviolability under the capitulation of Charleston*, represented that the small-pox was then raging in his family, that all his children were ill with the disease, that one of them had already died, and his wife was on the verge of dissolution. Finding the remonstrance unavailing, he declared to Bellingall that no human force should remove him from the side of his dying wife.” A discussion followed, and Mr. Hayne was at length assured, that on proceeding to Charleston, he should be permitted to return to his family, on merely engaging to “demean himself as a British subject, so long as that country should be covered by the British army.” Thus seduced, he repaired to Charleston, and “presented himself to Brigadier General Paterson, with the written agreement of Colonel Bellingall, and solicited permission to return home.” The request was refused, and he was then told that he must either become a British subject, or submit to close confinement. In this cruel and unexpected dilemma, Mr. Hayne was reduced to the alternative of abandoning his wife and children to their fate, or of swearing allegiance to the



British crown. He had, by an unworthy artifice, been drawn into the hands of his enemies, and he was now to decide between his duties as a husband and a father, and his obligations as a citizen. In the agony of his soul, he waited on his friend Dr. Ramsay, and addressed him in the following words:—"If the British would grant me the indulgence, which we, in the day of our power, gave to their adherents, of removing my family and property, I would seek an asylum in the remotest corner of the United States, rather than submit to their Government; but, as they allow no other alternative than submission, or confinement in the capital, at a distance from my wife and family, at a time when they are in the most pressing need of my presence and support, I must, for the present, yield to the demands of the conquerors. I request you to bear in mind, that previous to my taking this step, I declare that it is contrary to my inclination, and forced on me by hard necessity. *I never will bear arms against my country.* My new masters can require no service of me but what is enjoined by the old militia law of the Province, which substitutes a fine in lieu of personal service.—That I will pay, as the price of my protection. If my conduct should be censured by my countrymen, I beg that you will remember this conversation, and bear witness for me, that I do not mean to desert the cause of America."

"In this state of *duress*," continues the historian, "Colonel Hayne subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the King of Great Britain, but not without *expressly objecting* to the clause which required him 'with his arms to support the Royal Government.' The commandant of the garrison, Brigadier General Paterson, and James Simpson, Esq. Intendant of the British police, *assured him that this would never be required*, and added further 'that when the regular forces could not defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the Royal army to quit it.'" We must here pause in our narrative, to inquire whether a sufficient apology can be offered for the conduct of Colonel Hayne in thus "taking protection?" The Earl of Moira asks, with seeming incredulity, "where was the British officer to be found," who could have admitted of this "conditional fidelity!" And in the same spirit, he censures General Lee's credulity in believing it possible "that a principal staff-officer of the British army," could have promised to the prisoner, "a Court of General Officers," when there were none such in the Province; and yet, we shall presently quote the order itself, in which, under the signature of "C. Fraser, Town-major," the promise is expressly made. The Earl of Moira states that the original record of all the proceedings in the case

of Colonel Hayne, were thrown overboard and lost; but, fortunately, copies of the most material of them were carefully preserved by Colonel Hayne himself, and the package containing them, was (at that awful moment, when, in the presence of an assembled multitude, he was about to give an example of "how an American could die") solemnly deposited in the hands of his son. In assuming the principle that it is not possible for a British officer to be ignorant or unmindful of his duty, Lord Moira attempts to establish for his countrymen, an admirable standard of morals, and doubtless, a very convenient test of historical truth; against the adoption of which, however, at least in this country, the records of our history, and the testimony of the surviving soldiers of the Revolution, will, we apprehend, oppose an insuperable bar. It is absolutely certain, that Colonel Hayne did declare in the presence of Brigadier General Paterson, and the Intendant of Police, "that he would never bear arms against America," and, that he was assured by them "it should never be required of him." The fact was known to all the American party in Charleston; *it was personally known to the historian Ramsay*, who records it, and could be even now established in a Court of Justice:—and, that Major Fraser did promise "a Court of General Officers," (meaning, probably, a *General Court-Martial*) is equally certain. We shall not enter into an elaborate argument in vindication of the conduct of Colonel Hayne in "taking protection." The mere statement of the case, in shewing the necessities of his situation, carries with it the only vindication of which the act is susceptible. As a husband and a father, a separation from all that he held most dear, in the awful condition in which they were placed, was, perhaps, impossible; and, as he had formerly declared, "that no human force should separate him from his dying wife," so now, he felt a monitor within, which constrained him to submit to the compulsion of circumstances. Men who sit down in their closets to decide on questions of sentiment and feeling, are little qualified to come to a correct conclusion: yet we have never met with any person, who had read the simple and touching account of this part of Colonel Hayne's story, who did not admit that he was under a species of *moral* necessity to act as he did. Having thus made his peace with the British Government, on the only terms of which they would admit, he returned to his family, only to receive the last breath of his expiring wife, and to commit to the grave another of his children. A man less scrupulous than Mr. Hayne was, would now have considered himself as totally absolved from all his obligations to the British Government, first, by the artifice by which he had been seduced into the garrison

at Charleston; and, secondly, by the moral compulsion by which he had been constrained (to use the language of that day) to "take protection." But he was a man of the most scrupulous regard to honour, and though his heart was full, almost to bursting, with indignation at the base artifices of which he had been made the victim, he resolved, most religiously, to observe the terms of the compact on his part, so long as the British Government should be faithful to it on theirs.

The clouds which had hung so darkly over the cause of America, now began to disperse. Greene, not more emphatically, than justly called, "the Saviour of the South," once more unfurled the banners of freedom, and rallied around him the scattered remnants of the Southern army. The whigs, goaded almost to madness by the insolence and oppressions of the enemy, flew to arms, and a series of brilliant actions, in the most rapid succession, spread dismay in the British ranks and British councils, equalled only by the joy and exultation with which the emancipated Americans beheld the dawn of another glorious day. As Greene advanced in his career of conquest, the British commanders, compelled to retreat before him, like lions driven from their prey and their accustomed haunts, wreaked their indiscriminate vengeance on every thing, animate and inanimate, that fell within their reach. Colonel Hayne, whose residence was in a district originally occupied by the British troops, now found himself placed in a situation of great and peculiar embarrassment. Lord Rawdon had sought refuge in Charleston, and though the British troops, with diminished numbers, still kept the field;—the line of posts, by which they had enclosed the lower portion of the State, had been broken through, and redoubt after redoubt, fell before the arms of the advancing Americans. Parties of the mounted Militia penetrated into Colonel Hayne's neighbourhood, and he found himself at length encompassed by his former friends. An interesting anecdote is related by Lee, that at this crisis, a detachment of the American horse surrounded the house of Colonel Hayne, and the late Paul Hamilton, one of the beloved companions of his youth, endeavoured to persuade him to take part at once with his countrymen, or, at least, to aid them by a supply of horses. In his reply, he "stated frankly the change which had taken place in his political condition, refused to unite with his friends in support of a cause, the success of which was the most ardent wish of his heart," and declined to furnish the horses, declaring his fixed resolution to be faithful to his engagement to the British Government, so long as they should perform their part of the contract. At this time, the residence of Colonel Hayne

was alternately in the possession of the opposing parties, and though he had honorably fulfilled his engagements towards the British Government, yet from a very natural suspicion, that as his heart was known to be with his countrymen, it could not be long before his hand would be raised in their cause, Colonel Hayne was now *peremptorily required to repair immediately to the British standard*. The fact, that this requisition was actually made, rests on authority which cannot be doubted, and now finding himself released from all obligations to those who had thus openly violated the express contract, by which it was stipulated that he should never be called upon to bear arms against his country, as well as the implied condition which secures allegiance to a conquering party, only while protection is afforded, Colonel Hayne repaired with a few of his neighbours to the American camp, and commenced at once, those military operations, which terminated in his being captured, and brought to Charleston. Here, Colonel Hayne was committed a close prisoner to the provost, where he remained for several weeks, and *until Lord Rawdon came to town*; he then received from the Town-major the following note :

*"To Mr. Hayne.*

*" 26th July, 1781.*

SIR—I am charged by the Commandant to inform you, that a Council of General Officers will assemble to-morrow at ten o'clock, in the Hall of the Province, to try you. I am, &c.

*" C. FRASER, Major of the Town."*

On the next day, he received another note, of which the following is a copy :

*" To Mr. Hayne."*

*" Thursday Evening, 27th July, 1781.*

SIR—I am ordered by the Commandant to acquaint you, that instead of a Council of General Officers, as is mentioned in my letter of this morning, a Court of Inquiry, composed of four General Officers and five Captains, will be assembled to-morrow at ten o'clock, in the Province Hall, for the purpose of determining, under what point of view, you ought to be considered.

You will immediately be allowed pen, ink and paper; and any person that you choose to appoint, will be permitted to accompany you as your counsel, at the same hour and place. I am, &c.

*" C. FRASER, Major of the Town."*

Before this Court he was accordingly taken. Of the proceedings before that Board, Colonel Hayne, in his letter to

Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, gives the following account: the correctness of which has never been questioned.

"———Having never entertained any other idea of a Court of Inquiry, nor heard of any other being formed of it, than of its serving merely to precede a Council of War. I did not take the pains to summon any witnesses, though it would have been in my power to produce many; and I presented myself before the Council, without any assistance whatever. When I was before that assembly, I was further convinced that I had not been deceived in my conjectures; as I found that the members of it *were not sworn, nor the witnesses examined upon oath*; and all the members, as well as every other person present, might easily have perceived, by the questions which I asked, and by the whole tenor of my conduct, that I had not the least notion that I was tried or examined upon any affair, on which my life and death depended. Neither do I believe, that the members themselves, had any idea of that sort."

The day after the Court had closed its proceedings, Colonel Hayne received a notice in the following words:

*To Mr. Hayne, in the Provost's Prison.*

MEMORANDUM.

"Sunday, 29th July, 1781.

"The Adjutant of the Town will be so good as to go to Colonel Hayne in the Provost's prison, and inform him, that in consequence of the Court of Inquiry held yesterday and the preceding evening, on his account, Lord Rawdon, and the Commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Nesbit Balfour, have resolved upon his execution, on Tuesday, the 31st instant, at six o'clock, for having been *found under arms*, and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British Government, *though he had become a subject*, and accepted the protection of that Government, after the reduction of Charleston.

"(Signed,)

C. FRASER, *Major of the Town.*"

And though he was respited for forty-eight hours, in order to permit him to see his children, and on account, (as it is expressly stated in the order of reprieve) of the "humane treatment shewn by him to the British prisoners who fell into his hands;" yet, Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour remained inflexibly resolved that he should expiate his supposed offence on the gibbet, and he was accordingly executed on the 4th of August, 1781. The fortitude with which he conducted himself on the trying occasion, and the noble example which he exhibited in death, are all re-

corded by the historian of Carolina, in language worthy of the subject.\*

We will now proceed to inquire into the *justice* and *legality* of the proceeding, of which, the subjoined note gives so touching an account; and, after a very brief vindication of the conduct of Colonel Hayne, will examine the arguments of the Earl of Moira, and dispose of them as well as we may. Colonel Hayne's conduct, in taking up arms, it appears to us, is susceptible of a very easy justification. He set out with the determination, "under no circumstances whatever, to bear arms against his countrymen." That determination he had made known to Dr. Ramsay, and had avowed to the face of the British officers at the time he entered into the compact. When in open violation of the clear understanding of all the parties to that compact, *he was required to take up arms*; he was released, at once, from all his obligations. It was precisely one of those contracts in which its violation by one of the parties left no redress to the other but

\* The following is the brief and pathetic description, given by Dr. Ramsay, of the melancholy event.

"After Colonel Hayne's fate was fixed, he was repeatedly visited by his friends, and conversed on various subjects with the fortitude of a man, a Philosopher and a Christian. He particularly lamented that, on principles of reciprocal retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the shedding of much innocent blood. His children, who had lost their other parent, were brought to him in the place of his confinement, and received from his lips the dying advice of an affectionate father. On the last evening of his life, he told a friend, 'that he was no more alarmed at the thoughts of death than at any other occurrence which was necessary and unavoidable.' He requested those in whom the supreme power was vested, to accommodate the mode of his death to his feelings as an officer; but this was refused. On the morning of the fatal day, on receiving his summons to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered the annexed papers to his eldest son, a youth of about thirteen years of age.—'Present,' said he 'these papers to Mrs. Edwards, with my request, that she would forward them to her brother in Congress. You will next repair to the place of execution—receive my body, and see it decently interred among my forefathers.' They took a final leave. The Colonel's arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his person. The procession began from the Exchange, in the forenoon of the fourth of August, 1781. The streets were crowded with thousands of anxious spectators. He walked to the place of execution with such decent firmness, composure and dignity, as to awaken the compassion of many, and to command respect from all. There was a majesty in his sufferings which rendered him superior to the pangs of death. When the city barrier was passed, and the instrument of his catastrophe appeared full in view, a faithful friend by his side observed to him "that he hoped he would exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die." He answered, with the utmost tranquillity, 'I will endeavour to do so.' He ascended the cart with a firm step and serene aspect. He inquired of the executioner who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted? Upon being informed of his design, the Colonel replied, 'I will save you that trouble,' and pulled it over himself. He was afterwards asked, whether he wished to say any thing, to which he answered, 'I will only take leave of my friends, and be ready.' He then, affectionately, shook hands with three gentlemen—recommended his children to their care—and gave the signal for the cart to move. Thus fell, in the bloom of life, a brave officer, a worthy citizen, a just and upright man. Furnishing an example of heroism in death that extorted a confession from his enemies, 'that, though he did not die in a good cause, he must, at least, have acted from a persuasion of its being so.'"

in the abandonment of all its provisions. It is idle to suppose that he ought to have repaired to Charleston and humbly besought, as Lord Moira suggests, the interposition of Colonel Balfour. He had once before tried a similar experiment, and knew too well how little reliance was to be placed either on his justice or humanity, to trust to that security. We apprehend, that unless he had consented to surrender himself, bound hand and foot, to his persecutors—unless he was prepared to expose himself to the living death which assuredly awaited him in the prison-ship, he had no alternative, at this crisis, but to take up arms with his countrymen—and sure we are, that if Colonel Hayne could have anticipated, with certainty, the fate which awaited him, such anticipation would not have swerved him from his course. We are greatly mistaken, indeed, in the character of the man, if he had not long before resolved to embrace death in any shape, rather than raise a paricidal arm against his country. Colonel Balfour in his letter to General Greene, relies on a principle in aggravation of the supposed offence of Colonel Hayne, which, when properly considered, affords, we think, of itself, a sufficient justification for his conduct. “I must conceive,” says Colonel Balfour (“without adverting to the particular cause of dispute between Great-Britain and this country) that on the subjection of any territory, the inhabitants of it owe allegiance to the conquering power, (in the present case, a voluntary acknowledgment was given, and consequent protection received;) and that, on any account, to recede from it, is justly punishable with death, by whatever law, either civil or military, is then prevalent.” Now, if it was true that the conquest of the country, including Colonel Hayne’s residence, bound all its inhabitants in fresh bonds of allegiance to Great-Britain, then the questions which have been raised relative to the rights and duties of a “prisoner on parole,” as well as the obligations imposed by taking protection,” are all absorbed by another, and that a plain matter of fact, whether the same country had not been reconquered before Colonel Hayne repaired to the American camp. General Greene well remarks, in his reply to Colonel Balfour, “you observe that the inhabitants of every country at war, owe allegiance to the conquering power. The right of conquest, from partial success, is often made use of to levy contributions, but I believe *there are no instances where the inhabitants are punished capitally for breach of parole, given under such circumstances, especially while the two parties are contending for empire;—and this act of severity complained of, is the more extraordinary, as you had long lost that part of the country, and upon your own principles the inhabitants owed allegiance to the conquer-*

ing power." General Lee insists upon the same thing, and even supposing the question of the re-conquest to be doubtful, no one would pretend to justify the extreme rigour, which should punish as a capital offence, an act of which it was so difficult to determine, whether it was an act of duty or a crime. On this point the Earl of Moira prescribes for the British officers a rule of conduct which must, under all circumstances, have relieved them from embarrassment. They set out, we have seen, with the principle, that the conquest of a country, binds the inhabitants, *ipso facto*, in the bonds of allegiance—they assume to themselves to judge, that a part of South-Carolina was conquered after the fall of Charleston, in 1780, and that, therefore, all the inhabitants residing there owed allegiance to the conquerors—but when it is alleged by the American officers that, according to the same rule, the country having been re-conquered in 1781, the inhabitants were released from their allegiance to the British Government, the Earl of Moira insists, that though the fact might have been so, it was not for British officers to acknowledge its existence, or "to act upon any personal conceptions of the sort;" in other words, the rule laid down by themselves was to be so applied as to operate at all times and under all circumstances, only in their own favour. We should also contend, that in an *invaded country*, no part could be considered as conquered while any part remains unsubdued, nor in the case of *the United States*, while there was an army in the field, in a single State in the Union. But if partial conquests were to weigh any thing, then it is clear that the part of the country in which Col. Hayne resided, was, at the moment he took up arms, in the actual occupation of the American troops. Having now got rid entirely of every matter which concerns the character of Colonel Hayne as a *patriot* and a *man of honor*, we come, finally, to consider the *legal defence* set up on the part of those by whose orders the execution was perpetrated.

The ground on which Lord Moira now attempts to justify the execution of Colonel Hayne, is, that "he was, from his correspondence with the enemy, while within our (the British) posts, A SPY, in the strictest sense of the word;" and he therefore insists "that nothing was requisite in his case, but to identify his person, previously to hanging him on the next tree." The bold manner in which this charge is brought forward, near forty years after the transaction occurred, and the easy confidence with which the Earl of Moira relies upon it, as conclusive of the question, affords a stronger illustration than we remember ever to have come across, of the facility with which men *invent excuses* for an act after it is done, which formed no part of the motives to its



perpetration. If Colonel Hayne had been A SPY, liable, according to the laws of war, "to be hanged upon the next tree," his case, however great the sympathy felt for him by his countrymen, could never have created the least embarrassment to the British commanders. Nor is it possible to conceive, for a moment, that General Greene and his officers, who were minutely acquainted with every fact and circumstance connected with it, could have been led, the one into the empty bravado of threatening retaliation, and the other of entering into a solemn and public agreement (which Johnson justly calls "a noble act of self-devotion") to abide in their own persons, by the consequences of that measure. The case of Colonel Hayne is likened by the Earl of Moira to that of Major André. But putting entirely out of view, the marked difference between *the treatment* received by these two unfortunate men—the open and deliberate investigation which the case of André underwent, before a Court composed of the most respectable officers in the army, and proceeding with all the forms recognised by the usages of war—and the hurried manner in which Hayne was forced before a board of officers, without counsel or witnesses, he, as well as they, unconscious that his life was in jeopardy—passing over the marked difference in the kindness and courtesy displayed by Washington and his officers towards André, and the harshness and cruelty exhibited towards Hayne—hardly yielding to the importunities of his friends, a few brief moments of life, to enable him to take leave of his children—it is clear, that in a legal point of view, there is not a single circumstance common to the two cases. André was taken *in disguise*, within the American lines, carrying on a treasonable correspondence with an American officer, and he *was*, therefore, "A SPY, in the strictest sense of the word." Colonel Hayne was an American officer, engaged in open war, and captured, bravely fighting at the head of his regiment, and no more within the British lines, than Marion or Sumter, who, alternately, assailed the front and rear of the enemy. But the argument, that Colonel Hayne was condemned as a spy, comes directly into conflict, not only with all former defences, but with every other ground of justification, now set up by the Earl of Moira himself, who insists, that his having received protection from the British, deprived him of the advantages attached to the character of an American—that he became, in fact, a British subject, and, by afterwards joining the enemy, was guilty of "TREASON—treason, too, of a deep and complicated dye." Now, it matters not how deeply Colonel Hayne had involved himself in guilt, if, to the crime of rebellion, he had added that, which is said to absorb all others, the

"sin of ingratitude"—if he was a *British subject*, he was entitled to a fair and impartial trial, and could not lawfully be hung on the next tree. We must remark, that according to the common understanding of mankind, (and we do not profess to be qualified, either by our reading or our habits, to take a mere technical view of the subject) a *spy*, is an enemy, who, clothing himself in the garb of a friend, passes secretly into a hostile camp, to gain intelligence; and, we will allow, that a British soldier, found within his own lines holding correspondence with the enemy, may be deemed a traitor, and if taken in the fact, may, under certain circumstances, be shot down like a deserter from the ranks in the day of battle. But, if once made a *prisoner*, he could hardly be proceeded against, otherwise than as a traitor, before a court of competent jurisdiction. A *spy* is described by the best writers, as "one sent to gain intelligence in an enemy's camp;" he is one employed "to watch the motions and actions of others, particularly as to what passes in an army;"—the use of spies (says Vattel) "is a kind of clandestine practice or deceit in war. These, by insinuating themselves among the enemy, discover the state of his affairs, pry into his designs, and give intelligence to him who employs them;" and our own statutes make "lurking" in or about the camp, an essential ingredient in the offence. Now, by what officer, and ~~where~~ was Colonel Hayne "employed" at the time he was captured? Was he "employed for clandestine purposes" by General Greene, or General Marion, or any other officer? No, he was acting under a commission granted by the State of South-Carolina, appointing him the military commander of a regularly organized regiment in their service. Was he actually occupied in "secretly gaining intelligence in the enemy's camp?" Was he found, like Andre, in disguise, with a feigned name, carrying on secret negotiations within the acknowledged limits of the enemy's lines? No, he was taken *in arms*, wearing the uniform, and having in his pocket, a commission as an American Colonel; not employed in the office of "gaining intelligence," but openly conducting a *military expedition*, under the walls of Charleston, and measuring weapons with the British cavalry sent out to encounter him? And even if "the debatable land," the scene of these operations, could have been considered as, constructively, in possession of the British, nay, as even within their lines, (which it certainly was not) still it would be as absurd to consider the commander of a corps, making a hostile inroad into the enemy's territory, or, the leader of a storming party, as a *spy*, as it would be to consider him, a burglar or a high-way robber. It cannot be pretended, therefore, that Colonel Hayne, what-

ever may have been the merits of his conduct in other respects, could possibly be considered as a spy ; and when overpowered by numbers, he was compelled to yield, if that accusation had been made against him, he could have proudly pointed to his prisoners taken in open fight, to the dead and wounded of his enemy, just repulsed by a detachment of his regiment under Colonel Harden, and might have exclaimed in the language of the poet,

“ I came—no spy  
With purpose to *explore*, or to disturb  
The secrets of your realm.”—*Milton*.

But we have evidence still behind, which we think Lord Moira himself would be compelled to acknowledge as conclusive, to shew that Colonel Hayne was not considered by Colonel Balfour and himself, as a spy, that *he was not proceeded against as such*, and that never, until the letter before us was written, was the idea entertained by any one. It will be recollected, that General Greene remonstrated, promptly and decisively, with Colonel Balfour (Lord Rawdon having, immediately after the deed was done, left the country) on the subject of Col. Hayne's execution, demanded an explanation of the grounds on which it had taken place, and declared his determination if these were not satisfactory, immediately to retaliate on any British officer of the regular army, who should fall into his hands. Thus called upon, Colonel Balfour was, of course, bound to disclose *the true grounds* on which Lord Rawdon and himself had proceeded. If they considered Colonel Hayne as a spy, and had acted against him as such, he had only to say so, and to shew that the usual proceedings in such cases had been resorted to, and there was an end of the question. As in the case of Major André, the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, before whom the facts had been ascertained, must have satisfied General Greene, and precluded all further question. But so far from pursuing this plain and obvious course, it is not even pretended by Colonel Balfour in his letter to General Greene, that Colonel Hayne was considered as a spy. No criminal correspondence of any kind was alleged against him ; on the contrary, he expressly states that it took place because he was one of those “*found in arms*, after being, at their own request, *received as subjects* since the capitulation of Charleston”—thus putting their defence on a ground, (the merits of which we shall presently consider) but entirely different from that of his being considered as a spy. We will mention another circumstance, if any thing, still more conclusive. Colonel Hayne, when carried before the

Board of Officers, had not, it appears, the most distant idea that any thing more was intended, than a preliminary inquiry to determine the mode in which he was to be tried. This idea, the President of the Court strengthened, by telling him, as related by Garden, in his interesting "Anecdotes of the Revolution," to retain a valuable paper "till he should be brought before the Court Martial that was to determine his fate." He went before the court without counsel or witnesses, and it may be therefore supposed, how much astonished he must have been, when informed the next day by the Town-major, that in consequence of the Court of Inquiry held yesterday, Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour had resolved upon his execution, "for having been found under arms, and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British Government, though he had become a subject, and accepted the protection of that Government, after the capitulation of Charleston." He immediately addressed a remonstrance to Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, setting forth the harshness and injustice of the proceedings against him, and after strongly contending that if he was to be considered as a British subject, he was entitled to a fair and public trial; if as an American officer, to his parole, he makes the following very remarkable observation:—"In case of *spies*, a Court of Inquiry is all that can be necessary—but that accusation NEITHER IS, NOR EVER HAS BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST ME." In their answer to this letter, it is not even hinted that Colonel Hayne was mistaken in this assertion, nor are the proceedings before the Court of Inquiry (the only lawful tribunal for determining his fate, if he had been considered as such) at all relied upon, but he is simply informed, that "*his execution is not ordered in consequence of any sentence of the Court of Inquiry*, but by virtue of the authority with which the commander-in-chief in South-Carolina, and the commanding officer in Charleston, are invested, and their resolves are fixed and unchangeable." Here then is conclusive evidence that it never was pretended by those who ordered the execution of Colonel Hayne, that he could be deemed a *spy*—that he was not proceeded against as such, and it equally clearly appears, that there was not a single circumstance in the case, which attaches to it this odious character: and yet the Earl of Moira now offers this defence for his conduct, and this, we must presume, is one of "the many circumstances" which have been "misapprehended" in this country.\*

\* Lest it should be supposed, that when Lord Moira speaks of Colonel Hayne's "correspondence with the enemy, while within our (the British) posts," he meant to charge him with having, before he took up arms, engaged in a correspondence of some sort with the Americans, we think it proper to state, that no such allegation

The next, and indeed only remaining ground, on which it is pretended to justify the execution of Colonel Hayne, has the advantage of being the true one on which Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour actually proceeded; it is on this alone, therefore, that they can now rest their justification. "The execution of Colonel Hayne," says Colonel Balfour in his letter to General Greene, (before quoted) "took place by the joint order of Lord Rawdon and myself, in consequence of the most express directions from Lord Cornwallis to us, in regard to all those who *should be found in arms*, after being, at their own request, *received as subjects*, since the capitulation of Charleston. Before we enter upon the merits of this defence, it is proper that we should disembarass ourselves of "the orders of Lord Cornwallis," to which allusion was made, for the double purpose of dividing the responsibility of the measure with another officer of high rank, and of diverting General Greene from the immediate execution of his threatened retaliation, by engaging him in a negotiation with that officer. The orders of Lord Corn-

was ever made against Colonel Hayne. We have personally consulted an American staff-officer, (then a prisoner on parole) who attended the Court of Inquiry, and he assures us, that no attempt was made to show that Colonel Hayne had offended in any way, *before* he repaired to the American camp. He states that the proceedings before that Board, were the most summary imaginable, and the proofs were confined exclusively to the facts that Colonel Hayne had taken protection, and afterwards resumed his arms. An address, made by Colonel Hayne to his troops, (breathing, as our informant declares, the noblest sentiments of patriotism and humanity) and the testimony of the officers who took him, were almost the only evidence offered in the case. But he is positive, that neither before the Board, nor any where else, at that, or any other period, was the charge of a "criminal correspondence" with the enemy, or of any other improper conduct, made against Colonel Hayne, excepting so far as these may have been involved in the act of repairing to the American camp, under the circumstances in which he was placed. As to the allegation, now first made by the Earl of Moira, that he had "debauched a portion of the enrolled militia, at the head of whom, he menaced with death, all persons in the vicinage, and that he devastated the property of all who fled"—it is altogether new to us, and there is not a shadow of evidence to support it. It is contradicted by the conduct of Colonel Hayne on assuming the command of his regiment, (as recorded by Garden) "in obtaining a solemn promise from all who were to serve under him, that an immediate stop should be put to every unnecessary severity," and the resolution then publicly avowed by him, of "inflicting exemplary punishment on any individual who should indulge in pillage, or commit any act of inhumanity against the foe;"—it is contradicted by "his humanity to the prisoners who fell into his hands," as acknowledged by the enemy, even after his condemnation. The "debauched militia" were, doubtless, the Americans who repaired to Greene's camp—"the persons menaced with death," were the soldiers of the enemy—and the "property devastated," was that necessarily consumed in conducting his military operations. These charges remind us forcibly, of some of a similar character, once preferred by an attorney against a worthy friend of ours, who having consented to engage in an amicable suit with his neighbour, respecting the title to a piece of land, read, to his utter dismay and confusion, in the legal process with which he was served on the occasion, how he had, "with force and arms, broken his neighbour's close, trodden down his grass, cut and carried away his timber trees, and other wrongs and enormities then and there committed, to the damage of his said neighbour, ten thousand dollars."

wallis, whatever they were, could, of course, have had no particular bearing on the individual case of Colonel Hayne—they must have been in the nature of general instructions, as to the course of policy which ought to be pursued by the military commanders at the South, and, of necessity, left every thing to their own discretion. In relinquishing to others, the actual command in South-Carolina, Lord Cornwallis left in their hands, the necessary powers to decide on the propriety of making examples, of such persons as might become amenable to martial law. It is significantly remarked by Colonel Lee, on this part of Balfour's letter, that "it did not escape observation, that Colonel Balfour, when attempting to shield himself and his coadjutor, under cover of *instructions*, withheld their *date*." His suppression (says he) naturally excited a belief, that "the orders of Lord Cornwallis, were previous to Greene's recovery of that part of Carolina, in which Hayne resided; and he adds, that "after the re-conquest by Greene, they could not be applied with justice." This ground, however, seems now to be abandoned, as the Earl of Moira, in the letter before us, says not one word of the execution having taken place, by virtue of "the orders of Lord Cornwallis; but, on the contrary, details the arguments by which Colonel Balfour attempted to convince him, of the necessity of the measure, and by which (as it would appear, very much against his will, and after repeated and persevering efforts on his part, to drive Colonel Balfour from his determination) he was at length induced to consent to give the execution the sanction of his name, "that it might vouch to Sir Henry Clinton, with whom he (Balfour) was on ill terms, for the *public policy* of the measure." All these circumstances clearly shew, that the execution, in fact, took place by the authority of Lord Moira and Colonel Balfour, who claimed the power to destroy or to spare, according to their own notions of "public policy." Nor in our view of the matter, is it of much importance by whose authority the execution took place, the legality and justice of the measure itself, being the only material point in the controversy.

It is due to the truth of history, however, to remark, that Lord Moira clearly shews, (what from the very nature of things, must necessarily have been the case) that the orders of Lord Cornwallis, were not usually considered as dispensing with the exercise of a sound discretion, even in matters of a less doubtful character, than the execution of a prisoner without a trial. On the subject of retaliation, he asserts, "that both Colonel Balfour and himself, had severally, *direct orders* from Lord Cornwallis, to check by retaliation, the merciless severity with which

the civil government treated the loyalists who fell into their power. With numbers in our hands, (says he) justly amenable to rigour, each of us had taken upon himself to dispense with that injunction."

We now come back to the principal, indeed the only ground on which the lawfulness of the execution of Colonel Hayne can be contended for ; and here we must remark, that there is a strong distinction between the justification of the measure, on the known and acknowledged principles of *public law*, and the defence of it as a measure of necessary severity, on grounds altogether of "*public policy*." It sometimes happens, in the conduct of all wars, and especially of civil wars, that a military commander finds himself compelled to suppress, by the exercise of a "rigour beyond the law," some popular movement, or to attain some other temporary advantage. When an officer acts on these principles, he must come before the public with the confession of the unlawfulness of his acts, pleading the purity of his motives, or the urgent necessities of his situation, as an apology for his offence. In cases of this nature, though the world may pardon the offender for the sake of his motives, or the benefits which have been derived from the offence, yet, the moral sense of mankind is not shocked, by the attempt to confound the law of necessity, with the principles of justice, or the rules of public law. "Necessity (it has been tritely, though well said) has no law." *Inter arma leges silent*, is no less true now, than in the days in which it assumed the dignity, and acquired the force of a maxim : and yet who will contend, that acts, which can only be excused by the application of *this maxim*, can be justified on the principles of *public law*. If it is contended, that the execution of Colonel Hayne was *necessary* as an example, in order at that crisis, when the British commanders "were surrounded by defection on all sides," to deter the Americans by "the terrors impending over them" from joining the standard of their country, and at the same time, to afford encouragement to those, whose fortunes and lives were risked in the cause of Britain, "by an assurance that the joint stake" (to use the words of Lord Moira) "should be *so managed*, as to give them a fair chance for success in the contest"—if, in short, the sacrifice of Colonel Hayne is put on the broad ground, that it was deemed necessary to advance the British interests in South-Carolina, it would be an idle waste of our own time, as well as that of our readers, to enter into an elaborate discussion of the subject. In that point of view, the illegality of the proceeding being admitted, the high offenders against the acknowledged rules of law and justice, may have their guilt aggravated or extenuated by the

motives by which they were actuated, or the temptations to which they may have yielded, but these cannot weigh a feather in the scale of public justice, much less deprive the innocent victim of the proud distinction of having fallen "a sacrifice to the cause of his country."

In considering the argument, that Colonel Hayne was amenable to capital punishment, by the arbitrary order of a military commander, without a trial of any sort, on account of "his having taken up arms after having received protection;" we are forcibly struck with the fact, that Lord Moira has not attempted to answer the plain, and it seems to us, conclusive argument urged by the prisoner himself, in his protest, and reiterated by every historian who has treated of the transaction; namely, "that Colonel Hayne was either to be considered as a British subject, or an American officer, and in neither point of view, could he be lawfully executed without a trial." That he had no trial, is admitted on all hands. Passing over the solemn mockery of carrying him before a Board of Officers, who appear to have had no object in view, and who, we are told, were convened merely for the private satisfaction of Lord Rawdon, to have the particulars of the case ascertained, and for the sake of "the *chance*," (we quote his own words,) "though he really could not believe the existence of *any such*, that circumstances might have been distorted by the animosity of Hayne's neighbours." Passing over the loose proceedings of that Board—how, we will ask, can any one fail to perceive, that no possible state of facts could have authorized the execution of Colonel Hayne, by the simple order of the military commanders, unless he was found to be a spy? If, by taking protection, he returned to his allegiance to the British Government, (and this is the view taken of the matter by Lord Rawdon, and the whole of the British party,) his was the guilt of *treason*. He was in law, neither more nor less than a traitor, and the only known proceeding by which he could have been brought to punishment, was by a fair and open trial, before a court of competent jurisdiction. We know of no authority vested in the commandant of Charleston—indeed, according to the constitution and laws of England, none such could have been invested, giving him the cognizance of all cases of high treason, and conferring on him the power of life and death, without appeal. If he possessed such an authority in the case of Colonel Hayne, he must have possessed it in all cases whatever, and then the people of the United States, who fell into the hands of the Royal commanders, had no security for their lives, beyond the good pleasure of military tyrants, many of whom, (as was emphatically the case with Colonel



Balfour) possessed neither the feelings nor the principles, which qualified them for any delicate or important trust. If it be true, that the Royal commanders came over to America with full power over the lives and fortunes, not only of the rebels, but even of those who should return to their allegiance, then were they invested with a power unknown to the Constitution of Great Britain—utterly repugnant to the laws and usages of the Province, and, we believe, never before conferred under similar circumstances.

But if such power was really possessed, it is surely incumbent on those who attempt to shelter themselves under it, to produce the warrant under which they acted;—and as none such has been produced, we are authorized to conclude, that no greater or other authority, was vested in Lord Moira or Colonel Balfour, then attached to them as Colonels in the army, in a country, which was, it is true, the scene of a bloody civil war, but in which, *the rebels were recognised as open enemies*, and admitted to all the rights and privileges accorded by the laws and usages of war. So much for the case of Colonel Hayne, considering him as *a British subject*, executed without a trial, and as such the British commanders would alone consent to consider him. But if he was an *American officer*, he was guilty of no offence, of which Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour could take cognisance, except that of having *broken his parole*. His release, under “a protection” from the British Government, (whether absolute or conditional) could not, considering him as an American officer, have amounted to more than a discharge from confinement *on parole*; and his taking up arms, at a subsequent period, (supposing it to have been without any release from his parole, by the conduct of his enemies) placed him, when captured, only in the situation of a prisoner, who had broken his parole. In this point of view, it can hardly be seriously contended, that he became liable to military execution, and, most assuredly, not by the arbitrary mandate of the commanding officer, without even a form of trial. On the first point, however, some difference of opinion seems to have existed, among those who have discussed the subject. Lord Moira, it is true, does not contend that Colonel Hayne, as an American officer, was subject “to be hanged on the next tree,” for having broken his parole; but when in the Parliament of Great Britain, the subject was brought before the House of Lords, on the 4th of February, 1782,\* on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, it was contended, by Lord Walsingham, Lord Stormont, and the

\* See British Annual Register, for 1782.

Chancellor, "that Colonel Hayne having been taken in arms, after admission to his parole, was liable to be hanged up *instantly*," and the Earl of Huntingdon (the uncle of Lord Rawdon) stated, that he had authority from Lord Cornwallis to declare—"that this had been *the practice* in several instances under his command in North-America." This doctrine was denied by the Earls of Shelburne and Effingham, who insisted, that though "a great degree of ignominy, perhaps, a stricter confinement, was the consequence of such an action, it had never before entered into the mind of any commander to hang them." It was asserted by the Earl of Shelburne, "from circumstances within his own recollection, that the practice *in the last war*, had been totally different." It is to be observed, that those Lords who contended in favour of the right of summary execution, in the case of a *prisoner on parole*, acknowledged that they could produce no authority, except to shew that a *spy* might be so treated, but they insisted that the doctrine in the case of a spy, applied *a fortiori*, to a prisoner of war—a remark, the force of which, we find ourselves utterly unable to appreciate. We can discover no analogy whatever, between a spy, and a prisoner who has broken his parole; and should it ever come to be a settled doctrine, that the latter, as well as the former, may be "lawfully hanged up on the next tree," we think it must be on principles very different from those disclosed in that argument. As to the practice of Lord Cornwallis, quoted by the Earl of Huntingdon, as authority, it is a complete *petitio principii*—proving a disputed principle by a practice under that principle, before the principle itself is settled. It is, as if a high-way robber should adduce in support of his right to take a purse, his own previous practice. The conduct of Lord Cornwallis himself, was implicated in the transaction; his orders were referred to, in justification of the act, and when the legality of these proceedings constituted the very question to be decided, we are gravely referred to the opinion and practice of the Noble Earl himself. The cases collected by Judge Johnson, in his appendix to the first volume of "The Sketches," will shew, that according to this mode of reasoning, the conflagration of dwellings, the wanton destruction of property, and the infliction of corporal punishment, nay, even of death itself, without trial of any kind, are all lawful—for, of all these, it might, with equal truth and justice, be said, it was "*the practice* in many instances during the war." General Greene, however, when upbraiding the enemy with these cruelties, was able proudly to say, that *he had never* "authorised or countenanced an execution, but for the crime of desertion."

No opinion was expressed in the case of Colonel Hayne, by the House of Lords, the inquiry having been evaded, on the ground that no official information had been received by the Ministry on the subject. But on a point like this, it does not appear to us, that two men of sound minds, can possibly entertain different opinions. The rules of war, recognised in modern times, by civilized nations, give no power to the victors to take away the lives of the vanquished. A prisoner of war is entitled to protection and kind treatment; he must be clothed and fed, and taken care of, and no severity can be lawfully exercised towards him, but such as is absolutely necessary to deprive him of the power of doing mischief. He may be disarmed, and kept in prison, and may even be put in irons, if he cannot otherwise be safely kept. The practice of enlarging prisoners on a parole, or "promise, not again to bear arms, until regularly exchanged," was introduced for the convenience of belligerents, who often found it impossible to provide for the number of prisoners who fell into their hands. On the part of the prisoner so released, it binds him under the obligations of honor, not again to bear arms, under the penalty of the infamy which must attend so flagrant a breach of faith, and the certain consequence should he again be taken, of being kept in close confinement to the end of the war. If a breach of parole, subjects a prisoner to any other penalties than these, we know not what they are, and shall be glad to see the authorities, and to examine the arguments in support of such a position. What does the prisoner gain by giving his parole? Release from imprisonment. What does he forfeit for the breach of it? All claim to that liberty which was extended to him, only on conditions which he has not observed. We admit, that there are cases on record of the infliction of capital punishment, on persons taken in arms, after being released, whether with or without a parole; but all these cases, when examined, will be found to be mere arbitrary exercises of authority, under the pressure of particular exigencies, and are generally intended to break the spirit of a people by impending terrors. The most remarkable case of this kind, in the records of modern warfare, is that which occurred under the orders of Buonaparte, during his Egyptian campaign, at the siege of JAFFA, and it may serve as a fair specimen of all the rest. The story is differently told by various historians; but we shall copy the substance of it from Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*.

"After the breach had been stormed, a large part of the garrison, estimated by Buonaparte himself, at twelve hundred men, which Miot raises to betwixt two and three thousand, and others exaggerate still

more, remained on the defensive, and held out in the mosques, and a sort of citadel, to which they had retreated, till, at length, despairing of succour, they surrendered their arms, and were, in appearance, admitted to quarter. This was on the 18th of March. On the 20th, two days afterwards, this body of prisoners were marched out of Jaffa, in the centre of a large square battalion, commanded by General Bon.—Miot assures us, that he, himself, mounted his horse, accompanied the melancholy column, and witnessed the event. They were escorted to the sand-hills, to the south-east of Jaffa, divided there into small bodies, and put to death by musketry. The execution lasted a considerable time, and the wounded, as in the *fusillades* of the Revolution, were dispatched with the bayonet. Their bodies were heaped together, and formed a pyramid which is still visible, consisting now of human bones, as originally of bloody corpses.”

“The cruelty of this execution, occasioned the fact itself to be doubted, though coming with strong evidence, and never denied by the French themselves. Napoleon, however, frankly admitted the truth of the statement, both to Lord Ebrington and to Doctor O’Meara. Well might the author of this cruelty write to the Directory, that the storm of Jaffa was marked by horrors which he had never elsewhere witnessed. Buonaparte’s defence was, that the massacre was justified by the laws of war—that the head of his messenger had been cut off by the Governor of Jaffa, when sent to summon him to surrender—that *these Turks were a part of the garrison of El Arish, who had engaged not to serve against the French, and were found, immediately afterwards, defending Jaffa, in breach of the terms of capitulation.*”

To the defence thus set up by Napoleon, Sir Walter Scott justly objects—

*First*—“That if the Turkish Governor had behaved like a *barbarian*, the French General had revenged himself by the storm and plunder of the town.

*Secondly*—“That nothing could justify an indiscriminate massacre of a multitude of persons.”

*And Lastly*, that—

“Admitting them all to stand in the same degree of criminality, although their breach of faith might have entitled Buonaparte to refuse these men quarter while they had arms in their hands, that right was ended, when the French General received their submission, and when they had given up the means of defence, on condition of safety for life, at least.”

The views taken by Sir Walter Scott, come so exactly up to our ideas, that we willingly adopt his sentiments as our own.

“This bloody deed (says he) must always remain a *deep stain on the character of Napoleon*. He seems to have argued, not on the character of the action, but solely on the effect which it was to produce upon his own combinations. His army was small; it was his business to strike terror into his numerous enemies, and the measure to be adopted, seemed

capable of making a deep impression on all who should hear of it. Besides, these men, if dismissed, would immediately rejoin his enemies.—He had experienced their courage, and to disarm them, would have been almost an unavailing precaution, where their national weapon, the sabre, was so easily attained. To detain them prisoners, would have required a stronger force than Napoleon could afford, would have added difficulty and delay to the movement of his troops, and tended to exhaust his supplies. That sort of *necessity*, therefore, which men fancy to themselves, when they are unwilling to forego a favourite object, for the sake of obeying a moral precept—that necessity, which might be more properly termed a temptation difficult to be resisted—that necessity, which has been called the tyrant's plea, was the cause of the massacre at Jaffa, and must remain its *sole apology*.

“It might almost seem that Heaven set its vindictive brand upon this deed of butchery, for about the time it was committed, the plague broke out in the army.”

In one point, however, the case of Colonel Hayne differs essentially from “the butchery of Jaffa”—there was *no necessity* for the bloody deed. His execution was not only the sacrifice “to views of general policy” of an individual “not truly standing within the scope of capital punishment”—and, therefore, (according to the confession of Lord Moira himself) “an atrocious act”—but it was a sacrifice from which, in fact, it was morally impossible that any advantage could be derived to the British cause. That this cause, was at the time, actually considered desperate by Lord Moira himself, is proved conclusively, by the fact that he sailed a few days afterwards for Europe, without leaving behind him, a single officer, with whom the command of the British army, in an active campaign, could have been entrusted. What then were the true motives for the execution of Colonel Hayne? We answer, the vindictive feelings produced by the unexpected reverses of the British arms—the desire of offering a victim to the memory of André, (an idea so prevalent at that time, that General Greene himself, relates “Balfour merely wrote on the back of a petition presented to him, for the pardon of Colonel Hayne—‘*Major André*’—and sent it back) and the indignation excited by the capture of Williamson, under the very walls of Charleston. It was *an act of vengeance*, excuted by men, who had been, of late, too much accustomed “to feel power and forget right,” and had waded so deep in blood, that the execution of one rebel more, could hardly disturb the serenity of their feelings, even, though that rebel was Colonel Isaac Hayne.\*

\* There are a few other topics connected with this subject, which it was our intention to have noticed. But our limits will barely admit of our adverting to one in a note. It has been urged against the British commanders, by all the American

We turn now, with unfeigned reluctance, to that part of Lord Moira's letter, in which the attempt is made to transfer, from himself to Colonel Balfour, not the *blame*, for he considers it an honor, but the *credit*, of having been the chief instrument in the execution of Colonel Hayne. It is certainly, not a little singular, that both Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, while professing to consider the order for the execution of Colonel Hayne, as having conferred honor on those who issued it, (and which

writers, (and, indeed, by General Greene himself) that the execution of Colonel Hayne was a flagrant violation of the *cartel* for the mutual exchange and release of prisoners, which had just been ratified—and, it is supposed by Judge Johnson, that the *consciousness* of this, led to the extraordinary condition annexed to the reprieve of Colonel Hayne, "that if General Greene should offer to expostulate in his behalf, from that instant, the respite would cease, and he should be ordered for immediate execution." The Earl of Moira, however, attempts to explain this condition, by declaring that it was intended to guard against an interposition "which, as it must have been in *irritating terms*, would infallibly have precluded an excuse which he (Lord Moira) hoped to obtain, and which would afford a decent pretence for lenity," &c. Why the interposition of General Greene must necessarily have been "in irritating terms," and why it must have been followed by the immediate execution of the prisoner, does not very clearly appear. If, however, the proceeding was, in fact, a gross violation of the cartel, and the execution had, notwithstanding, been irrevocably determined on, it may be conceived why the British officers should have been unwilling to listen to any protest against the measure, before it had been consummated. The following remarks of Judge Johnson, on this part of the subject, cannot fail to be read with interest:—

"In addition to this outrage to law and humanity, the execution of Colonel Hayne, involved in it an evasion of national faith, and was attended with circumstances of the most disingenuous concealment. A cartel, it will be recollected, had been negotiated in May, for the exchange of prisoners. In June, Major Hyrne had been despatched into Charleston to adjust the details. Finding it difficult to liquidate the balance of militia prisoners, a sweeping contract had been made and published, that a general release of such prisoners, from parole and from prison, should take place on a day specified. During the whole months of June and July, Hyrne had resided in Charleston, engaged in this business; and the British had attempted to except from the benefit of the cartel, but five individuals, of whom Hayne was not one. Nor was the fatal object of the mock trial he had undergone, revealed to him until the day that Major Hyrne left Charleston. The cartel expressly makes provision for future as well as present militia prisoners, both officers and men; it contains no exception unfavourable to any description of militia officers, and Hayne was in arms at the time it was agreed upon. When the exception was set up, unfavourable to the five individuals alluded to, the exchange was suspended, and their case referred to officers mutually chosen; but they not being able to concur in opinion, had recommended that the prisoners excepted to, be enlarged on their paroles, and the exchange proceed as to the residue; which was done accordingly. Two of those individuals, Mr. Smith and Mr. Skirving, were precisely circumstanced as Mr. Hayne was.

"Here then, at least, it was known to the British commanders, that the American General claimed the benefit of the cartel in favour of all persons, similarly situated with Colonel Hayne. Nay, as he was not specially named, the general recommendation of the commissioners in favour of the prisoners, might well have been claimed in his behalf. The right to put him to death, at least, was not contended for, nor the least ground furnished to him, for suspecting such a design, until the very day that Major Hyrne had turned his back to depart. Nor did they dare to let the knowledge of their intention be communicated to the last; for they conjectured that, to prevent the execution, the American commanders would perform acts of severity, which they would not so readily execute, when the evil was past remedy. Or, perhaps, they shrunk from the appeal, they anticipated would be made to honor, humanity and national faith."—*Sketches of the Life of Greene*, v. ii. p. 200.

Lord Rawdon actually takes shame to himself for having opposed) should manifest so much anxiety to be released from any active agency in the matter. In the letter before us, Lord Moira insists, that so far from his having been chiefly instrumental in effecting the sacrifice, he strenuously opposed it, almost to the last moment, and declares, that his concurrence finally, "was absolutely ineffective in any other point of view, (in a district where he was totally under his—Colonel Balfour's—control) than that it might vouch to Sir Henry Clinton, for the public policy of the measure." We have now before us, on the other hand, the written statement of a respectable magistrate of this city, who assures us, that shortly after the war, "he dined in London, at the table of Mr. James Penman, a loyalist of the highest respectability, in company with Colonel Balfour. Among other topics of conversation, the execution of Colonel Hayne was mentioned, when Colonel Balfour said, "It has been whispered abroad, that Lord Rawdon, since his return to Europe, has endeavoured to throw the odium of that harsh measure on me. But let the blame rest where it ought—on himself. He was immoveably fixed in his purpose to destroy, and I conscientiously believe, delayed the sailing of the Packet, in which he was to embark for Europe, till the execution took place, from the apprehension that I would be induced, after his departure, to grant a pardon."

The contest between these gallant officers, each insisting on relinquishing to the other, the honor of what they consider a meritorious action, is, doubtless, as disinterested, as it is singular. It is certain, however, that the execution took place by the *joint order* of Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, and, therefore, by whatever motive, and for whatever purpose, they consented to act together, we are bound, in our critical judgment, to pronounce, that they are equally responsible for the measure itself. In the course of our inquiries on this subject, we have been able to discover but a single fact, which gives any colour to the statement made by Lord Moira, that if the case had been left in his hands, the fate of Colonel Hayne might have been different, and that fact we cheerfully record to his honor. It is, that when some ladies connected with Colonel Hayne, interceded both with Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, in his behalf, they were received with great politeness and professions of good wishes, by the former, while they were repulsed by the latter, with brutal insolence. No one, we believe, has ever supposed that Colonel Balfour really had any desire to save Col. Hayne, and we are bound to add, that by the Americans, at least, it never was supposed that Lord Moira really felt so dis-

posed. On the contrary, General Greene says, in his letter to Congress, "it is said that Lord Rawdon was the great instigator and principal cause of Colonel Hayne's being executed;" and again, in his letter to President M'Kean, "Lord Rawdon *was* the principal instigator of his execution, and there is hardly a mile from Camden to Charleston, in which he has not left monuments of his barbarity, by arbitrary and savage executions, most of which happened even without the form of a trial;"\* and we have it on the authority of an old and most respectable inhabitant of this city, now alive, "that Governor Bull caused himself to be carried in a litter to the quarters of Lord Rawdon, in order personally to intercede for the pardon of Colonel Hayne: that on his return home, the dejection of his countenance too plainly spoke the ill success of his interference, and he exclaimed, 'the die is cast, the unfortunate prisoner must suffer—*Lord Rawdon is inexorable.*'"

Still it is possible, that the feelings of Lord Moira may have recoiled at the thoughts of awarding the death of a felon to "a gentleman, (we borrow the language of General Greene) amiable in his character, respectable in his connexions, and of eminent abilities." But he could not have felt any very vehement desire to save him from that fate, as it is clear, that without his concurrence, Colonel Balfour would not have dared to venture upon a measure, which, it must have been foreseen, would produce great excitement in the American camp. Without any regard to the question of military rank, we cannot hesitate to believe, that such a man as Balfour, "a mere petty tyrant, haughty, capricious and unfeeling"—a man, who, according to Ramsay, "had raised himself in the army by his obsequious devotedness to the humours and pleasures of Sir William Howe, and who displayed, in the exercise of his new office, all the disgusting insolence, natural to little minds, when puffed up by sudden elevation"—could have dared to resist the earnest, zealous and decided interference of Lord Rawdon, in behalf of Colonel Hayne. Nor do we consider it, in this point of view, of much importance, whether Lord Rawdon or Colonel Balfour was the senior officer. The fact that the concurrence of both was required to the order of execution, demonstrates that the

\* The spirit which animated Lord Rawdon at this time, is well exemplified in the following extract from his orders to Colonel Rugely, near Camden.—"If any person shall meet a soldier straggling without a written pass, and shall not do his utmost to secure him, &c. the persons so offending, may assure themselves of rigorous punishment by *whipping*, imprisonment, or being sent to serve in the West Indies," &c.—and he adds, "I will give *ten guineas* for the head of any deserter belonging to the volunteers of Ireland, and *five guineas* only, if he be brought in alive."—*Vide Ramsay's Revolution in South-Carolina*, v. ii. p. 138.



privileges of military rank were, on that occasion, disregarded. We cannot, however, pass over the assertion of Lord Moira, that Colonel Balfour was actually his commanding officer, without expressing our surprise, that this fact should, for the first time, have been made known to the world, by a letter published in 1824. It is certain, that General Greene, and all his officers, considered Lord Rawdon as the commanding officer in South-Carolina, after the departure of Lord Cornwallis. The idea that Lord Rawdon was the officer "on whose fiat the fate of Colonel Hayne depended," was so universal, both among whigs and tories, that of the numerous statements we have received, there is but one which expresses a doubt upon the subject. "It was most unquestionably considered, (says a venerable Judge, who was then in the city) that Lord Rawdon was the commanding officer in South-Carolina, and Colonel Balfour only commandant of Charleston and its vicinity, and there cannot be a question, that a fiat from Lord Rawdon would have saved Colonel Hayne." A respectable gentleman, then an officer of the British police, declares, "that not only in his own, but in the universal opinion of the garrison, the severity exercised towards Colonel Hayne, proceeded from Lord Rawdon." An officer, who was at that time the bearer of a flag of truce from General Marion, accompanied by a letter, distinctly recollects that it was addressed to "Lord Rawdon, and not to Colonel Balfour." Another old and respectable gentleman states, "that the first intimation received in the American camp of the event, was conveyed in the emphatical words, 'Lord Rawdon has hung Colonel Hayne;' and we have before us, the evidence of many others to the same effect. On referring to the Royal Gazette, we find a joint proclamation, under date of 24th May, 1781, in which, Lord Rawdon is *first named* as a *Colonel*, and Balfour as *Lieutenant Colonel*, and last though not least, we have before us, the petition by the ladies of Charleston, for the pardon of Colonel Hayne, referred to by Lord Rawdon himself, as *drawn by Major Barry*, (we believe, at that time, military secretary) addressed not to Colonel Balfour, but to *Lord Rawdon*, "AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF SOUTH-CAROLINA." We find also in the Royal Gazette, a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Rawdon, dated 13th July, 1781, announcing the promotion of Lord Rawdon to the rank of Brigadier General, a letter which ought to have been received here prior to the 4th August, the day of Colonel Hayne's execution. We profess not to be able to explain the contradictions between these facts and the letter of the Earl of Moira. But that Colonel Balfour was ever entrusted with any power beyond the mere police duties of the

military commandant of Charleston, or that he had any actual "control" over Lord Moira, we cannot bring ourselves to believe. However this may be, we are sure that Lord Rawdon could have saved Colonel Hayne, and instead of doing so, that he gave his sanction to an execution which never would have taken place without it, and, therefore, whether that act entitles him to praise or to blame, he must bear it all. His theatrical display, in his dinner speech to the British officers, (as described by himself,) publicly announcing his concurrence with Colonel Balfour in the measure, must, forever, remove all doubts on this head.

We have now performed, as well as we were able, what we conceived a duty to the memory of one of the most revered of our martyrs. It is due to the country, that not a single trophy of the Revolution should be suffered to be destroyed, and we should be sorry to see recorded on one of them, the memorable inscription on the beautiful naval monument in Washington, "mutilated by Britons." We would, if we could, preserve them all, in their simple majesty and beauty, to kindle in the bosom of our American youth, to the latest posterity, the sacred glow of patriotism. We have always considered the moral and political lessons, taught by the history of the Revolution, as the most precious inheritance derived from our fathers. The exploits of our heroes—the wisdom of our statesmen, constitute a portion of our national wealth, which, we had fondly hoped, would have withstood the assaults of time itself. If we were called upon to decide, by what measures, those who live in the present age, could confer the greatest blessings on posterity, we should say, without hesitation, by leaving behind them, those great examples of wisdom and of virtue, which are the most enduring monuments of national greatness.

To the youth of any country, and especially of a free country, what incentive to noble actions can be offered, equal to the examples of the poets, orators, statesmen and warriors, who have immortalized the country which gave them birth, and adorned the age in which they lived. It is not, therefore, without feelings of mortification and regret, that we have witnessed, of late years, repeated attempts to strip from American history, some of the most brilliant trophies of the Revolution. It may be true, that our history, like all others, is "of a mingled yarn of truth and falsehood," but we fear, that any person who employs himself, at this day, in picking out the threads, will impair the beauty, if he does not destroy the strength of the fabric. It is too late now, to make a fresh distribution of the honors awarded by their contemporaries to the worthies of the Revolution. The

partners of their toils—the very witnesses of their exploits, are slumbering in the dust, and we may be assured, that, if with the feeble and glimmering lights we now possess, we attempt to correct the supposed errors in our revolutionary history, we shall leave it much more imperfect than we found it. Let all Americans, therefore, unite in guarding the fair fame of the patriots and sages, whose names are embalmed in our history, as we would guard the bones of our fathers. Let the chaplet which gratitude has bound around their brows, be as enduring, as the blessings we owe to their exertions.

*Note.*—We cannot close this article without bringing to the view of our readers, as affording an illustration of the truth of these remarks, the case of the gallant Colonel Campbell, who fell at the battle of the Eufaw Springs. The noble speech which Ramsay attributes to that distinguished soldier, who, after receiving a ball in his breast, asked, "which army is victorious?" and being answered, that of his country, exclaimed, "then I die contented," and expired—had placed him in public opinion, by the side of the proudest heroes of Greece and Rome. This distinction he continued to enjoy, until the publication of Lee's Memoirs, in 1813. In that work, General Lee says, "Colonel Campbell, highly respected and beloved, was killed. This excellent officer received a ball in his breast, in the decisive charge which broke the British line, while listening to an interrogatory from Lieutenant Colonel Lee, then on the left of the legion infantry, adjoining the right of the Virginians, the post of Campbell. He dropped on the pommel of his saddle, and was borne in the rear by Lee's orderly dragoon, in whose charge he expired, the moment he was taken from his horse. Dr. Ramsay has represented the death of this highly respected officer differently, from information which, no doubt, the Doctor accredited. But as the writer was personally acquainted with the transaction, he cannot refrain from stating it, exactly as it happened. The Virginians had begun a fire, which was not only against orders, but put in danger Rudolph and his party, then turning the enemy's left. To stop this fire, Lieutenant Colonel Lee galloped down the line to Campbell, and while speaking to him on the subject, the Colonel received his wound, of which he soon expired, without uttering a word." Now, on reading this, who could doubt that the exclamation ascribed to the last moments of Campbell, had never proceeded from his lips? General Lee's authority on the subject, was deemed conclusive. And yet Judge Johnson has since given to the world, the testimony of Major Pendleton, who states, "I was not present when Colonel Campbell received his wound; but late in the afternoon, I met with Colonel Campbell, carried upon a litter by some soldiers. I got off my horse, and went to him. He perfectly retained his senses, but was in great pain, and seemed near his end. He asked me "who had gained the battle?" I told him we had completely defeated the enemy; "then," said he, "I die contented." I left him, and understood he died shortly after."

Major Lee, in the work before us, acknowledges that his father was mistaken, and accounts for the mistake by saying, that Colonel Campbell, after being seen by General Lee to fall senseless on the pommel of the saddle, revived so far, as to express the noble sentiments heard by Major Pendleton. The explanation is satisfactory. But who, after this, will be disposed to rely, implicitly, on newly discovered testimony for the correction of errors in our revolutionary history? It is obvious, that but for the circumstance of Major Pendleton's having survived the publication of Lee's Memoirs, one of our distinguished heroes of the Revolution, would have been despoiled of the fairest portion of his fame—American history would have been robbed of one of its most interesting and romantic incidents—and the country deprived of one of the brightest jewels in the crown of its glory.

ART. IV.—1. *Elements of Analytical Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical.* By F. R. HASSLER, F. A. P. S. New-York. Published by the Author. 8vo. 1826.

2. *The American Quarterly Review*, No. 1. March, 1827. 2d Edition. pp. 38–54.

3. *On the Arithmetic of Impossible Quantities; from the Works of JOHN PLAYFAIR, Esq.* Vol. III. Edinburgh, 1822. pp. 1–30. Published originally in the *Philosophical Transactions*, for 1779.

4. *On the Necessary Truth of Certain Conclusions obtained by means of Imaginary Quantities.* By ROBERT WOODHOUSE, A.M. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. Read January 8th, 1801. *Philosophical Transactions*. Vol. XIX. pp. 89–120.

5. *On the Independence of the Analytical and Geometrical Methods of Investigation; and on the Advantages to be derived from their Separation.* By ROBERT WOODHOUSE, A.M. &c. Read January 14, 1802. *Philosophical Transactions*. Vol. XX. pp. 85–126.

6. *Memoire Sur les Quantités Imaginaires.* Par M. BUÉE. Read June 20, 1805. *Philosophical Transactions*. Vol. XXIV. pp. 23–89.\*

It is something very remarkable in the present advanced state of science, that, while its most abstruse and difficult branches are making rapid progress towards perfection, the very elements of those branches are neglected. There is scarcely a phenomenon in nature, which is not brought under the dominion of the *modern analysis*, technically termed the calculus. La Place, whose views of science are as extensive as they are profound, informs us, that, when a few more irregularities in the planetary motions, shall have been developed by time, “the geometrician will, at once, comprehend in his formulæ, both the past and future state of the system of the world.” It is, however, an

\* The following essays have been also particularly referred to, and some of them partially reviewed:—

1. On the Integration of certain differential Expressions, with which Problems in Physical Astronomy are connected, &c. By R. WOODHOUSE, A.M. F.R.S. &c. Read April 12th, 1804. *Philosophical Transactions*. Vol. xxii. pp. 219–279.

acknowledged fact, that notwithstanding all the sublime discoveries and improvements of the moderns, in the higher branches of the mathematics, its metaphysics, or that accurate knowledge of its elementary principles, in which the true philosophy of this science consists, were as well understood two thousand years ago, as at the present day. The state in which Euclid's Elements of Geometry are still suffered to remain, affords of itself, proof sufficient, to support this assertion—and yet these elements are more clearly and decidedly established, than any thing of a similar nature, which algebra or the modern analysis can exhibit.

It would seem then, that these elementary principles are beneath the notice of men of genius, who, at a glance behold, and, as if by instinct, jump to their conclusions. If this be so, the human mind presents a strange, and, probably, an unaccountable phenomenon, viz. that in its inquiries, the simplest truths, and the easiest modes of arriving at them, are, generally, the last perceived. La Place, in writing to Lacroix, (*"Traité du Calcul,"* &c. preface, p. 19) remarks this singularity, "*Cette métaphysique est presque toujours la dernière chose que l'on découvre—L'homme de génie arrive comme par instinct aux résultats; ce n'est qu'en réfléchissant sur le rout que lui et d'autres ont suivi, qu'il parvient à généraliser les méthodes, et à en découvrir la métaphysique.*"

Men, with an instrument in their hands, so powerful as the calculus, which places them so far above the reach of ordinary

2. *Philosophie Mathématique.* Nouveaux Principes de Géométrie de Position, et Interpretation Geometrique des Symboles Imaginaires. Par M. J. F. FRANÇAIS, Professeur à l'école impériale de l'artillerie et du génie. Annales des Mathématiques, &c. Rédigé par J. D. GERGONNE. Vol. iv. pp. 61-72.

Essai sur une Manière de Représenter les Quantités Imaginaires, dans les Constructions Géométriques. Par M. ARGAND. GERGONNE. Vol. iv. pp. 133-148.

Sur la Théorie des Imaginaires. Par M. FRANÇAIS. Note transmise par M. LACROIX, à M. VECTEN, Professeur de Mathématiques Spéciales au Lycée de Nîmes. Gergonne. Vol. iv. pp. 364-368.

Reflexions sur la Nouvelle Théorie des Imaginaires, suivies d'une application à la Demonstration d'une theoreme d'Analyse. Par M. ARGAND. GERGONNE. Vol. v. pp. 197-210.

3. *Théorie des Parallèles.* Essai par M. GERGONNE. Annales, vol. iii. pp. 353-357. Sur l'emploi de l'algorithme des Fonctions, dans la demonstration des theoremes de Geometrie. Par un ABOUZE. Gergonne. Vol. x. pp. 161-164.

Essai de Demonstration du Principe qui sert de fondement à la Théorie des Parallèles. Par un ABOUZE. Gergonne. Vol. xiv. pp. 269-272.

Examen de Quelques Tentatives de Théorie des Parallèles. Par M. STEIN, Professeur de Mathématiques au gymnase de Trèves, ancien élève de l'école Polytechnique. Gergonne. vol. xv. pp. 77-84.

Suite de l'examen de Quelques Tentatives, &c. Par M. STEIN. Gergonne. Vol. xvi. (1825 & 1826) pp. 45-54.

Lettre au Rédacteur des Annales, sur la Théorie des Parallèles. Par M. SERVON, Conservateur du Muséum d'Artillerie. Gergonne. Vol. xvi. pp. 233-238.

methods, are very apt to lose sight of the means, whereby that instrument was acquired—and while, apparently, erecting the most beautiful edifice, are too often building without a sure foundation. We cannot help being delighted when we perceive the advantages of a theorem, such as Newton's or Taylor's, at once presenting a whole science to our view; but we cannot be less delighted at the discovery of the steps which led to these results. We should, it is true, endeavour to generalize as we advance, but we should, at the same time, see our way distinctly, and not generalize too hastily—we should also endeavour to simplify as well as generalize, and to arrive, on every occasion, at the most elementary principles. *Le Système des connaissances*, says La Place, (*Cours de Sciences et Arts*, v. iv. p. 49) *liées entr'elles par une méthode uniforme, peut mieux se conserver et s'étendre. Preférez donc dans l'enseignement les méthodes générales, attachez vous à les présenter de la manière la plus simple; et vous verrez, en même tems, qu'elles son presque toujours les plus faciles.*" Could we reduce all the complicated theories of the modern calculus to a simple elementary principle, such as that of multiplication or addition, as Newton has done, with respect to the various phenomena of the heavens, in reducing them to the single principle of gravitation, we should render an important service to science. And that this may, and will be effected, there can scarcely be a doubt—for, as we can ascend from the most evident elementary principles, such as the axioms in geometry, and the simple rules of addition and subtraction, or multiplication and division in algebra, to the most complicated investigations and formulæ by the synthetic process; so by the analytic process, from results the most complicated, we can descend to their elementary principles. In this research, the calculus is, as yet, extremely defective; and the more we examine it, the more we discover the weakness of its foundations, as depending on itself alone.

These reflections have been elicited on perusing Hassler's Trigonometry, and the article which we have selected from the "*American Quarterly Review*," quoted above, and their truth, we have no doubt, will appear more evidently, as we proceed.

The Reviewer prefaces his remarks on Mr. Hassler's Trigonometry, by a history of this science, the most interesting part of which, is taken from Delambre. And this history constitutes by far, the greatest portion of the article. In the remarks on trigonometrical tables, the Reviewer says, (p. 48) that "the best tables of a *portable size*, are those of Gardiner, Taylor and Callet; the first of which is out of print; the second, inconvenient in its shape and *in its use*; so that those of Callet, of much less

cost, are to be preferred." In this enumeration, he omits the useful tables of Hutton. The Reviewer, calls the tables that he enumerates, portable; whereas, Taylor's are in folio; and although, according to the Reviewer, inconvenient *in its use*, its utility is well known to astronomers; the tables of sines and tangents being there calculated to seconds: whereas, in Callet, although a very useful work, these tables are only calculated to every ten seconds, except the four first degrees.

In describing the neglect of *theoretic trigonometry*, (p. 49) the Reviewer makes a variety of observations, to us, perfectly unintelligible. In the conclusion of this article, he inveighs severely against Simpson, for the "constant recurrence of radius" in his investigations, which our Reviewer says, "is to be *entirely neglected* in a properly conducted calculation." Now, it is well known; that in natural numbers, the radius is made to represent one or an unit; but in logarithmic numbers, it corresponds to the index one, which *cannot be neglected*, in a properly conducted calculation. For, although, in natural numbers, multiplying or dividing by one, does not vary the result, it is very different in logarithms; by means of which, the operation of multiplication is performed by addition, and that of division, by subtraction.—The rejecting of quantities in this manner, in the *calculus*, which do not affect the *abstract reasoning*, is often the source of considerable errors in practice. But great as the Reviewer's antipathy to radius appears to be, it is much greater against the language of the book itself—for in the same page he says, "that the very language of the book is obsolete; it *boots* not to dispute, whether the geometric or analytic method, in trigonometry, be the better, *the former is no longer in use* in any modern writer of reputation," &c. Yet we challenge this critic to point out one individual writer, whatever may be his reputation, that *has* advanced, or can advance one step, legitimately, without it. It is the foundation, and without this foundation, the superstructure cannot exist.

Our Reviewer next speaks of Euler, to whom he justly attributes the present form of the analytic treatment of trigonometry. But, as we shall presently see, from his own concession, it is more than probable that he never saw Euler's book on this subject. It is equally probable, that he never saw *Cagnoli's* work, of which he thus speaks, (p. 50) "The most extensive and important work on Trigonometry, is that of Cagnoli, an Italian writer; but *his method is mixed with the Geometric.*" He mentions no English writers—"Not (as he says) that they wanted the necessary talent, but that *they have wasted it upon unimportant objects.* However, when they at last

awoke to a sense of their deficiencies, the labour of recovering the ground lost by a century of neglect was enormous." Woodhouse's Trigonometry, first edition, is cited as an example of this deficiency. His second edition corrected, altered and enlarged, the Reviewer considers as patch-work. For he says, (p. 51) that "the additions are not so engrafted, as to make them parts of one harmonious whole." With this musical sentence, he introduces his favourite Hassler, where all this neglect is remedied. "For," as he remarks, "the time has arrived when it is possible to recast the whole subject, and reduce it to one consistent and uniform system. This is the object of the work before us, and the author has been, in no small degree, successful in its accomplishment." Again, (p. 53) "*Mr. Hassler then may be considered as having performed the same task in this elementary department, that La Place has, in the more important and elevated branch of the celestial mechanics.*"

Mr. Hassler has been more successful, if possible, in the estimation of the Reviewer, in discovering a new and important formula. The Reviewer says, (p. 53) "We have, however, discovered one formula, *entirely new to us*, and which, *so far as we know*, had escaped the research of any former analyst—it is that of a series for the tangent of a multiple arc, applicable to the calculation of that trigonometrical function." This formula may be seen in pp. 71–72 of Hassler's work. Had the Reviewer consulted Euler, of whom he so frequently speaks in his review, he would have found it, v. I. c. xxiv, pp. 199–201, of his "Introduction à l'Analyse Infinitesimale," as translated by Labey, or in the original work. Does it not clearly follow then, as we have before asserted, that this Reviewer never read Euler's work. Euler has other formulæ for this expansion, much more convenient for constructing tables, which Callet has inserted in his "Précis Élémentaire," prefixed to his tables. Had the Reviewer consulted Cagnoli's Trigonometry, he would have found Hassler's expression in c. ix, p. 11f, Champée's 2d edition. He would have found the same in La Croix's "Traité du Calcul." Introduction, p. 85. In the "Journal de l'Ecole Polytechnique." 2d cahier, p. 17. Prony, Euler and Cagnoli have given the expression independent of the fractional form. These authors have investigated the steps leading to this result, but Mr. Hassler has not. He refers, it is true, to the Binomial Theorem, but there are other functions of a transcendent nature, and complicated imaginary exponential quantities, which enter into this investigation, about which, the Author and his Reviewer are silent. We know, from geometry, and only from elementary geometry, that radius multiplied by the sine, and divided by the



cosine, or that the sine divided by the cosine, radius being one, will give the tangent. This constitutes the whole of Hassler's discovery. But to shew of how little consequence the development of a series for the tangent is, in making tables, let the Reviewer himself take any common table of logarithms, sines, &c. and allow radius to take its place in the simple formula mentioned above, and he will find, that by adding ten to the sine of any arc, and subtracting its cosine, the remainder will be the tangent. The simple formula itself, by means of a table of natural sines, will give the natural tangent.

The only difficulty then, consists in finding the expansion for the sine and cosine, which Mr. Hassler has not attempted.— Euler was the first who did attempt it, and almost every writer since his time, has followed his method. Arbogast "*Du Calcul des Derivations*," pp. 179–180, has, however, pointed out several limitations in this method, and Poisson has recently detected an absurdity in it, which had escaped every writer before him, although Lagrange attempted to render the method rigorous in his "*Theorie des Fonctions*," and pursued the subject still farther in his "*Calcul des Fonctions*." The Reviewer might even have discovered this new formula in Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, (Art. Sines); in Bonycastle's *Trigonometry*, and in Lacaille, "*Cours Elementaire*," 2d edition, p. 311. Legendre, and also Woodhouse, have each given expressions for the sine and cosine of multiple arcs, from which, that for the tangent, as we have shewn, immediately follows.

Does it not appear then, evidently, that the Reviewer's information is very limited on this subject? He may, therefore, well congratulate himself on the treasure he has discovered; it may, undoubtedly, add much to his knowledge. He seems to be aware of this, for, "upon the whole," says he, (p. 53) "we cannot but congratulate ourselves, that it should have fallen to our lot, at the commencement of our career as reviewers, to call the attention of our readers to such a work—a work that will afford to foreign nations, a high idea of the state of knowledge in our country."

But what idea will they form of our Reviewer's knowledge? What idea could they form of the state of science in our country, if this article should pass without comment, however unpleasant the task. The fact is, there is nothing in the whole of the work reviewed, that cannot be developed from a few theorems of geometry, thrown into an algebraical form, and then applying the most common rules of algebra to vary them. Is this the critic then, who has presumed to censure all the eminent writers on these subjects, which the English nation

has produced, and who has undertaken to place *Hassler* by the side of La Place? Is this the writer who has been bold enough to express *his opinion* of the geometric method, and who *believes* that it *must be abandoned*? However, in this belief, from the specimens we have before us, we are willing to do full justice to the purity of his motives, as we are of opinion that he really does not perceive its utility. Should this method, however, be abandoned, we have but little doubt, that we should soon become like Swift's ingenious architect at Laputa, who had contrived a new method of building houses, by beginning at the roof, and working downwards to the foundation, which he justified by the prudent practice of the bee and the spider, as others might, by the example of this well meaning critic and his author.

On the subject of abandoning the geometric method, we shall also give *our opinion*; but in justice to Mr. Hassler, it is proper we should permit him now to speak for himself. For this purpose, we have selected a few specimens from his introduction, not having leisure nor inclination to proceed much further. In the beginning of this introduction, Mr. Hassler informs us, that "mathematical science must, from its very nature, have taken its rise from the simple inspection of geometric figures." We must acknowledge, that we did not know, before Mr. Hassler gave us the information, that arithmetic, or the theory of numbers, which are branches of mathematics, took their rise from the simple inspection of geometrical figures.—Euclid, in the 7th, 8th and 9th books of his Elements, where he treats professedly of numbers, uses no geometrical figures. We cannot, therefore, give our entire assent to Mr. Hassler's assertion. We have always considered, and must yet consider, *abstract numbers* as very distinct in their nature, from magnitudes that have extension: From too little attention to this distinction, analytical investigations, and those of the highest grade, have frequently exhibited paradoxes, contradictions and absurdities; and the analyst entangled in these labyrinths, often stands astonished at anomalies which he cannot explain, nor comprehend.

Mr. Hassler next observes, "the *abstractions* on which the *calculus* is founded, and whose great extension and generalization has produced the *analytic method*," &c. In place of the calculus being founded upon something which Mr. Hassler calls the *abstractions*, and these producing the analytic method, we should have supposed, that the analytic method had produced the calculus. Mr. Hassler next observes, that "during the period that geometry constituted the principal part of mathematical

science, trigonometry was necessarily treated by the *synthetic methods, applicable to that branch of science*; and the solution of its several problems, attained by *mere construction*. Calculation was subsequently introduced, when the means were discovered, by which numbers could be applied, to express *the relations of quantities, which appear so different in their respective natures, as linear dimensions and angles.*" From this specimen, it would appear that Mr. Hassler has no distinct idea of either *geometric, analytic or synthetic methods*. In geometry, both the analytic and synthetic methods are used. These methods are used even in Euclid's Elements; for his *reductio ad absurdum* is analytic; and not one single proposition in the whole of his Elements, proved by *mere construction*. Such mechanical constructions, as this author speaks of, are only used in practical illustrations, and never allowed in demonstration. But how this profound analyst can shew the relation existing between quantities of different natures, such as lines and angles, we cannot conjecture.

After informing us that it now becomes necessary to study Trigonometry in a *truly scientific way*, and exhibiting his views of a *complete system*, about which, he appears to know as much as his Reviewer does of the *geometric method*, by which views, however, his elementary treatise is drawn up, he tells us, that the principles on which it is founded, are the following: "As straight lines and *angles or portions of the circumference of a circle* are incommensurable quantities, they cannot be *directly* compared. But the ratios between two of the sides of a right angled-triangle, will determine the magnitude of the acute angles; the third angle being always given, in consequence of the *primitive condition of rectangularity* in the triangle. This ratio then, is the only means by which *angles may be compared with straight lines.*" Here we are informed, that angles are portions of the circumference of a circle, and that the ratio between two of the sides of a right angled triangle, is the only means by which angles may be compared with straight lines. These are, certainly, discoveries *which have escaped the researches of any former analyst*, but discoveries very unlike that of the series of the tangent of the multiple arc, noticed by the reviewer. Mr. Hassler, however, informs his readers, that "it is of the greatest importance carefully to avoid confounding the lines that correspond to these ratios, or trigonometrical functions, when represented in a circle with these ratios themselves." With regard to this information, which may be important, we can only observe, *fat lux*.

Setting out then, with these ratios, with the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid, the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, (he forgets fractions, the extraction of roots, &c.) and the simple consideration of two angles united by *juxta*, or *superposition*, he arrives at the *second step in his system*. "This mode of proceeding (he informs us, p. 7) appears to lead to the direct aim, with the *least labour of intellect*, and thus, in the most easy way, to the final end; which is to present to the reader a *full system* of this branch of mathematics, in such a way, as to furnish every necessary element for the *solutions of trigonometry*, both plane and spherical, and for the use of analysis in general, and its numerous applications to *geometry*, and to *transcendent quantities*." We have heard of solutions of trigonometrical problems, but never before of the solutions of trigonometry, and solutions performed too, with so little labour of intellect.

He informs us, moreover, (p. 8) that by admitting the use of logarithms, he can change *addition* or *subtraction* into *multiplication*; that the circumference of a circle contains four right angles, (p. 10) but that an elementary book need not give *all that the author knows* on the subject, but all that is necessary to constitute a *complete system*." No doubt the author knows much more than he exhibits, which, unfortunately, is not sufficient to complete his system.

As these few specimens taken from the author's introduction, are sufficient to give us an idea of the accuracy of his expressions, and his critical knowledge of elementary principles, we think it unnecessary to proceed to the further examination of his *complete system*. For he appears to adhere to the maxim laid down in his introduction, (p. 9) where he remarks, that "it is with methods in mathematics, as with style in ordinary writings, that author is most easily understood, who *expresses himself in one uniform and fixed manner*, while a change in the method of expression, naturally introduces uncertainty in the apprehension of the sense of the writer."

We have already exhibited a sufficient portion of this author's imperfections, to shew that his Reviewer has greatly overrated his production. If Mr. Hassler had made himself a little more critically acquainted with the elementary principles of geometry, his trigonometry would, no doubt, appear to greater advantage. Yet he would be very far from being the great author, his Reviewer makes him, and his work be very inadequate, to give any thing like a correct idea, of the state of science in this country.

Good elementary treatises, in the lower department of the mathematics particularly, are yet desiderata. And we are of

opinion, that the improved state of science in a country, would be as much indicated by such treatises, as by those, the object of which, is nothing less than scaling the heavens, and developing the laws of the universe. It is not in exhibiting a few men, acquainted with the higher functions of science, that the progress of useful knowledge is indicated, but in exhibiting a nation, every member of which possesses as much science as is necessary for his own pursuits, or aims at those attainments which are characteristic of well informed individuals.

We shall now return to the Reviewer. A proper respect for his opinions, requires that we should take particular notice of one or two of his assertions. We should, however, probably have spared ourselves this labour, did we not find, that he had an advocate in Woodhouse, (Preface to his Trigonometry) whose opinion should not pass unnoticed. That he had, at present, the Edinburgh Review on his side, (see v. xxxi, p. 377, Review of Woodhouse's Astronomy) and that he cites the adoption of Lacroix (we suppose he means his Trigonometry) in this country, as having a tendency to banish the *geometric method*. In page 49, of the Review, he observes, that "the usual method observed in the colleges of this country, the *geometric*, may be considered as inadequate to the purpose, or when made adequate, much too laborious to the student." Again, (p. 54) "we have expressed *our opinion* of the geometric method, and *believe it must be abandoned*; a step to which, has already been made in the translation of Lacroix, for Harvard University."

Now, in Lacroix's Trigonometry, (we allude to his "Traité Elementaire," &c. 6th edition) he commences with geometrical propositions, investigated according to the principles of elementary geometry, and makes them the foundation of his system; and what to the Reviewer may appear singular, in an *analytic work*, he introduces the intruder radius in most of his formulæ. Legendre, also a profound analyst, follows the same plan.—Woodhouse does not go the length, however, that the Reviewer does, in conscientiously believing, that *geometry* must be abandoned, although his idea of the *geometric method* appears to be the same. In his preface, speaking of trigonometry as now extended, with its collateral uses, he remarks, that "to the knowledge of many of these, the geometrical method is unable to conduct us. *At some point or other of our inquiries, it must be abandoned*, and recourse be had to that, which, technically, is called the *analytic method*." Here we find, that it is only at some indefinite point, that the geometric method must be abandoned. And, if by the analytic method, he means only the application of the symbols

of algebra, or the calculus, in further developing the results of geometrical investigation, he is perfectly right. By adopting the *algorithm* of the calculus, we can push our inquiries much further, and condense into a focus, as it were, the results of extensive researches. This is, undoubtedly, an advantage; but this method is not, and cannot be, essentially different from the geometrical method.

It is evident, that any method which is calculated to reduce to a square inch, what, in ordinary operations, might extend over a square mile, without producing any obscurity in our conception of it, must be an advantage. The *calculus* has effected this in parts of geometry, but these parts are geometry still. And could we discover any symbols, or agree upon any convention of signs, that could enable our public speakers, to deliver in two or three minutes, what now takes two or three hours, and enable us also to understand them with facility, it would be an incalculable advantage. But, if at the same time, this convention of signs enabled all the nations on the earth to understand each other alike, or to speak the same universal language, the advantage would be, evidently, much greater.— Yet, after all, it would be language still, but language much improved. Now, the *calculus* has effected this in various parts of geometry; yet it is geometry still. Its methods, particularly in the higher geometry, have been varied, improved and extended, yet they do not cease to be essentially geometric methods.— Notwithstanding these improvements in the higher geometry, innumerable instances could be pointed out, where the ordinary method has decidedly the advantage. Take as one instance, Professor Adrain's method of determining the angle contained by the chords of two sides of a spherical triangle. (Additions to Hutton's Course.)

The elements of geometry appear not to admit of those improvements, although the language might be much abridged, and with advantage. These elements, *at least*, must, therefore, be retained.

Let us now attend to the remarks of the Edinburgh Reviewer. He observes, that "*Geometry and Analysis* were the standards, round which, the heroes of science rallied their forces; and so stoutly was the contest maintained by the keenness of the parties—for even in science, the spirit of party has its sway—that it was long doubtful which would be declared victorious. On the Continent, at length, and especially in France, the powerful operations of the calculus began to make some impression; and the splendour of its achievements threatened a

rapid destruction to its formidable opponent. The effects of victory were soon apparent. In England, geometry kept its ground for a much longer period, and even yet, is making a *faint-stand* at the very place from which it ought, long since, to have been *dislodged*." As we profess not to be partisans in any of the contests of European mathematicians, we shall attempt the further examination of this subject, with perfect impartiality. Indeed, so much do we admire both *geometry* and the *calculus*, and so convinced are we, that they mutually assist each other, that it is our wish they may both continue forever united; as we believe, however, that the opinions of men, such as Woodhouse and the Edinburgh Reviewers, though dazzled, we have no doubt, by the brilliant displays of Lagrange and La Place, aided by the calculus, may have a serious tendency to overturn those foundations of science, which ages were required to establish, we think it may not be uninteresting, and we hope not useless, to enter into a more minute detail.

Geometry is that science which treats of the properties or relations of whatever has *assignable extension or position: body, figure, distance, direction, position* in themselves, and in every relative point of view in which they can be considered, are therefore the subjects of this branch of knowledge. There is not a single phenomenon in nature, the investigation of which does not depend on geometry. For not a single phenomenon, not a change can take place in a particle of matter without motion, and that motion must be performed in some direction or in some line. Now, it is the business of geometry to explain the nature and properties of such lines, and combining these properties with actual experiments or observations, the causes which produced these phenomena, and the general laws which regulate them, are thus discovered. La Place has well observed, (*Système du Monde*, c. 3,) that "the curve described by the lightest atom, that seems carried about by the winds as chance directs, is regulated by laws as certain as the planetary orbs." In these inquiries, geometry is very much aided by algebra, its symbols and notation being so well calculated to condense and generalize its investigations; but in thus generalizing, the *calculus* is to be used with the greatest precaution. Algebra, or the calculus, being then only a species of improved language, introduced to aid geometry, it is astonishing that it should now be attempted to make the auxiliary, independent of the principal. While such attempts are making to reject geometry, it may not be amiss to consider, more particularly, what it is we are advised to abandon—nothing less than the following branches: *Elementary geometry*, the parent of all, which is content with the humble

though useful occupation of developing the properties of the *straight line* and the *circle*, by means of the *ruler* and *compass*. In this department, Euclid, although not without his faults, stands, as yet, unrivalled. The *conic sections* are sometimes, admitted in elementary geometry, as also the *geometry of the compass* alone, an ingenious specimen of which is given by Mascheroni—also the *geometry of the ruler*, specimens of which are given in Gergonne's Annals. *Descriptive geometry*, or the geometry of projection, is another branch, of which *Monge* was the inventor. *Analytic geometry*, where algebra is applied to geometry, is also an extensive branch. Descartes was the inventor of this, and since his time, various authors have treated of it. *Monge*, in particular, has also distinguished himself in this department. *Carnot* has hit upon a new and rich vein in his "Geometrie de Position," and, although this department is as yet but in its infancy, and little cultivated, we venture to assert that there is more of the true philosophy of mathematics to be collected from it, than from any other in existence, not excepting even *Wronski's* "Introduction," &c. *Transcendent geometry* is another very extensive branch of this science. Curves of every order, above the elementary, are here considered—logarithmic, exponential, &c. and their properties, with the surfaces and solids generated by them, are investigated. The most extensive department, however, is that of *mixt geometry*, where all the resources of geometry are put under contribution, in developing and explaining the phenomena of nature, and in its application to the various branches of the arts, which fall within its province. The geometry of lines, straight and curved; of planes; of surfaces; and of solids; embrace, however, the whole of the above divisions, in all of which, *position* and *extension* are considered. It may be, moreover, remarked, and the remark we deem of some importance, that reasoning on magnitudes, where the idea of position or extension is not introduced; although the reasoning may be mathematical, it cannot strictly be called geometrical; that when arbitrary or general symbols are introduced in these investigations, as long as they have a reference to position or extension only, the investigation is strictly geometrical; but when they relate to number, the investigation is then *arithmetical* or algebraical; algebra, or the calculus, being nothing more than *universal arithmetic*. The very term *calculus*, which, combined with geometry, embraces such a scope at present, derives its humble origin from the word *pebble*. Pebbles or calculi being used by the Roman youth, with their table or *abacus*, for arithmetical calculation.



The various departments of mathematics then are reduced to the two extensive branches—*geometry* and *arithmetic*. As to the distinctions of *synthetic* and *analytic* methods, the one considered as applying to geometry alone, the other to algebra alone—they are improper, both methods being common to each of those branches. Analytic geometry and geometrical analysis are, however, distinct in their modes of analytic reasoning.

The question is then reduced to this—shall we use arithmetic alone, and independent of geometry, or shall we use both? The question could be very easily answered from what we have already noticed; but we go further, and assert, that the *calculus*, independent of *geometry*, cannot remove the difficulties which occur in most of these investigations, when applied to the properties of extension, or to *position* and *direction*, and not to *number*.

“The paradoxes (says Playfair, in his “Arithmetic of Impossible Quantities,” published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1779, and re-published in vol. iii. of his works,) which have been introduced into algebra, and remain unknown in geometry, point out a remarkable difference in the nature of those sciences. The *propositions of geometry* have never given rise to controversy, nor needed the support of metaphysical discussion. In algebra, on the other hand, the doctrine of negative quantities and its consequences, have often perplexed the analyst, and involved him in the most intricate disputations. The cause of this diversity in sciences, *which have the same object*, must, no doubt, be sought for in the different modes, which they employ, to express our ideas. In geometry, every magnitude is represented by one of the same kind; lines are represented by a line and angles by an angle. The genus is always signified by the individual, and a general idea by one of the particulars which fall under it. By this means all contradiction is avoided, and the geometer is never permitted to reason about the relation of things which do not exist, or cannot be exhibited. In algebra, again, every magnitude being denoted by an artificial symbol, to which it has no resemblance, is liable, on some occasions, to be neglected, while the symbol may become the sole object of attention. It is not, perhaps, observed where the connection between them ceases to exist, and the analyst continues to reason about the characters, after nothing is left which they can possibly express: If then, in the end, the conclusions, *which hold only of the characters*, be transferred to the quantities themselves, obscurity and paradox must necessarily ensue.” Playfair then gives an instance in the rectangle of the parts of a line  $a$ , which is equal to a square,  $b^2$ . Making one of the parts  $x$ , the

other becomes  $a-x$ , whence  $x = \frac{1}{2}a \pm (\frac{1}{4}a^2 - b^2)$ , which value of  $x$  becomes imaginary when  $b^2$  is greater than  $\frac{1}{4}a^2$ . But to suppose this, is to suppose contrary to the principles of geometry, that the rectangle of the two parts is greater than the square of the half. He then remarks, that "the same holds wherever expressions of this kind occur;" and instances it again in the three cube roots of unity. He then concludes, that "the natural office of imaginary expressions is, therefore, to point out when the conditions from which a general formula is derived, become inconsistent with each other." He observes, however, that "when combined, according to certain rules, they have been put to denote real quantities, and though they are, in fact, no more than *marks of impossibility*, they have been made the subject of arithmetical operations; their ratios, their products, and their sums have been computed, and what may seem strange, just conclusions have, in that way, been deduced. *Nevertheless, the name of reasoning cannot be given to a process in which no idea is introduced.* Accordingly, geometry, which has its modes of reasoning that correspond to every other part of the algebraic calculus, has nothing similar to the method we are now considering; for the arithmetic of mere characters can have no place in a science which is immediately conversant with ideas. But, though geometry rejects this method of investigation, it admits, in many cases, the conclusions derived from it, and has confirmed them by the most rigorous demonstrations. Here then is a *paradox* which remains to be explained." Thus far Playfair. It will be found, however, that geometry, we mean analytic geometry, does admit this method of investigation; that it is geometry alone that can strictly account for these paradoxes, and that they arise from the symbols being made to represent *position, direction, or extension* in place of *number*, which is the proper subject for algebra or the calculus. Bernoulli, tom. iii. "opera." and M'Laurin Flux. art. 699-763, touched on this subject, but appear to have understood scarcely any thing of it. Their compensation of errors, which they supposed in explaining the ground of the fluxionary method is not correct. D'Alembert, Euler, and Foncenex, have considered the nature of these negative quantities more fully, and D'Alembert, in his prize piece, "Sur les Vents," shews that any algebraical quantity whatever, and composed of any number of imaginary quantities, may be reduced to the form  $a + b\sqrt{-1}$ . He has, however, used the differential calculus in this investigation, which is foreign to elementary algebra. Besides its own principles, on which its foundations rest, are more obscure than those of any other branch of mathematics. Lagrange arrives at the same conclusion, independent of

fluxions. (See *Traité de la resol. des eq: numeriques*, 1808, c. v. and note 9, p. 170—Lacroix *Traite du Calcul. Intr.*—also Ger-  
gonnes “*Annales*,” vol. iv. p. 20.) D’Alembert pursues this sub-  
ject in his “*Opuscles*,” vol. i. 6<sup>e</sup> memoire—vol. iv. p. 342—vol.  
v. § 2, p. 183—and vol. viii. § 2. p. 270. But he no where  
hints even at the real cause of these anomalies. Leibnitz, long  
before D’Alembert, noticed these imaginary quantities, and con-  
siders that they do not impede the calculus, “*Neque enim, (says  
he, “Opera omnia,” vol. iii. p. 53) illæ ullo modo vel calculis, vel  
constructionibus obsunt: Et veræ realesque sunt quantitates, si  
inter se conjunguntur, ob destructiones virtuales.*” Leibnitz  
was, however, aware of the paradoxes in those cases. “*Cete-  
rum ex illis, (says he, p. 54) quas habeo meditationibus circa  
radices equationum irrationales, necessario sequitur res satis  
paradoxa.*” He considers this subject further in his ninth letter  
to Oldenburg, p. 80, and asks the question, “*quis autem ex-  
primat  $\sqrt{-1}$ , appropinquando.*” He there also speaks of the  
destruction of imaginary quantities by compensation, and exhibits  
formulæ similar to those of D’Alembert. In his letter to Wallis,  
(p. 127) he has,  $a + b \sqrt{-1} + a - b \sqrt{-1} = 2a$ , and in his “*Spe-  
cimen Novum Analyseos*,” (p. 380) he reduces more complicated  
expressions to similar formulæ, and again asks this important  
question. “*Utrum omnes quadraturæ rationales ad quadratu-  
ram Hyperbolæ et Circuli reduci possint, quæ huc redit in nos-  
tra hac analysi?*” He there also shews that the positive sign,  
which occurs in his formula, refers to the circle, and the nega-  
tive to the hyperbola; and makes a variety of other observa-  
tions, some of which Playfair attributes to M’Laurin and Ber-  
noulli. They allege, says Playfair, (p. 6) of his “*Arithmetic*,” &c.  
that when imaginary expressions are put to denote real quanti-  
ties, the imaginary characters involved in the different terms of  
such expressions do then compensate or destroy each other. But,  
beside, that the manner in which this compensation is made, in  
expressions ever so little complicated, is *extremely obscure*, if it  
be considered that *an imaginary character is no more than a mark  
of impossibility*, such a compensation becomes altogether unin-  
telligible:—for how can we conceive (says he) one impossibility  
removing or destroying another? Is not this to bring impossi-  
bility under the predicament of quantity, and to make it a sub-  
ject of arithmetical computation.” To account for the origin of  
these imaginary quantities, Playfair has recourse to the expo-  
nential and imaginary values of the sine and cosine, and the  
investigation of them; according to the received arithmetic of  
impossible quantities; and at length arrives at the conclusion,  
that “every imaginary expression which has been found to

belong to the circle, is, by the substitution of real for impossible quantities, or of  $\sqrt{1}$  for  $\sqrt{-1}$ , converted into a proposition, which holds for the hyperbola. The operations, therefore, performed with the imaginary characters, *though destitute of meaning themselves*, are yet notes of reference to others which are significant." From investigations, relative to the circle and hyperbola, he shews that the imaginary characters are far from compensating each other, that they serve as *marks of impossibility*, and that, of consequence, the affinity between the circular arcs and hyperbolic areas, which he has pointed out, or between the measures of angles and of ratios, is the *only principle* on which the imaginary investigation can proceed. He further observes, (p. 21) that "*it does not appear that any instance has yet occurred where imaginary characters serve to express real quantities, if circular arcs, or hyperbolic areas are not the subject of investigation.*" This shews how little Playfair, himself, was then acquainted with the subject.

Woodhouse, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1801, vol. xix. in a very elaborate piece "on the necessary truth of certain conclusions, obtained by means of imaginary quantities," disapproves of the *analogies* of Playfair, as regards the circle and hyperbola, and undertakes to prove, that the rules of algebra are alone sufficient to account for every difficulty that presents itself. "Convinced, in my own mind, (says he, p. 93) that there can be neither *paradoxes* or *mysteries* inherent and inexplicable in a system of characters of our own invention, and combined according to rules, the origin and extent of which we can precisely ascertain." He, however, (same page) acknowledges that the imaginary forms resulting from extending the rules of common algebra to these imaginary quantities, *are put so only in virtue of this extension*. (See also p. 97.) Here then, evidently, he not only begs the question, but also makes no distinction between forms *purely analytical*, or referring only to numerical values, and those forms which are *geometrical*, and which refer to *position, direction, or extension*. Hence, (p. 94) he remarks, that "in the present inquiry, it is immaterial how the symbol  $\sqrt{-1}$  originated." He *thinks*, however, that he can account for its *probable* origin; but the results which he obtains are obtained, as he acknowledges, by extending the common rules to these apparently impossible quantities, or rather symbols. In this manner he evades the only difficulty in the inquiry, viz. Why should such rules be applied to the investigation of such expressions. As his system is at variance with inquiries of this nature, when the subject relates to geometry, it would be useless to pursue him further in his researches; which, to do him justice,

are acute and profound. His authority is, therefore, of the greater weight, and those who bend the knee, exclusively, at the shrine of the calculus, from its herculean achievements, must give a portion of *relative honor* to Woodhouse, however unsuccessful in this instance.

In p. 118, Woodhouse observes of Playfair's Memoir—"The Memoir of the ingenious person, whose opinion I have formally controverted, I can most sincerely commend for *every thing, except the justice of the principle of explanation.*" In our own opinion, however, we do think Playfair's principle of explanation far more consistent with the nature of the subject than that of Woodhouse; although, for reasons we have already given, we do not entirely approve of either. With Woodhouse's remark, (p. 115) we should, however, perfectly coincide, if with the "*esprit geometrique*," he added *l'esprit analytique*, in which case the remark would apply forcibly to himself. "In this controversy (he says) the predominancy of the *esprit geometrique*, is remarkable; if, in an inquiry, purely mathematical, any ambiguity or *paradox* presents itself, the most simple and natural method is, to occur to the original notions on which calculation has been founded. Instead of pursuing this method, the controvertists sought to derive illustration from *obscure doctrines*, or to discover the latent truth *amidst the complex forms and involutions of analysis.*" We shall here take leave to introduce a remark, very much to our purpose, from a review of Olinthus Gregory's Treatise on Mechanics, (Silliman's Journal, vol. vii. No. 1, p. 77.) The Reviewer observes, that "if, after the discovery of a mathematical truth, a demonstration be necessary at all, it is necessary that the reasoning be clear and evident at every step; but the analytical process is the very reverse of this, it consisting of mechanical manœuvres of symbols and abstract quantities, the perception of whose connexion, in the chain of reasoning, is wholly lost," &c. Again—comparing the mathematics in its purity, as delivered by the ancients, with the modern analysis, the Reviewer says, "it is not against either of these methods logically considered that we contend, but against what may be called the algorithm or complicity of symbolical terms and expressions, manœvered according to the rules of algebra, and assumed as *mathematical reasoning and demonstration.*" We would recommend this observation, and indeed the whole of the article, which is replete with good sense and sound criticism, to the perusal of our Philadelphia Reviewer, and even to the perusal of Woodhouse himself. Woodhouse, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1802, (p. 85) enters still more extensively on this subject, and endeavours to shew that the *analytic* is entirely

independent of the *geometric* method, and to point out the *advantages to be derived from their separation*. "I know not, says he, (p. 108) on what grounds of perspicuity and rigour the propriety of a demonstration, *half geometrical, half algebraical*, can be established." Yet, such are the demonstrations we have in every department of mathematics, where pure geometry or pure algebra is not alone concerned. Nor, is it on account of their union that we have any fault to find with the results. This writer, however, allows (same page) that "in strictness of reasoning, a *separate discussion* is necessary to shew the *propriety and justness* of the application of analysis to *certain properties* of extension, demonstrated geometrically." We should, therefore, take no further notice of this article, did not the writer bring (p. 116) the authority of Newton, (*Arithmetica Universalis*, pp. 200-219, &c.) to prove that geometry and algebra should not be confounded together. This may be right enough, but it by no means follows that each should not derive aid from the other. Newton says also, in the same article, (Ralphson's translation, revised by Cunn, p. 228) "I am here solicitous, not for a *geometrical construction*, but *any one whatever*, by which I may, the nearest way, find the roots of the equations *in numbers*." Why did not Woodhouse quote also this sentence, which immediately followed. *L'esprit analytique* will probably account for this—for he avows (p. 124) that "the principal object of the present paper is to shew that the analytic calculus *needs no aid from geometry*, and *ought to reject it*, relying entirely on its own proper resources." Yet, his note (p. 123) where he introduces D'Alembert, confessing that analysis sometimes embarrasses demonstration, and his eulogium on the works of Euclid, as exhibiting the finest exemplar of clear and accurate reasoning, shew that he is vacillating.

Mr. Woodhouse, in 1803, published a work on analytical calculation, in which he has exposed, with considerable strength of argument, the weakness of its foundations.—In the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1804, he has published another memoir on certain differential expressions connected with Physical Astronomy. In this memoir, (p. 219) he remarks, that "if the introduction of the *new calculi* has extended the bounds of science, it has *enormously* (the Philadelphia Reviewer's idea) increased its difficulties *in their number and magnitude*."—He again observes, (p. 221) "it is *curious* that the simplest transcendental expressions of analysis should express parts of the simplest figures in geometry." He, therefore, concludes, (p. 225) "that there are *two different methods* by which the analytic art may be advanced, either by artifices peculiarly its own,

or by aid drawn from the properties of figures and curve lines." We see then, likely to be verified in Woodhouse, as regards geometry, the importance of the advice which D'Alembert gave to one of his disciples, who complained very much of the difficulties he met with in the calculus, "*allez en avant (said he) et la foi vous viendra.*"

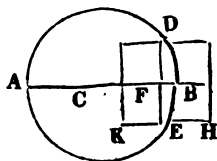
We are gratified to find that Mr. Whewell, a distinguished analyst, has taken a different view from that which Woodhouse has taken of this subject, in the preface to his *Dynamics* p. vi. "Instead (he says) of balancing the simplicity and evidence of the mathematics a century ago, against the generality and rapidity of modern analysis, it might be better to attempt to combine them; and if our University were provided with a course of elementary works, written with this view, and if the higher branches of science were, simplified and made to correspond with these introductory steps, we might include, in the circle of our studies, a larger portion of the modern additions to mathematical knowledge than is now, in most cases, practicable."

In the *Edinburgh Review* for May, 1811, (p. 186) in describing the conquests of the analysts on the Continent, and their threatening "*to drive the Greek geometry from her favoured retreat in the British Isles,*" the Reviewer justly observes, that the study of mathematics should not only lead to an intimate acquaintance with the relations of figure and quantity, however important in the business of life, and in the prosecution of physical sciences; but that it should also train the mind to the invaluable habits of patient attention, accurate arrangement, nice discrimination, and close reasoning. This latter advantage, in the view to general education, is, perhaps, the most essential. He further remarks, that besides the practical skill which geometry cannot fail to impart, it has a direct tendency to invigorate the whole of the intellectual powers, and to lay a sure and solid foundation, on which to erect future superstructures.

In these important views of *this* Reviewer, we find that another Fellow of the celebrated University of Cambridge, the Rev. Arthur Brown, M. A. has entirely coincided in his "*Short View of the First Principles of the Differential Calculus,*" 1824. This author, who also appears to be well versed in the modern analysis, considers, in his preface, the utility of mathematical pursuits principally as a discipline to the mind. He is of opinion that "analytics have not, like geometry, any tendency to inure the mind to those habits of thinking, which are so useful in the studies of after life," that "they have not, like geometry, any tendency to give us that power over our ideas, which enables us to express ourselves in clear and perspicuous language," &c.—

These observations are the more remarkable in an author writing professedly on analysis. He then instances, as an example, the *style* of one of our greatest analytical writers, Lacroix; and remarks also, that "many of those who display astonishing expertness in calculation; who can dispatch fluents and fluxional equations with inconceivable rapidity, have, at the same time, but very vague and confused ideas of the principles by which they work." We fully coincide with Mr. Brown in this latter remark, but we cannot agree with him in what he says of Lacroix. The knowledge exhibited by Lacroix and by D'Alembert also, in the modern analysis, is scarcely exceeded by any writers; yet, the "Essais sur L'Enseignement" of the one, and the "Discours Preliminaire" of the other, prefixed to the Encyclopædia, exhibit no less their sound discrimination than their pure classical taste, and perspicuous style in composition. The same observation will apply to La Place and his "Système du Monde."

In mathematics as well as in politics, the *theory of signs* forms a considerable portion of its *metaphysics*, and much depends on the manner in which they are explained. As they relate to mathematics, we shall now endeavour to give a distinct idea of our meaning. Let the diameter of the circle  $AB=a$ ,  $FB=x$ , and  $DF=y$ , then  $AF=a-x$ , and  $y=\pm\sqrt{ax-x^2}$  (35 E. b. iii.) which is an equation of the circle. Here, the value of  $y$  may be  $+$  or  $-$ , which evidently indicates that  $y$  has two values in contrary directions, one on each side of  $AB$ . The negative value of  $y$ , does not, therefore, indicate a quantity less than nothing, it indicates as real a value of  $y$ , as its positive value, but having a contrary *direction* or *position*. This is the old and established theory of signs.—Carnot, in 1803, published an extensive work on the *Géométrie de Position*, in which he observes the advice given by Leibnitz, of having the *geometrical condition* of the problem expressed, and endeavours to remedy the defects pointed out by D'Alembert, (vol. viii. p. 277) of his *Opuscles*. In undertaking, however, to remedy these defects, he rejects the doctrine of negative signs, and considers it as completely false; and says, that from admitting it, the greatest absurdities follow. (See p. 10, of his *Dissertation*.) In the above instances which we have given of the values of  $y$ , he considers that they may be both positive, or that a quantity may be both positive and negative at the same time, which would be, evidently, an absurdity. For, according to him, if they were referred to the line  $KH$ , they would then be both in the same *direction*, and therefore positive;





but this would evidently be *shifting the hypothesis*, because they are then no longer referred in *position*, to the line AB. Yet, this is the whole ground of his objection. He makes a similar objection in his "Digression sur la nature des Quantités dites négatives," published at the end of his "Théorie des Transversales," (p. 98) in pointing out a negative secant in the third quadrant, which ought to be positive, when the opposite arc, about which there is question, by the *theory*, is in the fourth quadrant. The same quantity then can never be negative and positive at pleasure, contrary to what he asserts (p. 100) of the work last quoted, while the same hypothesis is retained. Although Carnot appears to have seen, clearly, that it is to the *geometry of position* we must have recourse for the solution of the difficulties which the signs give rise to; he has, from adopting these subterfuges, unworthy of his great talents, and therefore making a false step at the beginning, completely failed. Yet, he is entitled to no small degree of praise for having first called the attention of mathematicians to this *new* and important branch of geometry; a branch, in which whoever succeeds, we venture to assert, will render a service to science little inferior to what Euclid or Newton has rendered. But, unhappily, nature appears very sparing of such men—they are not produced at pleasure.

Mr. Buée, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806, is the next who has considered this subject; and, we believe, the *first* who has considered it in a *rational* point of view. He shews (p. 25) that algebra ought not only to be regarded as an *universal arithmetic*, but as a *mathematical language*; that the signs + and —, considered as *signs of arithmetical operations*, indicate addition or subtraction, but considered as *signs of operations in geometry*, they indicate opposite directions (p. 23); that a quantity with the sign  $\sqrt{-1}$  does not indicate addition or subtraction, nor is it equal to zero, but that it is the *sign of perpendicularity*. The signs + and —, while taken *geometrically*, indicate opposite directions *from the same point*, but taken *arithmetically*, they destroy each other. He, therefore, shews (p. 65) that an expression may be *geometrically real*, and *arithmetically nothing*; that there is no analogy between *multiplication* and *direction*, and that we can form no idea of an exponent which indicates the sum of directions, the idea we attach to exponents, being a *sum of multiplications* (p. 68); that  $R(\sqrt{-1})^n$  expresses the trace of any arc  $\frac{n\pi}{2}$ , described with the radius R; that (p. 81) the circle becomes an equilateral perpendicular hyperbola, and the equilateral hyperbola, a perpendicular circle, when their ordinates become imaginary, with a variety of other curious results. This memoir

consisting of 66 pages, was read June 20, 1805, and published in French.

Mr. J. F. Français, a distinguished Professor, "à l'école impériale de l'artillerie et du génie," in a memoir, dated Metz, le 6 de Juillet, 1813, is the next who has taken up this important subject. He has published his memoir in Gergonne's *Annals*, vol. iv. and calls it "*Nouveaux Principes de Géométrie de position, et interpretation geometrique des Symboles imaginaires.*" He adopts a notation different from Buée, although his principles are similar. He lays down his definitions, &c. and exhibits the subject in something like a systematic form. He has his *ratios of magnitude* and *of position*; his *positive* and *negative straight lines*, his *positive* and *negative angles*, and a few very important theorems, selected to elucidate his subject. He acknowledges, however, (p. 70) that these ideas were suggested by a letter of M. Legendre to his deceased brother. In the same volume of Gergonne's *Annals*, (p. 133) M. Argand shews, that in 1806, he published an "*Essai sur un maniere de représenter les quantités imaginaires, dans les constructions geometriques,*" the principles of which are analogous to those of Français; that he sent the manuscript to Legendre to have his advice, and thus accounts for the source of communication, of which Mr. Français speaks. In this article, Argand has several interesting remarks. In pages 222-228 & 364, Gergonne gives extracts from letters of M. Français and Mr. Servois, another distinguished professor, full of important remarks relative to the same subject. In vol. v, 1814, p. 147, "*Annales,*" Argand has again some interesting reflections, on this *new* theory of imaginary quantities, shewing, that besides giving an intelligible signification to expressions which we are forced to admit into analysis, it exhibits a method of calculation, *or a notation of a particular kind*, which employs *geometric signs*, jointly with the ordinary algebraic signs. In p. 209, of the same volume, Argand replies to the letter of M. Lacroix to M. Vecten, Professor of Mathematics, &c. at Nismes, vol. iv. p. 367, where Lacroix observes that M. Buée published a memoir in the *Philosophical Transactions*, for 1806, on the same subject. Argand shews that his *Essay* was published the same year; but admitting this, we have seen that M. Buée appears to have the merit of priority, his memoir being read in June, 1805. As we cannot enter into any detail relative to these *Memoirs*, our article having already extended far beyond the limits which we had prescribed for ourselves, all that we wished to notice, are the historical facts, and the importance attached to this new subject in France; whilst in England, and in our own country, efforts are making to abandon geometry altogether. *Tempora mutantur.*

As we deem the subject of importance, we wish to be indulged in making a few more remarks, to shew that algebra or the calculus becomes unintelligible, except when confined to numbers, without the aid of geometry. In the equation of the circle given above, if  $a$  be less than  $x$ , then  $x^2$  will be greater than  $ax$ , and their difference, suppose  $d^2$ , must be negative; we should, on this supposition, then have  $y = +d\sqrt{-1}$ . Now, without the aid of geometry, what idea can we attach to these symbols which apparently indicate, and as authors assert, do indicate, an impossibility: Lacroix calls them, (Algebra, art. 115) "Symboles d'Absurdité." There are, however, cases where the square root of a negative quantity, becomes *geometrically* a real magnitude. Thus, in the preceding example, if  $DF = +d$ , and  $FE = -d$ , their rectangle  $= -d^2$ , and  $y = \pm \sqrt{-d^2}$ . We perceive, also, that four squares may exist, as in the figure, about the point  $F$ , and in the same plane, the sides of which, respectively, may be  $+d$  or  $-d$ , and that the rectangle of both these quantities may represent some of these squares, regard being had to their *position*; or that some of these may be considered positive, and others negative, according to their relative *position*. We see, moreover, that these negative squares and imaginary roots, indicate operations *purely geometrical*. Thousands of these squares may exist, if we conceive them to form an angle with the plane of the figure or the paper, and thus *angular position* is considered. The notation and symbols then, which are calculated to give us a distinct idea of these figures, in their various *relations* and *positions*, must be different from those which relate only to *number*. If similar observations were extended to more complicated figures, we can easily conceive, what an extensive field would then be presented to our view. A *new science*, as yet in its infancy, and destined, no doubt, to take a distinguished place among the other great branches of human knowledge. It is, however, astonishing, that the hints thrown out by Buée, Français, and Argand, should not be more attended to, and that, as yet, we should not have a sentence in the English language, relative to this interesting subject.

We shall now point out a remarkable instance of the want of this theory, in the application of the binomial theorem, to the *arithmetic of sines*, this being the foundation of almost all the modern calculus. The developements of the binomials  $(x+v)^n$  and  $(v+u)^n$ , have been considered equal, whatever the exponent  $n$  may signify, by Euler, by Lagrange, and by every writer since Euler, until Poisson, an analyst, perhaps at present, without an equal, first pointed out the difference in the "Correspondance sur l'Ecole imperiale Polytechnique," vol. ii. p. 212.

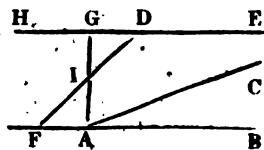
Lacroix notices this, p. 605, vol. iii. 2d edition of the "Traité du Calcul," &c. From Poisson's results, and what we have already shewn, it follows, that  $2^m \cos. x^m = (u+v)^m$ , developed, is of the form  $A+B\sqrt{-1}$ , while  $2^m \cos. x^m = (v+u)^m$ , developed, is of the form  $A-B\sqrt{-1}$ , and that, therefore,  $2^m \cos. x^m = \frac{(u+v)^m + (v+u)^m}{2} = A$ . Here then, we have the same quantity equal to three different quantities, respectively, at the same time. It would follow, that these quantities are, therefore, equal to each other, which is absurd. Let the *enemies*, or those ignorant of geometry, get over this difficulty, *legitimately*, and, *independent of geometry*, and then give *their opinion* about abandoning it.\* We

\* In observing this anomaly in a binomial function, it brings to our recollection, the great injustice done to Professor Wallace, who first in this country, in Professor Silliman's Journal, called the attention of mathematicians, to a series published by M. Stainville, in Gergonne's Annals, in which, by the simple operation of multiplication, results the most complicated, and those even of a transcendent nature, have been deduced; and an elegant demonstration of the binomial theorem, as far as numbers are concerned, been given. To exhibit this, was, we are well aware, the view of Professor Wallace, in noticing these interesting results. It appears, however, that his preliminary remarks were suppressed, and the title "New Algebraical Series, by Professor J. Wallace," substituted, and the word *new*, made the subject of criticism, while they were given as Stainville's, without altering even his notation, and the volume pointed out. It was, therefore, an affair entirely between Stainville and Mr. B. We cannot help, however, observing, that the Northren critic has, on this occasion, exhibited an antipathy to his Southern fellow-citizen, not very becoming, independent of the injustice. Professor Wallace, it appears, did not put his name to the communication, but handed it to a friend, without attaching much importance to it. The editor, Mr. Silliman, in the No. for February, 1825, and also in the No. for June, 1825, acknowledges the error in the title. We should not take any notice of this in our remarks, did we not find, in looking over Gergonne's Annals, that in vol. xv. p. 373, he adverts to Professor Wallace's New Series. Gergonne has not corrected this error in his subsequent numbers. We hope, however, for his own credit, he will correct it. If he had read the piece, he could not have helped seeing the mistake. In the "Revue Encyclopedique," vol. xxvi. the manner in which this communication is noticed, does honor to the impartiality of the distinguished members of the Institute, who conduct this learned work. They observe, p. 439, "*Au sujet de quelques observations critiques, dont le memoire de M. Wallace, a été le sujet, ce Professeur fait lui-meme plusieurs remarques interessantes sur l'histoire des mathematiques, pendant la dernier siecle et dans celui-ci, sur l'ordre des decouvertes, et sur les methodes des inventeurs.*" Mr. B. attempts a demonstration of the binomial himself; but among the hundreds we have seen, and those we almost every day see, it is, without exception, the most imperfect attempt. The law of the series assumed by Stainville, is evident; whereas, in B's demonstration, the binomial itself is taken as granted, and then, by a species of *tatonnement*, he shews that it will hold in *pos. whole numbers*. Euler, also, assumes the binomial, after all B. has published to shew that his method was identical with Stainville's. What becomes of B's pretended demonstration when applied to Poisson's case; or to the innumerable other cases that may arise, when the properties of numbers, and of extended magnitudes, in general, are considered, as well as hyperbolic logarithms and sines? or what idea must B. form of mathematical demonstration? Thousands of demonstrations have been given of the binomial theorem, not one of which, extend, as yet, beyond the properties of numbers. Can it be said to be demonstrated, even in numbers, when every system and modulus of calculation are considered. M. Poincot shews in the Memoires of the Institute, for 1819-1820, p. 99, &c. that using certain moduli, some of the imaginary expressions that occur with others, will vanish. But it appears, that seeing by intuition, and generalising too hastily, are among the negatives of great analysts.

shall add but one example more to shew the dependence of algebra upon geometry. For this purpose, we have selected the 47th of the first book of Euclid; a proposition within the reach of almost every reader. Let  $a, b, c$ , represent the base, perpendicular, and hypotenuse of a right angled triangle respectively; by this proposition we then obtain  $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$ , whence  $a = +\sqrt{c^2 - b^2}$ . If we now suppose  $b$  greater than  $c$ , and  $d$  the difference of their squares, we obtain  $a = +\sqrt{-d}$ , an absurdity. But how can this absurdity arise while reasoning on the symbols, according to the strict rules of algebra; or why is there an absurdity in the supposition that  $b$  is greater than  $c$ . Simple as this inquiry may appear, all the resources of the calculus *alone* would be found inadequate to give us the required information. For we know, from geometry only, that the greater side of a plane triangle is opposite to the greater angle; and that the angle opposite to  $c$  is greater than the angle opposite to  $b$ , we know also from geometry; because we know that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. But this, all the algebra or calculus, ever discovered, could not find out. This truth, itself, depends on the *theory of parallel lines* and the calculus, in attempting to establish this theory, has completely failed. Remove then those truths derived from geometry from the calculus, and you leave the analyst's superstructure, like Swift's Island, floating in the air. It may however, be urged here, that geometry has also failed in establishing the theory of parallels, and that Euclid, Montucla, Playfair, Leslie, Hutton, and every writer in Gergonne, and every writer whom he quotes, down to the present time, have failed, although many distinguished professors, as well as Gergonne himself, have engaged in the inquiry, and yet, in despair, they have given it up. This we must acknowledge to be the fact. They almost all virtually use Euclid's twelfth axiom, which is, evidently, a proposition—except in the case where the *theory of functions* is applied; and this theory, were it even admissible, fails in this instance. With due respect and esteem, for the talents of so many distinguished men, we submit the following demonstration of this theory, being of opinion that it leaves nothing more to be desired on the score of evidence. In place of Euclid's twelfth axiom, we substitute the following, the evidence of which must, we think, be acknowledged the moment it is proposed, which is the criterion of an axiom.

Two straight lines drawn from, or diverging from, the same point, may be conceived to be produced, until their distance becomes greater than any assignable magnitude; as the straight lines AB, AC, diverging from the Point A.

By a straight line, we understand a line that preserves the same direction between its extreme points; as a crooked line is that which varies its direction, and a curve line that which constantly varies it.



It is evident, from Euclid, prop. 27, b. i., that if the straight line FD falling on the straight lines HE, FB, makes the alternate angles HDF, DFA equal, these straight lines are parallel; from which, it follows that the straight line GA, drawn through I, the middle of FD, perpendicular to HE, is also perpendicular to FB, (prop. 15 and 26, b. i., E.) It also follows, that if the straight lines EG, BA be each perpendicular to GA, they are parallel, for then the alternate angles EGA, GAF are equal, whence, &c. Now, let AC make with GA an angle less than BAG, in which case, the sum of the angles CAG, EGA, is less than two right angles; Euclid says, in his twelfth axiom, that these lines must then meet. But this not being evident, or being rather a proposition, leaves Euclid's, otherwise elegant system, imperfect.—From the axiom which we have laid down, this proposition evidently follows. For AB and AC, both diverging from the point A, may be produced until their distance becomes greater than any assignable magnitude, and as the distance between the two parallels AB and GE must be an assignable magnitude, AC must, therefore, meet GE, when both are produced far enough.

Here then is an evident proof, not only of Euclid's axiom, but also, of what we have asserted in the beginning of this Review, that the simplest truths, and the easiest modes of arriving at them, are, generally, the last perceived.

We have now, we are persuaded, given an impartial review of a subject, which we deem of no little importance, and removed, we hope, a stigma from geometry, which has been long its disgrace. In the great analytic chain, it would be very desirable also, that its broken links could be repaired. To the analytic method, or rather the calculus, we are far from being inimical. We are too sensible of its value. We know that it has enlarged, and will more and more assist in extending that horizon of science, the boundaries of which will for ever recede as we advance; but when, like the parasite that clings to the stately oak, it attempts to destroy that from which it has received its

principal existence; then we think it right, we deem it even necessary, to curtail its lofty pretensions, and to point out its humble origin and dependence. We hope, however, that in *this country* as well as in the *British Isles*, and in *Italy*, both *geometry* and the *calculus* will be equally cultivated and encouraged.

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ART. V.—1. *Sur les Fonctions du Cerveau : et sur celles de chacune de ses parties : avec des observations sur la possibilité de reconnaître les instincts, les penchans, les talens, ou les dispositions morales et intellectuelles des Hommes et des Animaux, par la configuration de leur Cerveau et de leur Tête.* Par F. J. GALL. Paris, 1825. En 6 tomes. 8vo.

OF this work, the first and second volumes, are occupied "Sur l'origine des qualités morales et des facultés intellectuelles de l'homme, et sur les conditions de leur manifestation."

The third volume is, "Sur l'Influence du Cerveau sur la forme du Crane; difficultés et moyens de déterminer les qualités et les facultés fondamentales, et de decouvrir le siege de leurs organes."

The fourth and fifth volumes are entitled, "Organologie, ou exposition des instincts, des penchans, des sentimens et des talens; ou des qualités morales et des facultés intellectuelles fondamentales de l'homme et des animaux; et du siege de leur organes."

The sixth volume is entitled, "Revue critique de quelques ouvrages anatomo-physiologiques; et exposition d'une nouvelle philosophie des qualités et des facultés intellectuelles."

Such are the general contents of this work; which may be regarded as a supplement to the larger anatomical work of Dr. Gall, entitled, "Anatomie et Physiologie du Systeme nerveux en general et du Cerveau en particulier; avec des observations sur la possibilité de reconnaître plusieurs dispositions intellectuelles et morales de l'homme et des animaux par la configuration de leurs tête. 4 tomes en folio, et 4 tomes en 4to. avec atlas de cent planches. Chez l'Auteur et chez N. Maze, libraire Rue Git-le-Cœur, No. 4. Par Gall et Spurzheim."

This larger work being too technical, and too expensive also, for general readers, a more popular exposition of Gall's opinions became necessary, for the purpose of enabling the public, generally, to become acquainted with them, and to judge of the facts and arguments on which they are based: hence the work now under review; which will enable us to give a brief outline of a system that has been, that still is, and for some years will continue to be, a subject of desperate controversy, until it becomes more generally known, explained and illustrated, than it has yet been, any where but in France. In England, notwithstanding the lectures of Spurzheim, and his exposition of the Physiognomical System, (large 8vo. London, 1815) it is generally considered little better than a branch of the pretensions of Lavater, Mesmer, and De Mainuduc; while men, who have no title to equal Gall in anatomical or physiological knowledge, speak of him, as Charles Bell does, with manifest contempt.\* In Scotland, the brief exposition of Gall's system by Mr. George Combe, in his *Essays on Phrenology*, re-published in this country in 1822, has not saved the phrenologists from the very severe sarcasms of Mr. Jeffrey, in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*; an essay, equally distinguished for its ingenuity, its severity, its flippancy, and its gross ignorance of the subject treated in it.† It is one of those pieces, well calculated to illustrate the position, that ridicule is not the test of truth. Indeed, this is not the only instance in which that Review has been marked by a deplorable want of knowledge of anatomical facts, and just physiological views.‡ The French School of Anatomy, Physiology, and (of late years) of Medicine, is so

\* In "An Exposition of the Natural System of the Nerves of the Human Body," p. 163, of the Philadelphia edition, and yet the main idea of Bell's book, viz. that each system, each fasciculus of nerves, each nerve, and each separate filament of a nerve, is destined to its own peculiar functions, which no other can supply—was an essential part of Gall's system, long before Bell's papers were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

† We have not yet seen Dr. Combe's reply to the anti-phrenological article in the *Edinburgh Review*, noticed in the 13th Number of the *Edinburgh Phrenological Magazine*; but we have read with great pleasure, a very severe and complete refutation of Mr. Jeffrey's attack on Gall's System, by Dr. C. Caldwell, Professor in the Medical School of Lexington, Kentucky. It is *response sans repique*. Dr. Caldwell has done himself much credit, and the cause much service; though we are inclined to think, he has burthened the subject unnecessarily, with an antiquated hypothesis, that no physiologist of note, at the present day, would be inclined to support.

‡ In a review, October 1806, p. 159, these gentlemen laugh outright at the absurdity of a sensation and an idea, being motions in the brain, perceived. In the *Review*, for June, 1815, p. 227, they give what they are pleased to call, an account of the doctrines of Gall and Spurzheim, in which, it is hard to say, whether unjustifiable abuse, or ignorance of the subject, be most apparent. In a review of Sir Everard Home, on the Functions of the Brain, these sage physiologists give it as their opinion, (*Review*, Feb. 1815, p. 450) that the brain has no share in the operations that give rise to sensation! and Edinburgh! has the honor of this notable discovery.



decidedly superior to those of London and Edinburgh, that the jealousy of the anatomists and physiologists of Great Britain, has induced them to shut their eyes against the Continental discoveries, which leave them almost half a century behind the established knowledge of the day.

Dr. Gall began to lecture on his Craniological System, in Germany in 1805. He associated himself with Dr. Spurzheim; and they visited Paris soon after, and publicly lectured on their system in that city, conjointly. In 1808, they presented a *Mémoire* to the Institute, entitled, "*Recherches sur le Systeme nerveux en general, et sur celui du Cerveau en particulier.*" The physical class of the Institute, appointed Mess. Tenon, Portal, Sabatier, Pinel, and Cuvier, to report on this *Mémoire*, which they did on the 14th March, 1808. The report is purposely confined to the anatomical doctrines, and the practical methods of developing the structure of the brain, which Drs. Gall and Spurzheim claimed as new. The novelty is disputed by these reporters, excepting a reluctant kind of acknowledgment of merit, in relation to the practical methods of demonstrating some parts of the brain; which the committee could not withhold. It is a report that seems to carry on the face of it, a jealousy of discoveries not originating in the French school; and it is, by no means, such as we should expect from a committee, of which Cuvier was an active member. This *esprit de corps*, or rather this *esprit nationale*, is a great obstacle to science. An Englishman can hardly allow any merit in the French contributions to physiological and medical knowledge, nor from reading the English publications, can we find proof that they know what the French have been doing for the last dozen years. Excepting the late compilation of Dr. Bostock,\* it is almost a century since an elementary book of physiology has been produced in England: the students of this country, have resort to French books, almost exclusively. Haller and Blumenbach are now little read: Richerand, Bichat, Majendie, Adelon, and Broussais, some, or all of them, are found in almost every student's library.

As Dr. Spurzheim seems to lay claim to no discovery of his own; differing from Dr. Gall only in his enumeration of the primitive faculties, whose seat is to be found in the encephalon, and marked on the cranium; and as he appears only as the earliest, and most active disciple of Gall, and his most zealous coadjutor, we shall consider the treatise before us, and the opinions detailed in it, as belonging exclusively to Dr. Gall, so

\* Dr. Roget's recent work has not yet reached this country.

far as they differ from the views of the same subjects before taken by other anatomists and physiologists. Indeed, the book now reviewed is published by Gall alone, and the doctrines contained in it are claimed by him as his own. Dr. Spurzheim has published in London, (2d edition, 1815, large 8vo.) his own views of the "Physiognomical System," differing little from those of Gall. The system of Dr. Gall may be regarded as threefold; anatomical, physiological, and physiognomical: and under these three aspects, we shall consider it.

It may be worth while to premise, that, throughout this treatise, Dr. Gall purposely rejects all metaphysical considerations respecting an independent soul or mind, distinct from the body, and to which bodily impressions are supposed to be transmitted. On this subject, the reader is left to his own reflections; it does not enter among Dr. Gall's investigations, who professes to adhere strictly to those phenomena which are the manifest result of the functions belonging to the nervous apparatus of the animal body. How perception or sensation arises, he does not pretend to know, or to explain.

On examining the *Anatomical* part of the book now before us, we are disposed to conclude, that Dr. Gall has rendered highly probable in most cases, and has completely established in others, the following points, which previous investigations had left in great obscurity.

1. That the brain, including in that term the cerebrum, the cerebellum, and the medulla oblongata, and excluding the nerves of the senses and the spinal marrow,\* is not one organ, but a nervous apparatus—an assemblage of organs distinct from each other, and each destined to its peculiar function: and that one organic part of the brain, one nerve or set of nerves, cannot perform the office of another. See vol. vi. pp. 296 and 313, and his treatise on the difference of nerves, and the function of the senses in vol. i. of his great work. M. Cuvier seems to accede to this opinion, (see Gall, vol. vi. p. 313) and Mr. Charles Bell has applied it to each nerve of a fasciculus, and each filament of a nerve, in his treatise already cited.

2. That there is no common sensorium, or centre of sensation or perception, but each distinct organic portion of the brain, having its peculiar function, possesses its own. This is a point adhuc sub judice. M. Broussais differs in opinion from Gall hereon; adopting Gall's descriptive anatomy of the brain, he considers the centre of sensations and volitions to be placed in the medulla oblongata: or rather more particularly, at the

\* 2. Gall. 67.

insertion of the eighth pair. (See Broussais' Physiology, 71-72, of the American edition.)

3. That the nerves do not universally take their origin from the cerebrum: many of them (as the nerves called cerebral) ascending from the medulla oblongata upwards into the brain; others, like the spinal marrow, taking their origin at localities not belonging to the brain. Nor does any one pair of nerves originate from another. The independent origin of the great sympathetic has been long ago remarked.

4. That the cineritious, pulpy, non-fibrous part of the brain, is prior, and gives rise to the white medullary and fibrous part, and to many of the nerves; that the white medullary part, wherever found, externally or internally, is the seat of nervous energy; a position since rendered probable by M. Serres, in his "*Anatomie Comparée du Cerveau*," who finds the proportion of white medullary matter to increase with the gradual development of an organ, while the reverse holds good as it becomes diminished, the grey matter now predominating. The observations of M. Tiedmann, in vi. Gall, 78, are to the same purpose. (See the discussion of this question in vi. Gall, 317.)

5. Gall has established more distinctly than heretofore, the communication of the double organs of the brain at the commissures.

6. He first has distinguished the two orders of medullary fibre in the hemispheres of the brain: the one diverging from the pedunculi, the other converging towards the commissures: and that the great commissure of the two hemispheres, is not a continuation of, and arises in no manner from the corpus striatum. In p. 95, of vol. vi. he has detailed the method of exhibiting this to the eye.

7. He first established the fibrous and membranous nature of the brain, in parts where it was not suspected. His method of treating the brain for the purpose of demonstrating this fact, is also new in practical anatomy.

Antecedent to Gall, there were three principal methods of demonstrating the brain.

"The one most generally practised in the schools, and described in the books, is that of *Vesalius*, which consists, in removing successive layers of this organ, and in pointing out what presents at every cut. It is the method most easily performed for the sake of demonstration, but most difficult to be followed by the mind. The true relation of those parts which we see always cut, escapes not only the pupil but the teacher. It is almost as if one was to divide the trunk of the body by successive sections, to point out the position and form of the

lungs, heart and stomach. This method, however, is still almost the only one which is employed in the work of Vic-d'azyr, the most splendid, and one of the most valuable that has appeared on the subject of the brain.”\*

“The second mode, which deranges much less the organ whose structure is to be explained, is that of *Willis*. After removing the pia mater, the posterior lobes of the brain are raised; we penetrate between the tubercula quadrigemina and the fornix, and cut its anterior pillar: after detaching the lateral parts of the hemispheres, they are turned forwards; in this manner, we have a good view of the fornix and corpus callosum; we preserve entire the great and small tubercles of the interior: but the thickness of the hemispheres renders it more difficult to adopt this mode of demonstration in man, than in other animals.

“The third method was very long ago sketched by *Varoli*, and afterwards, more fully detailed by *Vieussens*. By this mode, the under part of the brain is first examined, and the medulla oblongata is followed across the pons varolii, the thalami optici, and the corpora striata. Its fibres are seen expanding to form the hemispheres: it is even possible to stretch out the hemispheres by removing their lateral attachment to the crura cerebri: to divide, longitudinally, the spinal marrow and the cerebellum: and then each half of the former is seen forming a pedicle which is implanted into the side of the hemisphere, as the stem of a mushroom is fixed into its pileus. This mode possesses the very great advantage of allowing us to follow more easily the direction of the medullary fibres, the only circumstance which can afford us any idea with regard to the course of the cerebral functions; and it is probable it would have been more generally adopted, if *Varoli* had not represented it in a very coarse figure, and if the work of *Vieussens* had not always remained (for what reason it is difficult to determine) in a kind of discredit which it did not deserve.”†

Dr. Gall rejecting the usual mode of scalpel dissections, and cutting off layers and separate portions by the knife, an instrument which he uses with great caution, and never but when absolutely necessary, substituted in its stead, a mode of demonstration, by a cautious and gentle removal by scraping away with the round handle of the scalpel, the medullary substance, so as to render the fibrous texture of the nerves, and the membranous texture of other parts, heretofore not suspected to be

\* See ii. Gall, pp. 5-6.

† Report of the Committee on the Memoir of Gall and Spurzheim.

so, visible to the eye. Thus demonstrating the nervous fibres that ascend from the medulla oblongata into the hemispheres and cerebellum, which Vieussens had imperfectly noted: exhibiting the decussation of the filaments of the pyramidal eminences, very doubtfully described by Mistichelli, Francis Petit, and Santorini.

This method of demonstrating the structure of the brain, as of the hemispheres and convolutions, by unfolding them, (vol. vi. p. 112;) and the occasional use of nitric acid diluted with alcohol for separated parts, and boiling for ten or fifteen minutes in oil, blowing on a layer through a tube, or pouring through a tube a gentle stream of water on the part under examination—have enabled Dr. Gall to make a much more satisfactory demonstration of this important organ and its constituent parts, than had been seen before. As in chemistry, the invention of new and more perfect apparatus, often creates an era in the science, so new and more perfect methods of demonstrating the various parts of the animal frame, may constitute an era in anatomy and physiology. The repeated applause that he has received in the latest and best work on physiology that France has produced,\* is quite sufficient to overbalance a hundred flippant reviews such as those of Mr. Jeffrey, or the ignorant and illiberal tirade of Mr. Charles Bell—men, certainly, who may be clever enough in their respective vocations, but who are of a grade of intellect not quite on a par with the author whose work we are considering. From the date of Mr. Charles Bell's anatomical papers, there is room left for the possibility of his having been much more indebted to Gall than he thinks fit to acknowledge; for his general and leading idea of the separate functions of the nerves, was the same with Gall's doctrine, preached in France, and Spurzheim's in England, fifteen years or thereabouts, anterior to Mr. Bell's papers; to say nothing of the similar suggestion of M. Bonnet, in his *Paling. Phil.* vol. i. p. 22.

8. Gall has rendered it highly probable that there are separate systems of nerves for organic or automatic—and for animal or voluntary life: that the automatic functions of the nervous apparatus belonging to organic life, (as Bichat also had shewn)

\* Broussais' *Physiology*, American edition, pp. 69 and 76, where he says, "I am willing to agree with Dr. Gall, (to whom alone, we owe our actual knowledge of the structure of the brain, and more precise ideas of the acts over which it presides,)" &c. &c. Adelon, in his "*Physiologie de l'Homme*," vol. i. p. 689, has a very well drawn dissertation on the mechanism of the intellectual and moral actions of man, with a very brief, but very good account of Gall's system. Gall's physiological doctrines were regarded at first, with jealousy and distrust, but every year has added to his reputation; and his truths have forced their way, amid the doubts and hesitations that still hang on his theories.

are the mere result of organization : that the functions of the nerves of animal life, from whence we derive our knowledge of the external world, are connected with consciousness or mind : that the nervous organs of animal life are double : that there is a connexion however, between the nerves of organic and animal life, giving rise to sympathies, manifestly dependent on this connexion : that the latter are of four orders—the nerves of the senses ; the nerves of voluntary motion ; the nerves appropriate to sentiments and propensities ; and the nerves belonging to intellect. This division savours of the theoretic part of his doctrine, and must depend in a great measure upon that.

9. Gall has first shewn distinctly, the formation of those convolutions of the hemispheres, on the different fasciculi of the nerves, which proceed from various points of the optic layers, and the corpus striatum ; “ an object important as to the progressive organization of the hemispheres in the different species of animals ; for on losing sight of this, the comparative anatomy of the parts of the brain, becomes impossible as to their relation to the faculties of animals.” Nor has any anatomist before Gall, succeeded in displaying and demonstrating those convolutions.

We have already observed, that with respect to the soul, Dr. Gall leaves all questions relating to it, where he finds them. The term “mind,” with him, includes merely the intellectual and moral functions of the cerebral and nervous organs. He does not inquire whether the soul exists, or how it receives transmitted impressions, or whether it be placed, as Descartes placed it, in the narrow prison of the pineal gland, or in the corpus callosum with Lancisi and others, or the corpora striata with Willis, or in the annular protuberance, or in the vapour of the ventricles as Soemmering fancifully locates it, or in the medullary lining of the ventricular cavities as Ackermann supposes, or in the sensorium of the medulla oblongata as Broussais would, probably, assign to it. All these inquiries he passes by ; confining his views to the anatomical construction, the physiological, moral and intellectual functions of the brain and its parts, merely as bodily organs. How these act upon, or are acted upon by the soul, is a question which Dr. Gall purposely leaves untouched. He professes merely to ascertain and express the conditions necessary to produce those phenomena, which result from the functions of the living organ. And even that not in all cases, for the study of the brain, so far from having arrived at perfection, is still in its infancy.

Moreover, he considers the *evidence* of the physiological functions of the parts of the brain, as distinct from the evidence

of their anatomical structure; the latter not plainly indicating the former. The *evidence* of the intellectual and moral functions of the brain and its parts, he regards as perfectly distinct from its anatomy and physiology. We arrive at the knowledge of those functions in a different manner, viz: by experience, by observation, by an induction of a great number of well observed cases of association between the part and its function, and sometimes by analogies drawn from the characteristics of animals. All this is necessary to be premised, that the real intention of the author may not be mistaken.

The first and second volumes are occupied with the anatomico-physiological part of his system. In treating of his physiological opinions, we think they would have been more regularly arranged had the second volume been placed first. But as the author himself has thought otherwise, we shall give up *our* opinions, in this respect, to his.

In the preface to his first volume, he states that the possibility of a doctrine on the moral and intellectual functions of the brain, supposes—

1. That moral qualities and intellectual faculties are innate.
2. That their manifestation depends on organization.
3. That the brain is the organ of all propensities, sentiments and faculties.
4. That the brain is composed of as many distinct organs as there are propensities, sentiments and faculties, really distinct from each other.

5. That these organs and their localities can only be discovered by observation, the form of the cranium, representing, in most cases, the form of the brain within it. Thus means are suggested of discovering the fundamental qualities and faculties of the individual, and the seat of the organs belonging to them, by a continued and careful series of actual observations on living subjects chiefly, for the purpose of ascertaining, as a matter of fact, whether a peculiar form of the cranium, in full grown subjects, be or be not constantly attended by a peculiar tendency, propensity, or other distinctly marked mental character. If the fact of constant association or concomitance be the result of careful and oft-repeated examination, it cannot be rejected any more than every other well repeated experiment, attended always by the same phenomena.

Gall proceeds to shew, that the divisions of the faculties of the mind usually adopted by metaphysicians, such as the imagination, the judgment, memory, attention, volition, are merely abstract terms, from which no useful practical conclusion can be deduced. We find, for instance, one man, naturally, and from

his earliest infancy, addicted to music, to poetry, to mathematics, to drawing and designing, to mechanical contrivances—one shall be mild and peaceable, another quarrelsome and bold—one, fond of horses, dogs, sports, hunting, racing, and so forth; another of books, of study and reflection. What light is thrown upon all this by the metaphysical faculties above enumerated! We see a girl and a boy, brought up for eight or ten years together, under the same parents and the same superintendence, receiving, in their early years, the same kind of instruction; how is it that the boy will be fond of guns and swords, and trumpets and whistles for his toys—of dogs and horses as his companions—that his amusements will be running, leaping, climbing, &c. while the girl will be as decidedly attached to dolls, and to nursing little children, and to ornaments and dress? To what, indeed, but to an original difference of physical organization, on which all this difference of propensities is based.\*

Moreover, man is at the head of the scale of animal creation. As we descend from man to the lowest order of animals, we find, uniformly, a correspondent paucity and simplicity of cerebral organs, till as in worms and other of the lower grade of animals, a brain becomes dispensed with entirely. But there is so much correspondence in organization and disposition between man and many animals, that a comparison of the connected phenomena wherein they agree, and wherein they differ, cannot but be necessary to a full understanding of the subject. Animals have, in many respects, the same propensities, dispositions and passions with ourselves; the love of sex, the love of offspring, joy, grief, friendship, gratitude, hope, fear, envy, jealousy, and all the phenomena of judgment and reasoning; the same in kind,

\* That Dugald Stewart, in his last work, should attribute entirely the difference between the habits of the male and the female, to difference of education and instruction, is an instance of such gross ignorance of, and inattention to the most established facts of physiology, as to be utterly inconceivable in a well-educated man of the present day. But what can be expected of real information from an author, who discusses and dismisses Hartley's theory, in a leaf or two? The pages of inanity of this very flimsy writer have seen their day. (See 1 Cabanis "*Rapports du Physique et du Morale de l'Homme*," §63, et seq.) Indeed, no man, possessed of a reasonable knowledge of anatomy and physiology, can peruse Dr. Gall's work, without seeing in full light, the utter ignorance of the whole Scotch School of Metaphysics, from Reid, Oswald, and Beattie, to Stewart and Brown, of the elementary physiological facts, on which all ideology must be based, whatever be the superstructure raised upon them. The Ideologie of Destut Tracey, though the best among the metaphysical systems, does not pay sufficient attention to the corporeal phenomena, notwithstanding his intimacy with Cabanis, and the "*Rapport*" of that excellent physiologist. Let us, first of all, explain as many as we can of the phenomena, from the known properties of the organized body, so far as they will serve the purpose: where they fall us, we must, of necessity, resort to some other principle to account for them, independent of the body and its organs.



though not in degree, with ourselves. Some of them are timid; others cruel: some are carnivorous: others live on vegetables: some, like the cat tribe, are thievish and cunning: others, like the dog, are capable of being taught to respect property that does not belong to them: some, like the ant, the hamster and the bee, hoard up provisions: some construct habitations: others live in dens. There is no other source assignable for these instinctive habits and propensities, but an original difference of organization which constitutes the nature of the animal, and which incites and controls its actions. By observing, therefore, the propensities of animals, compared with their organization—wherein they agree, and wherein they differ from each other—by attending perseveringly and without prejudice, to the association between certain predominant characters and certain cerebral forms—by noting wherein these agree, and wherein they differ from those of the human animal—and finally, by observing in what respects the latter is not only so far superior to, but different from all the animal tribe, and in what respects his cerebral organization is also different—we may, at length, discover the associated circumstances, of which, one may be considered as a real indication of another. We agree with Dr. Gall, that such a comparison of habits, manners, dispositions and talents, as are actually and uniformly exhibited by each class of animals, is as necessary to arrive at the characters that constitute or peculiarly designate humanity, as the associated and equally necessary study of comparative anatomy and physiology.

The author next examines the old Aristotelian axiom, *nil est in mente quod non fuerat olim in sensu—nil est in intellectu quod non prius erat in sensu*. He denies the truth of it. He denies that any disposition, propensity, talent, or mental faculty, depends on the five senses; whose organs are destined, exclusively, to give us information of the external world. No man is a painter by nature, because his eye-sight is good; or a musician, because he can hear well: nor does delicacy of touch make a man a good mechanist or engineer, or fix on him, from his early infancy, this species of industrious aptitude: else, would all females be mechanicians. Neither are the senses the sole sources of sensations and ideas. We have a most extensive set of internal feelings, occasionally increased in force and in number, by innumerable varieties of morbid and sub-morbid action. We do not acquire the sensations of hunger, thirst, those arising from the various secretions, &c. &c. from either of the five senses. The infant in utero, has sensations that cannot be thus acquired.—We must look, therefore, for the origin of propensities, talents, and faculties, to some other source. Moreover, the anatomy

and physiology of the organs of the senses, is, at present, too important to warrant any positive conclusion. Many metaphysicians are, even yet, in doubt about the reality of an external world.\*

Nor is our language principally dependent on the sensations produced by the exercise of the five senses. Hunger, thirst, itching, soreness, falsehood, error, truth, friend, enemy, hatred, envy, love, pride, fault, honor, good, evil, thinking, willing, joy, grief, and a thousand others, have no origin dependent on the senses. Although, nevertheless, for, if, but, consequently, then, so, alas, yes, no, &c. have no such origin. *Sine causa, nullus effectus: ex nihilo nihil: simile non agit nisi in simile: à posse ad esse non valet consequentia*, &c. are adages not dependent on the senses. The senses are double, but their sensations are felt singly.

Nor can education give rise to our propensities, talents, or faculties: it may improve or modify them; but none of them originate from this source. Can you teach an ox to hunt a mouse, or a cat to browse upon grass, or a rabbit to set a partridge like a pointer? Why do the ducks, hatched by a hen, seek the water? The partridge runs and seeks its food, the instant after being freed from the shell; and the spider is no sooner born than it forms a web. If a pointer sets his game, a spaniel seeks to the water, a bull-dog fights with more courage, and a terrier hunts vermin; are not these *natural* propensities, not due to education? So, if my daughter dresses a doll, while my son, a year younger, is beating his drum about the house, are not these natural and innate propensities belonging to them as animals differently organized? All those propensities and dispositions that manifest themselves prior to, or independent of education, cannot (by the terms) owe any thing to it. But who can deny the fact?

Nor can these dispositions depend on the members, peculiar to each animal. Cut the claws, and draw the teeth of a tyger, will you transform him into a sheep? Animals have such and such members, because they are necessary to the peculiar character and wants of the animal; not because the character is formed from the members; and will delicacy of tact make a Raphael; or a good ear, alone, make a musician? There was nothing of this kind remarkable in the Wesleys, Crouch, or Mozart. It must not be forgotten that *quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis*. His mother may teach your son how

\* The most entertaining and acute of Berkeley's followers, is the author of an essay on the "Nature and Existence of an External World." A thin 8vo. written by a Mr. Vaughan, I believe, if not, by Thomas Day, Esq.

to cut out a doll's dress—he will never learn it willingly or skilfully. But education, example, the manners and customs of the society we live with, may greatly modify, though they cannot change our natural propensities; for upon these, all the superpositions, all that we are taught must, of necessity, be moulded. A man, naturally furious, quarrelsome, revengeful and cruel, may be greatly ameliorated, but he cannot be totally changed by education. Our author examines, in separate sections, whether climate, nourishment, wants, attention, pleasure, pain, the love of glory, &c. can give rise to peculiar dispositions, talents or propensities, but we cannot follow him in these disquisitions, which seem to us to establish the positions he has adopted.

He proceeds to shew, that moral qualities and intellectual faculties, manifest themselves, augment and diminish in proportion as the organs, appropriated to them, become developed, are strengthened or weakened. That when these organs are not developed in the usual manner, the manifestations of their functions fail in like manner. That if the developement of the cerebral organs is unusual or incomplete, the manifestations of moral qualities and intellectual faculties become so in proportion. That when the cerebral organs are highly developed, their functions are performed with corresponding energy.\* That the difference of faculties and manners in the two sexes can only be explained by the corresponding difference of organization.† That difference or similarity of cerebral conformation does, at all times, produce difference or similarity of moral qualities and intellectual faculties, talents, and propensities. That when the one is hereditary, so is the other. *Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis*. That the states of wakefulness, sleep and dreaming, prove that the moral qualities and the faculties are dependent upon cerebral organization. That whatever sensibly changes, weakens, or irritates the nervous system, produces correspondent alterations in the exercise of the mental faculties. All these positions are proved, at length, in a manner which, we think, attentive and unprejudiced readers will not be disposed to controvert.

\* In this section, Gall illustrates his argument by reference to ancient statues.—And, from the head of the Venus de Medicis being not in harmony with ancient taste, and exhibiting strong marks of weakness of intellect, he decides for its being a modern addition to the ancient body. This statue has never appeared to us worthy of the praises bestowed upon it. The artist was manually skilful, but nothing more. There is nothing of character in it.

† This has been well developed, in a lecture, delivered by Dr. James M'Neven, of New-York, which he ought to publish. I have referred (a few pages back) to the work of Cabanis, "Rapport," &c. where this point is treated by that very able man, but with fewer lights on the subject than Gall has exhibited.

The remaining part of this volume is occupied with discussions to shew, that the doctrines advanced have no unfavourable bearings on the metaphysical questions of materialism, fatalism, moral good and evil, free-will, &c. about all which, Dr. Gall, in our opinion, has taken more trouble than the questions deserve. With respect to the anatomy and physiology of the human frame, the only points to be determined are, *what is or is not matter of fact.* The supposed metaphysical bearings of these matters of fact, cannot alter the facts themselves; and until two metaphysicians can be found, who are of the same opinion on these abstruse subjects, and can express themselves in language intelligible to common people, and to each other, their opinions are of little consequence to a man, who seeks for truth wherever it is to be found. And that is not to be found, as Lord Chesterfield says, in the unknown and unknowable regions of verbal metaphysics, into which Lord Bolingbroke had wandered, *extra flammantia mœnia mundi.*

The second volume contains his proofs of the following propositions, argued with much force and acuteness, and with a profusion of illustrative facts, not often met with in any author upon any subject. It will take far other weapons than those of sarcastic ridicule, or coarse and vulgar denial, to set them aside. Our own opinion is, that he has fortified the positions taken in this volume, too strongly to be driven out.

That the brain is the organ of sensation and voluntary motion in all cerebral animals, excluding from the definition of the brain, the nerves of the senses and the spinal marrow.

That the brain is, exclusively, the organ of instincts, inclinations, sentiments, and moral and intellectual faculties.

That the nerves of the senses are not the seat of any moral or intellectual faculty; nor the nervous plexuses, nor the ganglionic system.

Nor are these faculties situated in the brain generally; nor do they depend on temperament. Each distinct original faculty is manifested by its own appropriate cerebral organ.

We will endeavour to give a brief view of his arguments on these points, referring, of course, for a more full account of his doctrine to the work itself, (vol. ii. p. 69,) which will amply repay the perusal.\*

Haller and Soemmerring, (he might have added Hartley, of whom he seems to know nothing) have shewn, that perception

\* Much condensed information on this subject will be found in a small pamphlet published in Philadelphia, April, 1824, entitled, *An Inquiry into the Functions of the Brain, &c. by a Physician.*

does not take place where a nerve is first impressed, but the impression is communicated from thence to the brain, and is there felt or perceived: for,

1. A nerve being compressed, tied or cut, loses the property of exciting sensations: that is, the impression made by an external object on the nerve so treated, is not transmitted. You may irritate the nerve below the ligature, without producing any sensation. How can this be, if sensation may be produced without communication with the brain?

2. The same effect is produced if a nerve be wounded or compressed at its origin. Such a compression on the olfactory nerve brings on a privation of the sense of smelling: on the optic nerve, blindness: on the auditory nerve, deafness: on a digital nerve, insensibility of the finger. This paralysis ceases when the compression is withdrawn. We have seen a man wounded, whose wound reached to the corpus callosum; he lost the sight of the eye on the opposite side whenever the pus collected in quantity, and recovered it when the pus was discharged. The sensation of sight, therefore, takes place in the brain.

3. The compression of the brain, by a depressed fracture of the skull, by a discharge of blood, or lymph, or pus, by exostosis, by an inordinate enlargement of the blood vessels, or by violent shaking, may bring on a loss of sensation, though the nerves, themselves, are uninjured. When the compression ceases in that case, the nerves resume their activity.

4. In some cases pain, at the extremity of the nerve, is felt ascending along the course of it to the brain.

5. Pains of this description, arising from a wounded limb, may, sometimes, be intercepted by ligature.

6. Persons who have lost a limb are apt to fancy (after being cured) that they feel pain in the amputated part. This sensation can exist no where but in the brain.

7. Certain impressions are frequently preserved in the brain during life: nevertheless, when the encephalon undergoes pressure or lesion, these impressions suddenly disappear, and re-appear as suddenly, when the pressure is removed. But as they are preserved in the brain, they must have belonged, originally, to that organ.

*The motions of the voluntary muscles*, attended with consciousness, commence in the brain, or are effected by means of the nerves proceeding from the brain.

For, we cannot move our voluntary muscles when the brain is comatose, or impeded by pressure of whatever kind. When the brain is irritated by a bony splinter, convulsions take place, which cease when the splinter is removed.

As the brain is the only seat of thought, the movements produced by thought can originate in the brain alone. If voluntary motion existed in the limb that executes it, this motion would exist also when the brain was destroyed: nor could it be excited by stimulating the brain, or rendered impossible to be executed when the brain was compressed.

These arguments of Haller and Soemmerring authorise the conclusion, that perception, (consciousness) exists in the brain alone: that without the brain, no external impression, no internal irritation could give rise to any sensation: that the brain is, exclusively, the organ of animal life: that all the appearances observed in zoophytic animals, and all those which accompany nervous systems of an inferior order, different from a brain, ought not to be attributed to any sentient faculty, or to animal voluntariness, but to mere irritability.\*

It has also been deemed an argument, in support of the brain being the seat of thought and voluntary motion; that all the nerves either proceed from the brain as a prolongation of that organ, or all of them radiate and centre there. But Gall rejects this argument, as he has shewn in the first volume of his larger work, that the nerves of the organs of sense and of the medulla oblongata are not prolongations of the brain, but that each nervous system is separate, independent, and destined to its own proper functions, and that the branches of communication between the various nervous systems, sufficiently account for their reciprocal influence. Whether there be a common sensorium, is not quite settled. Gall strenuously denies it, ascribing sensation to each separate nervous system having distinct functions. Broussais is inclined to place it in the medulla oblongata, or at the corpora quadrigemina. In the present state of our knowledge, we should prefer the opinion of Dr. Gall. The observations of Adelon, in his "*Physiologie*," (vol. i. p. 517, &c.) are strongly confirmative of these arguments of Gall and his predecessors, if, indeed, in the present state of physiological knowledge, any confirmation were wanting to a doctrine so undoubted.

Thus far it seems established, that impressions are transmitted along the nerves to the brain: that the brain, therefore, is the seat of perception, consciousness, sensation, and therefore, also, of the reminiscence of past sensations, viz. ideas, and by consequence of all the intellectual phenomena.

\* Hence, also, as vegetables have no nervous apparatus, they cannot possess consciousness or voluntariness, notwithstanding Bell, Darwin, and Sir James Smith notice phenomena that seem to be voluntary.

Gall proceeds to shew that the brain is the exclusive organ of our moral qualities and our intellectual faculties:—

1. Where else can it be placed? In the bones? The blood-vessels? The lymphatics? The cellular tissue? The liver? The glands? The heart? But the heart is no more than a muscle. In the stomach? In the intestines? Are not all these, at first blush, excluded? We know that many, or all of them, are affected at any sudden occurrence of hope, fear, joy, &c.—But this sympathetic affection does not bear at all upon the point at issue.

2. Many animals have these viscera longer than man, who are much inferior to him. The wolf, the tyger, the hare, the sheep, have the same viscera, but how different their propensities and their faculties!

3. Nor can these qualities and faculties be located in the ganglionic plexuses, for we are too well acquainted with the functions to place them there. We find these nervous plexuses in other animals, as in the oyster: but where are its moral and intellectual faculties? All the mammalia have nearly the same ganglions and plexuses as man, but their mental inferiority is manifest.

4. If sensations and ideas have their seat in the brain, as is proved, then the visceral affections they induce are sympathetic only, secondary, and subordinate.

That some or other of the viscera are the seat of the passions and of intellectual affections, has been suggested and countenanced by Cabanis, Richerand, Bichat, and Broussais; but their facts are such only as may be accounted for from the connexion between the nerves of animal with those of organic life. No fact has hitherto been stated, so far as we know, that shews that any moral or intellectual affection *originates* elsewhere than in the brain. We shall omit Dr. Gall's acute reply to these objections, and to those of M. Virey: persuaded that our readers, on perusing the work, will be satisfied that he has done full justice to his own doctrine.

*None of the five senses is the seat of any moral or intellectual faculty.*

These senses are destined to convey impressions to the brain: they are, therefore, not substitutes for the brain.

Seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching, are functions whose manifestations terminate at the extremities of their appropriate nerves in the internal part of the cranium.

Consider, how can the known facts that follow be explained by any function of any of our five senses? viz.

Some animals are solitary, some gregarious: among some, the female only brings up the young; among others, the male partakes in this duty\*: some construct artificial habitations; others do not: some live on flesh; others on vegetables: some are murder<sup>ous</sup> and cruel: others mild and timid. In which of the senses do you locate these contrary dispositions? Are great painters made by a good eye, or great musicians by a good ear? They will tell you that some quality, far superior to the mere functions of the eye and the ear, is necessary to excellence.

*Nor are our moral and intellectual functions placed in the brain generally, or in our temperament.*

It is conceded that every distinct organ must be subject to the laws of organization: that it is, necessarily, dependent on the whole system, of which it forms a part, as the stomach, the organs of digestion, nutrition, assimilation, or the organs of organic life, and so on. We cannot see by means of a separated eye, nor taste with a tongue cut out: every part is, to a certain degree, dependent on all the rest; but this will not render the bowels, for instance, organs of vision. It is manifest, that in this connected whole, each part has its distinct function. Why should the brain be an anomaly to this general law?

As to temperament, it is a word, a term, designating a particular state and condition of the animal system generally, and of the various parts of it. To place a moral quality in the temperament of the person, is to place it in a word, a phrase. That the temperament or condition of the animal system, will influence and modify every function of every part, may be admitted; but this is not the point at issue. When it is shewn how a disposition for mathematical studies, or for music, can reside in a temperament, more may be said.

Thus far the proofs are *negative*; that the moral qualities, the intellectual faculties, the instincts, propensities, dispositions, mental feelings and talents, belong to the brain as functions of the various parts of which that complicated organ is composed, because they do not belong to any other part. We come now to the *positive* proofs of the same doctrine.

1. The gradual progress of animals toward perfection, from the zoophyte to the man, deserves consideration. In none of these, any more than in the acephalic animals of our own species, is there the slightest sign of aptitude for any peculiar exertion of industry: go on, till you arrive at the lowest cephalic animals, and with them only do you see the commencement of

\* This fact is daily before our eyes as to the goose and the guinea-fowl, whose male assists the female in this duty: it is not so with the common cock.



innate industrious aptitudes and instincts; as in the bee, the ant, &c. Proceed by degrees, to the class of fishes and amphibious animals, where the brain is very small, you find a gradual increase of functions and faculties proportionate to the apparatus. In Birds, the hemispheres are more perfect and we find their faculties more marked and more numerous. The brain of a pullet is less perfect than that of a parroquet.

In reaching the mammalia, whose brains are more complicated, we find their faculties increase in proportion, both in number and energy. This is manifest, in comparing the brains and the talents of a hare and a dog, of a bull and a horse. Look then at man, whose cerebral apparatus is the most perfect and the most complicated, and whose corresponding talents and faculties are so too. Hence, the fact manifestly is, that talents and faculties, follow the proportion and perfection of the brain, throughout every known class of animals, and do not follow the proportion or perfection, of any other part of the body.

2. There can be no manifestation of the moral or intellectual faculties, talents or dispositions, without the brain.

The growth, and also the facility of demonstration, of the nervous fibres of the brain, proceed together from infancy to adult age. In infancy, neither the fibres nor the faculties are, as yet, developed. Their developement is, exactly, mutual and progressive. There is no character, no mental quality apparent, but in proportion as the pulpy and gelatinous part of the brain, assumes a more distinct and fibrous character. This is a fact known to all anatomists. The forehead of an infant, at first flat, swells out gradually as his faculties become gradually formed, and the brain within attains, gradually, its full growth, which is usually from 25 to 35 years. (Gall says from 18 to 40. The former age is too early.) In proportion as old age creeps upon us, and our mental faculties decrease in energy, our brain decreases also in size. The one, therefore, depends on the other.

3. In all cases of mental precocity, there is not a proportional and accompanying developement beyond the usual rate, of any part of the body, but the brain: and of the brain, in these cases, there is. The heads of such persons are remarked as being usually larger.

4. Woman possesses, usually, certain talents, dispositions and faculties in a more eminent degree than man: while the latter has an advantage, with respect to other talents, &c. Individuals of the same family, of the same nation, are distinguished in this respect from each other; and even nation from nation. These differences, are accompanied by correspondent variations in no part of the animal system, but the brain. You will find

the forehead of the man usually larger and more expanded, the head of the woman more lengthened behind. You will see cranial differences between almost every man and his neighbour, shewing, that in some, the brain is more, in others, less developed. All this will be best verified by ocular inspection, and careful and repeated observation. If, therefore, there be no other differences constantly marked in the form and size of any other part of the human body, which can be at all applied to difference of talent and disposition, but in the form and size of the brain, we are authorised to ascribe it to that: and observations carefully made on various heads, in association with various characters, will convert this into demonstration.

5. The brain and the cerebellum are not absolutely necessary to organic or automatic life. Many parts of the brain may be injured or even destroyed, without producing immediate death. Many animals, with very small brains, as snakes, are extremely vivacious. Sleep may interrupt the mental faculties for a time, but the functions of organic life go on. Hence, as the brain does not exclusively belong to organic life, is it not fair to consider it as performing other functions, to wit, those of animal life, whereon all the mental faculties depend?

6. In proving, that the manner in which the mental faculties manifest themselves, by means of conditions dependent on our material organs, we rested on the fact, that all our mental faculties are the same, generally, where the essential structure of the brain is also the same.

Hence, also, the brain is the organ of the mind. All the human brains, not naturally defective, exhibit the same parts, and the same principal convolutions: they are distinguishable from each other only in the proportions of the convolutions, and in some accidental differences relating to them. Hence, the mental faculties of all men are, generally, the same in all essential particulars, and the differences are but accidental and accessory.

So it is in all animals; the essential parts of the brain are the same in the same class, and the convolutions the same, as in those of a lion, a tyger, and a cat. So are those of a wolf, a fox, and a dog. What a difference between the brains of a terrier and a rabbit! The differences being in a more or less perfect development of the same essential parts in the same class of animals, this will account for the shades of difference in their dispositions and characters. All the mammalia have the same viscera: if difference of mental quality depended upon

the viscera, there would be more decisive indications of it. The cerebral differences are sufficiently marked.\*

7. All mental exertion is exercised by means of the brain, and when carried to excess, the brain is affected by it. When the brain is inflamed, irritated, or injured, all mental exertion is painfully borne, and when continued, produces paralysis or death.

8. Experience teaches us, that when the moral and intellectual faculties are manifested with great energy, this is attended with a considerable developement of the brain, or of some of its parts. The ancients were well aware of this connexion. A wrestler, a Bacchus, a Silepus, was represented with the posterior part of his head large. But as we have to treat again of this point, we shall not dwell longer upon it now.

9. Brains of defective organization are always attended with proportionate mental imbecility. (Dr. Gall makes various references in support of this position to engravings of such heads in his larger work.)†

10. While the brain is uninjured, other parts of the body, nay, even the spinal marrow, at some distance from the brain, may be injured or compressed, without injury to the mental functions; as in tetanus, caused by wounds, or in hydrophobia. This may continue till death ensues, so that the nerves may be violently affected, while the functions of the brain go on, if the brain itself be not affected.

11. But if the brain be compressed, irritated, or injured, or destroyed, the intellectual functions are either entirely or partially deranged, or cease altogether. The man becomes comatose or foolish. A phrenitis produces frenzy or stupor. But, take off the pressure, remedy the injury, evacuate the extra-

\* Gall's general argument, under this head, may be illustrated thus. A cat is a carnivorous, warlike, cruel, and cunning animal: a rabbit is an herbivorous and timid animal, neither cruel nor cunning. These dispositions, and the acts that flow from them, are instinctive; independent of education. They depend, therefore, on an original difference in the organization of the animals; but not on the bones, or the muscles, or the blood vessels; these shew no properties adequate to explain the difference. On the nervous apparatus then, by means of which, all feelings and dispositions are manifested? But the brain is manifestly the seat of government of the nervous system. The difference of instincts and habits then depends, on differences of cerebral organization. But the skull is gradually moulded on the brain. There ought, therefore, to be a correspondent difference in the shape and form of the crania of these two kind of animals: and there is so.

† The heads he has copied in illustration of this proof are, one designed by Willis; two that were examined by Mr. Bonn, of Amsterdam; one by Mr. Pinel, who possesses the skull; a fifth preserved in the school of medicine at Paris; two others in Gall's own collection. All these belonging to persons exhibiting mental imbecility from their birth, and whose mass of brain varied from one-fourth to one-fifth of the usual quantity. The persons alluded to, were of 7, 11, 20, and 25 years of age.—When the imbecility is not so strongly marked, the cerebral defect is also less remarkable, of which he cites several instances.

vasated blood, calm the inflammation, and the faculties return, sometimes instantaneously, as Soemmerring has shewn.

12. Madness has its seat in the brain. This point is settled. But the moral and intellectual faculties, in their perfect state, can only be located there, where their derangement is manifested.

All these arguments receive illustration from facts adduced for the purpose by Dr. Gall, who proceeds to answer the objections that may be made to the arguments which we have thus abridged.

He investigates in this volume, whether we can find a measure, by means of the size and form of the brain, for the moral and intellectual faculties, wherein he considers the facial line of Camper, and the occipital line of Daubenton.

The plurality of the organs of the intellectual and moral faculties. Anatomical proofs of this plurality. Physiological proofs of it. Pathological proofs of it.

Objections answered.

Of wakefulness, of sleep, of dreams, of somnambulism.

In the 3d, 4th and 5th volumes, he develops his craniological system, and his organology. This is what may be called the physiognomic part of his doctrine. He gives us the history and progress of his respective discoveries on this subject; the cases that induced him to infer certain dispositions from certain cranial forms and appearances; and the result of his five-and-thirty years observations and examinations of this part of his general system.

Gall contends, that the external size and form of the cranium, are indicative of the size and form of the brain within; and, that these last are indicative of the propensities, talents, intellectual and moral qualities of the animal to whom they belong. For,

- 1st. One of the elements or properties of the activity of an organ, is its greater developement, as in the case of a muscle.
2. The cerebral organs border on and become separated at the periphery of the brain; and the cerebral convolutions form the final expansion of that periphery, and abut against the external circumference of this organ, forming prominences on the skull, (which is moulded on the brain,) ascertainable by those who frequently and carefully endeavour to observe them. This is *craniology*, of which, the evidence depends on the number of well-observed cases, wherein certain mental characters have been observed as associated with certain forms of the skull. Whether the concomitance of the cranial form and the mental character really exists, every person may judge for himself, if he will apply an impartial and accurate attention to the facts that he

has an opportunity of observing. Where the concomitances have been repeatedly observed, by several careful observers, it becomes a matter of fact to be relied on.

Craniology, to be well studied, requires, 1st, That the known characters, of each class of animals, should be compared with the characteristic forms of their skulls. 2. That these should be compared with their analogies in the human species. 3. That the peculiar mental characteristics of the human species, should be assigned to the characteristic form of the human cranium.—4. That the different characters of the sexes should be applied, correspondingly, to the different shapes of the cranium, where the one and the other appear to be constant and permanent.—5. That the forms of the skull should be particularly noted in persons, who have any particular and prominent talent, aptitude, propensity; or moral, or intellectual quality, well marked and characterized. For the more numerous, these concomitances and associations are found to be, the more certainly may the indications be registered and noted. 6. Where heads of living persons cannot be experimented on, plaster-casts of the head may often supply the place. 7. The characters of lunatics and maniacs, particularly monomaniacs, or those who are deranged on a particular subject, should be studied. 8. The varieties of national character should be studied on skulls or casts. — Craniology, like other accurate knowledge, requires impartial, attentive, laborious, and persevering observation.

Pursuing the study of craniology in this way, during five-and-thirty years, Dr. Gall thinks himself entitled to lay down, as it were, a map of the skull, indicative of mental character. He divides the head into nine regions, three on the median line, a frontal, a basilar, an intermediate: three on each side, frontal, occipital, lateral. He advises to try to discover and appreciate the real volume or bulk of these organs, instead of dwelling on the insulated elevations which the skull may present; for these elevations often occur, in consequence of the depression of neighbouring parts. Proceeding on the principle, that the predominance of a faculty greatly depends, on the development of that part of the brain, where the organ of that faculty is situated, he attempts to distinguish the effects resulting from the lengthening, and those that depend on the thickening of the cerebral fibres; the first, indicating the activity; the last, the intensity of the faculty.

Dr. Gall enumerates twenty-seven original faculties, each having its peculiar organ. Of these, nineteen are common to man and other animals, and eight peculiar to the human species. The first set are, the instinct of propagation, parental affection,

friendship, self-defence, carnivorous appetite, cunning, exclusive property, pride, vanity, circumspection, educability, locality, the organs of the senses, of persons, of words, of tones, colours, numbers, and the mechanical instinct.

The *second* set, (peculiar to man) are the organs of comparative sagacity, metaphysics, wit, (*esprit de saillie*) poetry, goodness, imitation, firmness, religious instinct.

M. Spurzheim makes additions to these, but there is enough to hesitate about in Gall's enumeration, without adding to our doubts.

Dr. Gall observes, in relation to his twenty-seven divisions, 1st, That the organs common to man and other animals, have correspondent faculties and vice versa. Thus, the posterior and inferior, and the anterior and inferior parts; while those which are peculiar to the human species, are placed in those parts of the brain, (*viz.* the anterior superior, or forehead) which animals do not possess. 2. The more indispensable a faculty is to the animal economy, the more does its appropriate organ approach the median line and base of the brain. 3. The organs of the faculties which aid each other, or which are analogous with each other, are generally placed one on another.

The following are Gall's observations on these organs. 1st, He demonstrates the necessity of any faculty which he denominates primitive and fundamental, and to which he assigns a specific organ, in the nervous apparatus of the brain. 2. He demonstrates that this faculty is really primitive, and will appear so, when the mental phenomena shew, that it has its source in the organization exclusively: as, when it is not common to all animals and all sexes: that in the individual possessing it, it is not proportionate to the other faculties of that individual: that it will have its distinct periods of development and decrease, independent of the other faculties, when it can be exercised by itself, be healthy by itself, be diseased by itself, and be transmitted hereditarily. 3. He indicates the appropriate cerebral organ, by an empirical examination of animals who have, or who have it not, and of the degrees in which they possess it. This depends, of course, on the number of careful and accurate observations, which go to shew, as matter of fact, that the external indication and the faculty are found associated together.—Difficulties may and do arise, from the integuments that cover the cranium, from the channelling of the brain by muscular action, from protuberances, not positive, but appearing in consequence of contiguous depressions, &c. All this, however, proves only, that in craniology as in every thing else, there are difficulties, which repeated experiments are necessary to overcome.—

In youth, when the organs are not yet developed, and old age, when they are, in a great degree, obliterated, craniology cannot be safely applied. Nor are antagonist faculties and organs to be neglected: sinuses also, and the recession of the hemispheres from the median line, may occasionally occur.

Still, while the passions make use of particular muscles, and while it is the property of a muscle, to increase in size when it is much used, our own opinion is, that there will be a natural and real foundation for physiognomy in the features. While the brain is the organ of faculties, propensities, instincts, and aptitudes, and while the skull is moulded on, and takes its external form from the brain within, the external marks *must* be indications of similar forms in the organ within—of differences, which cannot exist, without pointing to a correspondent difference in the functions, which those parts are destined to perform. The science of discovering mental character from external indications, being yet in its very infancy, mistakes may and *must* arise; but no anatomist or physiologist will deny that it has its foundation, and that a real one, in the organization of the animal.—Such are the opinions we entertain on the general question.—We are persuaded that physiognomy and craniology, have their foundation in nature. We consider it as ascertained that the intellectual faculties, and what we call talents, depend greatly on the anterior part of the brain, from the coronal suture to the os frontis, and the general expanding of the forehead. We think that some of Gall's locations are firmly established; about many of them we doubt, for want of opportunities of examination, and from the newness of the investigation to ourselves. But whatever doubts and suspicions of illusion, may hang over the craniological part of these volumes; no man has a right to say, that Dr. Gall is mistaken in his assertions, till the objector himself, has applied some few years of careful observation, to verify or falsify the facts asserted.\* That Dr. Gall is a man of the first order of intellect—that he is (beyond doubt) in his own department, the very best anatomist and physiologist of the day—that he has bestowed a large part of his life, and unremitting attention to the study he recommends—and that he has accumulated a vast mass of illustrative fact, and has shewn himself an acute as well as a profound reasoner, is too plain, from this work, to be denied. The assertions of such a man will not be passed over with contempt by the wise, even though his observations should, in many instances, savour too much of theory, and seem to want the necessary confirmation.

\* See Adelen's account of Gall's System Physiol. v. i. p. 589, et seq.

The last volume consists of replies to anatomical objectors: but as we have dwelt long enough on that part of his system, we shall content ourselves by observing, that he appears to us, in most, if not in every instance, to come triumphantly out of the contest, with his anatomical gainsayers.

We would gladly have given an account of the facial angle of Camper, and the means of measuring the proportional size of the brain by Daubenton and Cuvier; which methods, particularly the first, in our opinion, Gall treats too lightly. Let any man look at the plate borrowed from Camper, prefixed to White's "*Essay on the Gradations of Man*," and he will be satisfied, that the method, though very incomplete, is not devoid of truth, so far as it applies. But this review has extended so much under our hands, that we cannot trespass yet again, by extending it further.

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ART. VI.—*The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French; with a preliminary view of the French Revolution.* By the Author of *Waverly*. London, 1827. Philadelphia. Reprinted, 1827.

THE French Revolution, the great wonder of our age, has passed away. Its long and stormy day has closed. Its airy hopes, its visionary schemes, its magnificent promises, its gay delusions have disappeared. Like the terrible hurricane of the tropics, it overturned and scattered abroad all that it approached; agitated every land and sea that it could reach, and although at rest now, the waves that it disturbed, still shew symptoms of its violence, and fragments of many a wreck yet float upon their surface.

Its course was marked by prodigies. Prudence and experience, wisdom and valour, actual power and ancient opinion sunk before it; changes and revolutions were its concomitants; nations and governments were convulsed by its influence, and, in the language of inspiration, deep fear fell upon all people.

Events so wonderful, calamities so dire; peace, in which there was no tranquillity, wars to which there seemed no termi-



nation; contests unequalled in their magnitude, fierce in their conflicts, unparalleled in their results, have forced themselves upon the attention of the civilized world. The present age feels the deep impression of their power; and distant generations will look back with many and mingled emotions, on this, our day of astonishment.

It is not then surprising, that in a literary age, writers, almost without number, should have turned to this period, as labourers to a mine, inexhaustible in its richness:—warriors who had mingled in the contest, have become the narrators of their own exploits; victims who survived their persecutions, have related their own sufferings; politicians escaping from the struggles of party, have partially unfolded their own schemes, and the intrigues of their allies or opponents; egotists, whom chance had placed in the midst of contention, put forth their autobiographies, frequently to shew, how little they had seen and how little they understood; while some, who had been only spectators, or who had withdrawn themselves from this tragic scene, endeavoured to review the incidents of this great drama, with the calm and profound spirit of wisdom, and to unfold, with the voice of truth and of philosophy, the remote causes, the active principles; the probable consequences of this unexampled convulsion.

Among those who have advanced to this perilous enterprise, who have girded their loins for this hazardous exertion, the public have seen, with no common solicitude, the long disguised AUTHOR OF WAVERLY. The "mighty magician," who, in latter days, has reigned uncontrolled and unrivalled over the regions of fiction, has thrown aside the enchanter's robe and wand, and appeared in the attire of real life; he, who has been so long accustomed to mould persons, and actions, and characters at will, has now undertaken to exhibit them in the stern aspect, and according to the unbending realities of truth.

In this effort, there was to him great facility, to him and to all at the present day, some obvious as well as latent danger. The brilliant, the animated, the picturesque details of enterprise and adventure, the admirable delineations of character, the glowing style, the dramatic texture which distinguish so eminently the fictitious narratives of Sir Walter Scott, all manifested his high qualifications for his new labour. The athlete entered on the arena prepared and disciplined. His multiplied successes, in many different departments of literature, gave the promise of a splendid triumph in a new career; and the literary world has been awaiting to receive, and prepared to admire the proud monument, which history, by his hands,

should rear, to the character, the fortunes, the mighty, even if sometimes misdirected, talents of him, who has been termed the child, the heir, and who proved the destroyer of the French revolution.

To Sir Walter there was some danger, lest the habit and the desire of giving dramatic form and effect to every incident, might insensibly colour his narrative, and give to each transaction, an unnatural, if not distorted aspect. But against this evil, the magnitude of the events themselves, the almost unexampled vicissitudes of the actors, seemed sufficiently to guard. There was no occasion to embellish that which is magnificent and wonderful beyond all recent example; no temptation to exaggerate occurrences, which seem, in themselves, already to surpass the bounds of human probability.

There are, however, other dangers that encompass the path of the historian, and call for unceasing vigilance. Snares which, perhaps, no caution can altogether avoid. Although the Revolution, with its tempestuous scenes, has passed away, in its progress it broke up the foundations of civil society. Every thing which habit and opinion rendered venerable, had been treated with scorn and contumely; every thing sacred had been degraded and profaned; every thing considered stable had been subverted or defaced; every prejudice of the individual or of society, had been offended; every feeling of human nature had been insulted; every principle of human action had, in turns, been violated; but with all of these contending and perturbed elements, in the midst even of brutal violence and disorder, there had been intermingled the purest patriotism, the most elevated magnanimity, the most perfect self-devotion, the most heroic courage. Still, vestiges of these discordant principles remain, and who shall consider himself exempt from their influence? Who shall walk over these concealed, but still living fires, and not feel their power? He who now writes the history of this great era, must write of the living, or of those whose graves are scarcely closed, and whose connexions or friends, or descendants still survive to feel each injury, perhaps, to vindicate each wrong. He who now writes, must speak, perhaps, of his own political associates, his own intimate and endeared companions. Who can sustain through such circumstances, the calm and intrepid spirit, that will do justice equally to the victor and the vanquished, to the living and the dead; that will give to suffering and unfortunate merit its due reward, will hurl on triumphant guilt, an indignant and merited reproach? Who can raise, even now, the veil which enshrouds the pretended patriot, the dissembled royalist, the

unprincipled statesman, the ambitious soldier ; who will pour the unmitigated light of truth over the multitude of his contemporaries, even should they shrink and tremble at its radiance ? It is not only to the prominent, the elevated actors on the scene, that these observations apply, but to the thousands whom circumstances brought forward on the stage, and whom history must mention. A century, perhaps, must rest on the feelings which this Revolution has excited and exacerbated, before any tribunal can decide impartially on the doubtful and disputable occurrences of the last forty years.

It is not alone with regard to the character and conduct of individuals, that these difficulties exist. They extend to deeper and more important inquiries. Neither is it easy yet, to estimate the real influence of the Revolution, either on France itself, or on each surrounding nation. The struggle has indeed ceased, its violence has been subdued, but its effects may still be traced ; its changes, its reformatations, still survive to bear testimony to its active energy, and many of its principles remain deeply impressed on the human mind, and on the form and texture of society. The final results of this Revolution are still to be developed, and time only can disclose its benign or deleterious operation. The historian who undertakes to review these events, must bring to his task great sagacity, to trace effects from their remote and obscure causes, to pursue them to their ultimate consequences ; and great candour and impartiality, so as to assign neither more good nor more evil to each incident, than is justly its due ; neither more praise nor more reproach to each agent, than his actions merit.

There yet exist other difficulties, but they are subordinate, and might be urged with equal weight, against all contemporary history—we allude to the want of information, even where materials appear to be most abundant, and to the impenetrable veil which still hangs over many of the most important transactions of this eventful period. The prominent incidents are, it is true, known, and have been detailed and canvassed, until they have become familiar. But the secret causes of many of these incidents, the dark intrigues, the hidden councils which influenced or governed the most important measures, are, doubtless, still concealed—and many a tale must yet be told ; actors and accomplices and witnesses must all depart ; and many cabinets, both public and private, must be exposed to unrestricted examination, before the secret, perhaps, the real history of the French Revolution, can be thoroughly explained.

Under these disadvantages and difficulties, our author has advanced to this enterprise, and we feel grateful for, and to

a great degree, gratified at the effort. The "*Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*" is a work certainly of great intrinsic merit, an animated and brilliant narrative, a picturesque delineation of splendid and imposing occurrences, if not containing much novelty, yet faithful, we believe, in the great outlines of his history, written in a style of much power and beauty, sometimes highly polished, and frequently decorated with the graces, the ornaments and the imagery of poetry. If the author is sometimes careless and remiss, if not incorrect, we must remember the extent of his undertaking, and rest assured that such errors will speedily be corrected; but if his narrative is clouded by partialities and prejudices, tinged by false views and imperfect observation, we must, whilst we deeply regret these failings, bear in mind the antipathies, personal, political and national, with which, in his long career, he had constantly to contend—we must view him as an Englishman, a tory and an individual, who, connected through the whole period of the French Revolution with that party, which waging against the rulers of France an implacable war, had been accustomed to represent their every act, in the darkest and most exaggerated colours.

The first impression that strikes us on perusing this work, is the great magnitude of the subject itself. Eight large volumes (in the original edition) are employed to narrate the occurrences of thirty years, and every one, we think, will feel that all these great events, excepting those which occurred during the last years of Napoleon's life, have been treated too briefly. His decline and fall are certainly related more fully, and with more power, perhaps with more satisfaction, than his ascent to greatness. The wars of the French Revolution, and particularly those which were conducted by Bonaparte himself, bore no similitude to the campaigns of the two preceding centuries.—While distinguished by science and skill, they resembled more in their effects, the decisive irruptions of the ancient Scythian or Arabian hosts. Battles were fought wherever an enemy could be found, and every day, during one of these short and active campaigns, seemed a day of battle. Military positions and fortified places lost their ancient value. The first were turned, the latter left in the rear, and disregarded or merely masked, as sure to become the prize of him who remained master of the field. Every chance was hazarded on the chance of battle, and movements and exertions, almost without a parallel, were combined to secure, not only the palm, but the results of victory.—Hence, every campaign became a trial both of skill and energy; and the incidents of a few weeks might furnish to a military

historian, materials for many an instructive volume. In general history they are necessarily limited to a few pages.

In these preliminary observations, we have spoken of the French Revolution generally, not only because a considerable part of this work is devoted to a review of its origin and progress, but because it is intimately combined with the life of Napoleon Bonaparte. It is, necessarily, a portion of his history. He was educated amidst its rising contests; gave his first manifestation of talents in its early struggles; acquired influence and great glory at the head of its conquering legions; and, finally, controlling its fierce and mingled elements, shook with their mighty power, the kingdoms and empires of the earth, to their deepest foundations.

We shall not consider the life of Napoleon Bonaparte in chronological order, nor attempt a regular narrative of his exploits. If a large history forms almost too brief a chronicle of the occurrences of his busy day, the narrow limits of a review can afford no space for their rehearsal. We must treat them as the tales of past years—we must consider the leading events as already familiar to our readers, and only comment on those particulars, which the narrative, or the opinions of the author before us, render remarkable.

It may be necessary, however, to avoid frequent references or explanations, to recapitulate the remarkable eras, which belong to the life of Napoleon Bonaparte. The ancient government of France, after the peace of Versailles in 1783, appeared totally exhausted. Overwhelmed by its fiscal embarrassments, and on the verge of bankruptcy, having changed ministers and counsels without relief, it summoned a meeting of Notables, which assembled in 1787. This measure proving ineffectual, after many expedients, the States General of the Kingdom were convened in 1789. For nearly half a century before this period, public opinion, during the dissolute reign of Louis XV. and the weak and indulgent administration of his successor, had been undergoing great changes. The proud royalty and religious bigotry, which had externally characterised the Court of Louis XIV. had been succeeded by a freedom of inquiry, which, in religion, had terminated in almost universal indifference, if not scepticism; and, in politics, in an ardent desire to see established in France, those principles of liberal government, which in Great Britain and America, appeared so propitious to human welfare. The States General, therefore, assembled, the members already prepared, with the almost unanimous approbation of the French nation, to strip the clergy and nobility of many of their ancient claims and privileges, to reduce the power of the

throne to comparatively narrow and prescribed limits; and, indeed, to change thoroughly the character of their government. Their task, however, was not easy nor undisturbed. Ancient prejudices were soon awakened—amidst discord and contention, suspicion and jealousy, they were fated to continue their labours—their discussions, at first, only vehement and noisy, became gradually embittered; and, in succeeding days, the divisions which first appeared in this assembly, caused oceans of blood to stain and disfigure, and undermine the bulwark they had erected to protect the liberties of their country. They completed, however, after a session of two years, a new form of government, a constitutional monarchy, and retired—leaving its administration to their successors, but bequeathing to them also, their feuds and their exasperated feelings.

Amidst opinions in all extremes—aristocracy leaning to the most uncontrolled despotism, the spirit of reform verging to the wildest democracy—the Legislative Assembly laboured to establish and perpetuate this new system. But parties multiplied and grew more fierce and untractable; insurrection after insurrection bore down all authority, until, by a new assembly, summoned under the name of a Convention, in the autumn of 1792, the throne and altar were finally subverted; the monarch deposed and executed; and vials of wrath poured forth over the suffering country. War, with almost all Europe, immediately followed; at first, with varied and alternate success; afterwards, with almost uninterrupted victory to the Republican arms. The Convention, after a ferocious and unrelenting tyranny of somewhat more than two years, after the fall of that reign of terror which had disgraced its administration, formed, to pacify the people, the directorial government; but the members of the Convention, retained in their own hands, by their own appointment, the authority of the new government. Two-thirds of the functionaries were, by the provisions of this new Constitution, to be selected from the Convention, one-third only to be introduced by a free election. It was in suppressing a popular insurrection, of the sections of Paris against this usurpation, that Napoleon Bonaparte first became known to the rulers of France. Born in Corsica, in 1769, but educated at the military schools of France, he had been distinguished before on two or three occasions, as an active and skilful officer, in a subordinate station. He now first displayed, on a great theatre, that promptness and decision, that power of combining, even in the midst of danger, the movements and strength of mighty masses, which so strongly and peculiarly marked his character. He received, as his reward, the command of the

army of Italy, and began in the spring of 1796, his bright career of glory and of power. After many victories, he terminated his first great campaign in the spring of 1797, with the treaty or truce of Leoben, near the walls of Vienna. This was confirmed by the treaty of Campo Formio, in the fall of the same year.—In 1798, during the continuance of the continental peace, he arranged and executed his celebrated expedition to Egypt. He was absent about seventeen months. In that time, new coalitions had been formed in Europe against France. Austria and Russia, in 1799, became victors in their turn, and under the guidance of Suvaroff, their troops re-conquered Italy, excepting a small portion of Genoa, and threatened to invade France itself. The victories of Massena, in Switzerland, stayed this evil; the consequent discord between the Emperors of Austria and Russia, produced a pause in the progress of the war; and the arrival of Bonaparte in Europe, gave a new aspect to the affairs of France. He found his progress in the East, obstructed by the want of supplies, which were intercepted by the naval power of Great-Britain, and hearing of the reverses of the French armies, he returned to Europe, landing at Frejus, in October, 1799.—On the 8th November, he overturned the directorial government, and became first Consul of France, under a constitution almost of his own formation. In May, 1800, he crossed the Alps, with an army he had organized during the winter, and on the 14th June, gained the celebrated victory of Marengo, which restored Italy to France. A truce, which succeeded this victory was subsequently broken; but Austria, after the battle of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau, in December, 1800, finally signed the treaty of Luneville, in the commencement of 1801. Peace was then restored again to the Continent for a short period.—This became universal, when, in March, 1803, the treaty of Amiens was also concluded with Great-Britain. In the course of the same year, Bonaparte was appointed Consul for life, with the right of nominating his successor.

Peace was not the element of Napoleon Bonaparte; although, even in peace, his wisdom and sagacity were pre-eminent, and his reforms and improvements, in the walks of civilized life, were generally admirable and almost universal. The treaty of Amiens proved but a short truce. War with Great-Britain re-commenced in May, 1803, although two nations, each of whom considered its power as invincible, upon their favorite elements, could, at that time, find no common field on which they could come in collision. In 1804, Napoleon assumed the purple, and in December he was crowned Emperor of the French. In 1805, a new coalition was formed against him by England, Austria,

and Russia; he crossed the Rhine on the 26th September, and on the 2d December, at Austerlitz, in Moravia, terminated the war. The conditions of peace were settled by the treaty of Presburg, and soon after, the thrones of Holland and Naples were conferred on his brothers Louis and Joseph; and the confederation of the Rhine established under his protection.

Prussia, almost the earliest enemy of Republican France, had continued neutral since 1795. She was now irritated by the encroachments of Napoleon, on the independence of Germany, and prepared for hostilities. She had unwisely declined to unite with Austria, in the late coalition, while that empire was still powerful; she now undertook to oppose Napoleon with her own resources, or with only the hope and promise of distant aid from Russia. War was commenced in October, 1806, and on the 13th of the same month, by the battle of Jena, the Prussian monarchy was broken to pieces. In January, Napoleon was in Poland, combatting the forces of Russia, which were advancing to relieve her ally. After some desperate battles, the victory of Friedland, on the 13th June, 1807, led him to the Niemen, and produced the peace of Tilsit.

To this period, the successes of Napoleon had been almost unvaried. It was, perhaps, his brightest hour; for, amidst some brilliant triumphs, his fortunes afterwards became chequered, and finally, most disastrous. In December, 1807, he occupied Lisbon and the kingdom of Portugal, without resistance. In May, 1808, he seized on the heads of the Spanish monarchy, whom he had invited to Bayonne, gave the throne of that kingdom to his brother Joseph, and excited by these means, that insurrection of the Spanish people, which was never quieted until his downfall. In 1809, Austria, encouraged by the resistance of the Spanish nation, and their partial successes, again raised her standard. In April, Napoleon crossed the Rhine, and after the victories of Abensberg and Eckmühl, and the doubtful conflict of Essling or Asperne, terminated at Wagram on the 6th July, this fourth great Austrian contest. A treaty was signed at Schoenbrunn. The Spanish and English wars still continued, neglected, perhaps, at intervals, for circumstances that pressed more immediately on Napoleon's attention.

The Treaty of Schoenbrunn was, apparently, to close all future dissensions with Austria. An alliance between the two Emperors was arranged by its secret articles—and Napoleon, anxious for a son to inherit his great and almost irresistible power, repudiated the Empress Josephine, the partner of his early fortunes, and even on the throne, a dignified and beloved companion; and married in March, 1810, Maria Louisa, the



eldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria. In 1811, as if his every wish was to be gratified, a son was born, who seemed destined to receive the fairest inheritance that ever descended to man. During these two years, the war in Spain was, in some measure, disregarded, or its real magnitude overlooked, for the power of Napoleon might, assuredly, have brought it to a conclusion, if directed exclusively to that object.

In 1812, considering Prussia as broken, Austria as an ally, Spain only as a troublesome, not a dangerous enemy, and displeased at some breaches in that continental system, which, since the fall of Prussia, he had devised for the destruction of England; he undertook, in an inauspicious hour, to beat down the power of Russia, the last nation on the Continent that could offer any regularly arrayed opposition to his sovereign will. He called together his vassals and allies, he collected the largest disciplined army that was ever assembled on the surface of the globe, complete in its equipments, perfect in its organization, and most ably commanded; he plunged into the wildernesses of the North, gained victories and triumphs, and occupied the ancient capital of Russia. But that capital perished in his grasp—retreat became necessary. Famine and disease, and the elements, and an unconquered enemy assailed his retreat, and of that mighty army, only a scattered remnant reached a friendly soil. Napoleon returned to France with an unsubdued spirit. He created new armies, and at Lutzen and Bautzen, he appeared again a conqueror—Austria however, declared once more against him, Germany, in all her provinces, rose, in the hour of hope, to crush the gigantic power which pressed her so heavily to the earth. Dresden saw his last great triumph. Victory was now unavailing; he was encompassed by superior power, and matched by almost equal skill; and the defeat of Leipsic drove him from Germany, and reduced him at last to the defence of that soil he was accustomed, in his days of triumph, to consider so sacred and secure.

Peace was offered repeatedly, and on liberal terms; for his antagonists were unwilling to drive to desperation a spirit so lofty, and talents and energy so daring, and still so much dreaded. But his unconquered mind could not bend, he was unwilling, formally, to surrender even what he had actually lost; and entertaining, perhaps, a latent hope that France, in defence of her own territory, could be rallied to new exertions, he stood the fatal cast. France was invaded in January, 1814. The Allies entered Paris on the 1st of April, and Napoleon, deserted by his chieftains, not only the leaders of his councils, but the companions of his arms in many a trophied field, abdicated the throne. He

retired to Elba, an exile, though nominally an Emperor. But his trials had not yet closed. Visions of ancient glory hovered around him in his seclusion. Voices from that shore he had abandoned, reached him in his solitudes; and, encouraged by the unquiet and dissatisfied state of France, he once more threw himself, as in his own element, amidst the strife and turmoils of the world. His march from Cannes to Paris, is an incident unparalleled in history. Unarmed and unguarded amidst a people, now governed by a hostile dynasty, his progress was a perpetual triumph. Not only the soldiers, the companions of his brighter days, thronged, as might have been expected, to his unfurled banners; but the people hailed his approach with universal acclamation. No sword was drawn, no hostile sounds were heard; his advance seemed that of a beloved monarch returning after a long absence to a grateful country. But he returned too soon. The armies by which he had already been dethroned still encompassed France. They advanced anew to battle. He had no time to prepare for such a struggle. At the head of such forces, as in two months he could assemble, he made a gallant but unsuccessful effort. At Waterloo, on the 18th of June, 1815, his hopes all perished. He abdicated his throne a second time; threw himself on the generosity of Great Britain; was sent to St. Helena, and passed the remainder of his life in suffering petty mortifications, which a gallant people ought not to have inflicted upon him; and, in uttering complaints unworthy of his understanding, and his high character. He died on the 8th May, 1821, a victim, probably, to an unfriendly climate, acting on mortified pride and disappointed ambition.

Such are the outlines of that eventful history which Sir Walter Scott has undertaken to relate. We cannot pursue him in its details. We can only consider how, in different points of view, he has treated the subject; and to Bonaparte himself, as the hero of the tale, and as the most splendid orb, even in the bright constellation, which arose amidst the stormy hours of this convulsed and memorable æra, to his exploits and his character we shall first advert; to his historian, we shall afterwards return.

The military talents of Bonaparte, first attracted the attention of mankind; they were the powers which scattered dismay over many an embattled field; and which, even to his last struggle, seemed to perplex and intimidate the world. To these extraordinary faculties, we think Sir Walter Scott has done more unequivocal justice than to any other portion of Bonaparte's character. We shall, therefore, devote a few pages to this topic.

We will, however, previously make some extracts from a chapter on the external relations of France, in which the military arrangements of the French people, at the commencement of the Revolution, are described. To abridge these extracts, we shall select sentences, rather than paragraphs. Speaking of her early victories, he remarks :—

“ So much and so generally had the fortune of war declared in favor of France upon all points, even while she was sustaining the worst of evils from the worst of tyrannies.—There must have been, unquestionably, several reasons for such successes as seemed to attend universally on the arms of the republic, instead of being limited to one peculiarly efficient army, or to one distinguished General.

“ The first and most powerful cause must be looked for in the extraordinary energy of the Republican Government, which, from its very first commencement, threw all subordinate considerations aside, and devoted the whole resources of the country to its military defence.—Compulsory levies were universally resorted to ; and the undoubted right which a state has to call upon each of its subjects to arise in defence of the community, was extended into the power of sending them upon expeditions of foreign conquest.—

“ Every man in France able to bear arms, was placed at the orders of the state, and being divided into classes, the youngest, to the amount of five hundred thousand, afterwards augmented to a million, were commanded to march for immediate action. The rest of society were to be so disposed of, as might best second the efforts of the actual combatants.—All property was in like manner, devoted to maintaining the war—all buildings were put to military purposes—all arms appropriated to the public service, and all horses, excepting those which might be necessary for agriculture, seized on for the cavalry, and other military services.—Representatives of the people were named to march with the various levies, those terrible commissioners who punished no fault with a lighter penalty than death. No excuse was sustained for want of personal compliance with the requisition for personal service, no delay permitted, no substitution allowed, actual and literal compliance was demanded from every one, and of what rank soever.—

“ There are countries, however, in which the great numerical superiority thus attained, is of little consequence, when a confused levy *en masse* of raw, inexperienced and disorderly boys, are opposed against the ranks of a much smaller, but a regular and well disciplined army.—But this was not found to be the case with the youth of France, who adopted the habits most necessary for a soldier, with singular facility and readiness.—

“ Besides this propensity, and undoubtedly connected with it, a young Frenchman is possessed of the natural character most desirable in the soldier. He is accustomed to fare hard, to take much exercise, to make many shifts, and to support with patience occasional deprivations. His happy gaiety renders him indifferent to danger; his good humour, patient under hardship. His ingenuity seems to amuse as well as to assist him in the contingencies of a roving life. He can be with ease, a cook or

an artificer, or what else the occasion may require. His talents for actual war are not less decided. Either in advancing with spirit, or in retreating with order, the Frenchman is one of the finest soldiers in the world.—

“The armies with whom these new levies were incorporated, were, by degrees, admirably supplied with officers. The breaking down the old distinctions of ranks, had opened a free career to those desirous of promotion; and in times of hard fighting, men of merit are distinguished, and get preferment. The voice of the soldier had often its influence upon the officer's preferment, and that is a vote seldom bestowed, but from ocular proof that it is deserved.—

“Under that stern rule which knew no excuse for ill success, and stimulated by opportunities, which seemed to offer every prize to honorable ambition, arose a race of Generals, whom the world scarce ever saw equalled, and of whom, there certainly never at any other period, flourished so many, in the same service.—

“The French armies, thus recruited and thus commanded, were disciplined in a manner suitable to the materials of which they were composed. There was neither leisure nor opportunity to subject the new levies to all that minuteness of training, which was required by the somewhat pedantic formality of the old school of war.—The foppery of the manual exercise was laid aside, and it was restricted to the few motions necessary for effectual use of the musket and bayonet.—The quantity of light troops was increased greatly beyond the number, which had of late been used by European nations.—

“The French disciplined immense bodies of their conscripts as irregulars and sharp-shooters. It is true, that this service cost an immense number of lives; but the French Generals were sensible that human life was the commodity which the Republic set the least value upon; and when death was served with so wide a feast from one end of France to the other, he was not to be stinted in his own proper banqueting hall, the field of battle.

“The same circumstances dictated another variety or innovation in French tactics, which greatly increased the extent of slaughter.—It was then, that the French Generals began first to employ those successive attacks in column, in which one brigade of troops is brought up after another, without interruption, and without regard to the loss of lives, until the arms of the defenders were weary with slaying, and their line being in some point or other carried, through the impossibility of every where resisting an assault so continued and desperate, the battle is lost, and the army is compelled to give way; while the conquerors can, by the multitudes they have brought into action, afford to pay the dreadful price which they have given for the victory.” Vol. i. p. 265. et seq. (of the American edition, to which we shall constantly refer.)

Such was the composition of the French armies in the early stages of the Revolution, when their successes first began to alarm all surrounding nations, and created abroad a “reign of terror,” which, if not so violent, was yet more durable than the jacobin tyranny in France. Such was the mode of supplying its

ranks, and leading it to victory. "Force, immediate and irresistible force (says our author) was the only logic used by the Government. Death was the only appeal from their authority. The guillotine, the all sufficing argument, which settled each debate betwixt them and the governed." But with the fate of the "Terrorists," this portion of their system was necessarily broken, and the efforts of the Republic, so irresistible in 1794, were greatly abated in 1795, and in 1796, the army of Italy, which Bonaparte was appointed to command, was found greatly inferior to its opponents in numbers and in discipline, and totally destitute of equipments, and of all, which, in modern phraseology, is termed the "materiel" of an army. The first moving principle, an army, naked it is true and destitute, was indeed given him, the rest (provisions, clothes, arms, wealth, power and victory) were all acquired by the efforts of his own mind.

His talents were indeed gigantic. His combinations before the day of battle, his decision on the field, his promptness to avail himself of any oversight committed by an enemy, the confidence with which he inspired his soldiers, all enabled him to act on the emergencies of the moment, and movements often appeared to be the result of previous calculation, which were only the fortunate issue of prompt and almost instinctive sagacity. It has been said, and it is strongly stated by Sir Walter Scott, that his great secret was, "the power of assembling the greatest number of forces upon the same point, at the same moment, notwithstanding an inferiority of force to the enemy." But a careful comparison of his campaigns, will prove that his resources were as various as the exigencies of war, and his operations and military stratagems frequently springing from the actual contingencies of battle. If an enemy, with his forces at all divided, advanced upon him, as was the case with Beaulieu, Wurmser, Alvinzi, he was sure to attack their separated columns, with concentrated forces, and overpower them in detail; if they took strong positions, as did Mack at Ulm, and the Prussians near Jena, he manœuvred around the flanks of their armies, until he surrounded them, or separated them from their supplies, or compelled them to relinquish their position, and hazard an engagement under discouraging circumstances; or, if time did not permit this operation, he met them on their own battle field, as at Austerlitz and Wagram, and trusted to his own right hand for victory—trusted, that amidst the cloud and din of battle, the tumult and confusion of conflict, he would discover some means, by which all hostile skill should be rendered useless, all contending power, weak. Let us, however, exhibit our author's view of this subject, and adduce a few of those

incidents which illustrate strongly, Sir Walter's opinions, although he undoubtedly errs, when he makes this preconceived combination, almost exclusively the principle of action, in the military campaigns of Napoléon.

"But as war becomes a profession and a subject of deep study, it is gradually discovered, that the principles of tactics depend upon mathematical and arithmetical science; and that the commander will be victorious who can assemble the greatest number of forces upon the same point, at the same moment, notwithstanding an inferiority of numbers to the enemy, when the general force is computed on both sides. No man ever possessed, in a greater degree than Bonaparte, the power of calculation and combination, necessary for directing such decisive manœuvres. It constituted, indeed, his secret, as it was for some time called; and that secret consisted in an imagination, fertile in expedients, which would never have occurred to others; clearness and precision in forming his plans; a mode of directing, with certainty, the separate moving columns which were to execute them, by arranging, so that each division should arrive on the destined position, at the exact time, when their service was necessary; and above all, in the knowledge which enabled such a master spirit to choose the most fitting subordinate implements, to attach them to his person, and by explaining to them so much of his plan as it was necessary each should execute, to secure the exertion of their utmost ability in carrying it into effect.

"Thus, not only were his manœuvres, however daring, executed with a precision which warlike operations had not attained before his time; but they were also performed with a celerity which gave them almost always the effect of surprise. Napoleon was like lightning in the eyes of his enemies; and when repeated experience had taught them to expect this portentous rapidity of movement, it sometimes induced his opponents to wait, in a dubious and hesitating posture, for attacks, which, with less apprehension of their antagonist, they would have thought it more prudent to frustrate and anticipate. Vol. i. p. 302.

Even his first operations discovered a commanding and matured intellect, with not only skill to combine, but readiness to seize every advantage that accident might offer to his arms.—His first exercise of command was a call to action. In the presence of a more numerous and better disciplined army than his own, he changed the position of his troops, and determined to force a passage into Italy by "turning round the southern extremity of the Alpine range, keeping, as close as possible, to the shores of the Mediterranean, and passing through the Genoese territory by the narrow pass, called the Bocchetta." Beaulieu, at the head of his left wing, consisting of his best troops, placed himself at Voltri to oppose his enemy in front, and directed his centre under Argenteau, and his right, consisting principally of the Piedmontese army, under Colli, to attack the centre and rear of the advancing, and apparently exposed line of the French

army. But as soon as they approached near enough to be assailed, Bonaparte, leaving a small division in front, to oppose, as long as possible, any advancing movement of Beaulieu, directed both van and rear of his army to march against Argenteau, and overwhelmed, at Monte Notte, that division, "while Colli, on the right, and Beaulieu on the left, each at the head of numerous forces, did not even hear of the action till it was fought and won." Beaulieu instantly retired on Dego, in the valley of the Bormida, to communicate with Colli, who, for the same purpose, had removed to Millesimo; but Bonaparte considering himself now sufficiently strong, divided his forces, attacked both the remaining divisions of the Austro Sardinian army on the next day, defeated them, then leaving a force on the Bormida to keep Beaulieu in check, changed his original destination, and pursued the retreating army of Colli, defeated it again at Mondovi, opened the road to Turin, and compelled the king of Sardinia to sign an armistice at Cherasco, by which his strongest fortresses were surrendered to the French armies, the road to Italy permanently opened, and peace imposed on such terms as the Directory should dictate. Thus, in less than one month, he had gained four battles "over forces far superior to his own, taken eighty pieces of cannon and twenty-one stand of colours; inflicted on the enemy a loss of twenty-five-thousand men," and reduced one kingdom to submission. He then turned his victorious arms once more against Beaulieu, and by the memorable victory at the Bridge of Lodi, remained master of the rich and populous provinces of the Milanese.

The defence of these very provinces against Wurmser, brought to view the same consummate skill, and that decision which always foreran the occasion. Austria, unwilling to lose her possessions in Lombardy, and the influence, if not authority, which they gave her over the whole of Italy, collected one of the finest armies she had yet assembled, calling thirty thousand choice troops from the Rhine, adding to them recruits from the warlike districts of the Tyrol, and uniting to these the remnants of Beaulieu's army, which had retreated within the passes of that Alpine district. Wurmser, considered one of the ablest of the Austrian Generals, was placed at its head, and ordered to relieve Mantua, and to recover the provinces of Austrian Lombardy.

"The thunder cloud (says Sir Walter) which had been so long blackening on the mountains of the Tyrol, seemed now about to discharge its fury. Wurmser, having under his command perhaps eighty-thousand men, was about to march from Trent against the French, whose forces amounting to scarce half so many, were partly engaged in the siege of Mantua, and partly dispersed in the towns and villages on the Adige and Chiese, for covering the division of Serrurier, which carried on the siege."

We regret we have not room to insert the whole passage. Suffice it to say, Wurmser, with more enterprise than caution, in order to make that victory, of which he felt assured, more complete, detached his right wing down the valley of the Chiese, with orders to march on Brescia, and act on the rear of the French army. Wurmser, himself, with the centre, was to march by Peschiera towards Mantua, while Melas, in communication with him on the left, descended the Adige on Verona. By these movements, however, the Lake of Guarda was interposed between the centre and right wing of the Austrian army. As soon as this "dislocation," as Sir Walter terms it, of the Austrian forces was known to Bonaparte, with that promptitude which always led him to sacrifice inferior objects to those which were more important, he raised the siege of Mantua, leaving even his artillery in the trenches, as if abandoned in precipitate flight, and centering all his troops, turned upon the right of the Austrian army, totally defeated it at Salo and Lonato, and detached a small force to pursue its scattered battalions in their rapid flight towards the Tyrol. He, himself, advanced to meet the Austrian centre, which having now reached the southern point of the Lake of Guarda, was making some ineffectual efforts to communicate with its right. After some desperate struggles, these troops were also defeated, while the left wing was almost, at the same moment, beaten by Augereau, at Castiglione. The remains of these two divisions, rallied by Wurmser, were again vanquished, "and finally overwhelmed by an enemy who appeared to possess ubiquity, simply from his activity and power of combining his forces." The Austrians are supposed to have lost nearly forty-thousand men in these disastrous battles.

Of his real military skill, and of that power of combination of which Sir Walter speaks so often, no more brilliant exhibitions were ever made than in his campaign against Austria in 1809. Encouraged by the obstinate resistance of Spain, and by the waste and diversion of his resources, which the Spanish war necessarily occasioned, Austria resolved once more to try the fate of battle. "Her exertions, adds Sir Walter, were, on this occasion, gigantic; and her forces were superior to those which she had been able to summon out at any former period of her history. Including the army of reserve, they were computed as high as five hundred and fifty-thousand men, which the Archduke once more commanded in the character of Generalissimo." About one hundred and eighty-thousand, under the immediate command of the Archduke, crossed the Inn on the 9th of April, and advanced into Bavaria.



Napoleon, who had been recalled from Spain, by the preparation of Austria, made every exertion to meet the approaching tempest—

“He summoned out the auxiliary forces of the Confederacy of the Rhine, he remanded some of the troops who were marching to Spain, and withdrew from his garrisons, in the North of Germany, whatever troops could be spared, and united them to the corps of Davoust and of Oudinot, which were already in Germany. Still, the total amount of his assembled forces was greatly inferior to those of the Archduke Charles.” Vol. ii. p. 233.

Napoleon did not leave Paris until he heard of the actual invasion of Bavaria. The first movement of the campaign we shall permit our author to relate.

“The Archduke’s plan was to act upon the offensive. His talents were undoubted, his army greatly superior in numbers to the French, and favourably disposed, whether for attack or defence; yet, by a series of combinations, the most beautiful and striking, perhaps, which occur; in the life of one so famed for his power of forming such, Bonaparte was enabled, in the short space of five days, totally to defeat the formidable masses which were opposed to him.

“Napoleon found his own force unfavourably disposed, on a long line extending between the towns of Augsburg and Ratisbon, and presenting, through the incapacity, it is said, of Berthier, an alarming vacancy in the centre, by operating on which, the enemy might have separated the French army into two parts, and exposed each to a flank attack.—Sensible of the full and perhaps fatal consequences which might attend this error, Napoleon determined, on the daring attempt, to concentrate his army by a lateral march, to be accomplished by the two wings simultaneously. With this view, he posted himself in the centre, where the danger was principally apprehended, commanding Massena to advance by a flank movement from Augsburg to Pfaffenhoffen, and Davoust to approach the centre by a similar manœuvre from Ratisbon to Neustadt. These marches must necessarily be forced, that of Davoust being eight, that of Massena, betwixt twelve and thirteen leagues. The order for this daring operation was sent to Massena on the night of the 17th, and concluded with an earnest recommendation of speed and intelligence. When the time for executing these movements had been allowed, Bonaparte, at the head of the centre of his forces, made a sudden and a desperate assault upon two Austrian divisions, commanded by the Archduke Louis and General Hiller. So judiciously was this timed, that the appearance of Davoust on the one flank, kept in check those other Austrian corps d’armée, by whom the divisions attacked ought to have been supported; while the yet more formidable operation of Massena, in the rear of the Archduke Louis, achieved the defeat of the enemy. This victory, gained at Abensberg, upon the 20th April, broke the line of the Austrians, and exposed them to further misfortunes. The Emperor attacked the fugitives the next day, at Landshut, where the Austrians lost

thirty pieces of cannon, nine thousand prisoners, and much ammunition and baggage.

"On the 22d April, after this fortunate commencement of the campaign, Bonaparte directed his whole force, scientifically arranged, into different divisions, and moving by different routes on the principal army of the Archduke Charles, which, during these misfortunes, he had concentrated at Eckmühl. The battle is said to have been one of the most splendid which the art of war could display. An hundred thousand men, and upwards, were dispossessed of all their positions, by the combined attack of their scientific enemy, the divisions appearing on the field, each in its due place and order, as regularly as the movements of the various pieces in a game of chess. All the Austrian wounded, great part of their artillery, fifteen stand of colours, and twenty thousand prisoners, remained in the power of the French. The retreat was attended with corresponding loss; and Austria, again baffled in her hopes of re-acquiring her influence in Germany, was once more reduced to combat for her existence among nations." Vol. ii. p. 233.

If our limits permitted us to enlarge upon this point, we might, by references to the battles of Wagram, of Austerlitz, and more particularly of Jena, point out his vast superiority over his opponents in the "tented field"; so that whether assailed, or assailing, he appeared always able to discover some weak point, some false move in his enemy's game, of which, with unhesitating readiness, he would avail himself, and on which, with decisive energy, he would press his antagonists to their ruin.

If, then, it should be inquired, why, with such transcendent talents, the close of his great drama should have been so disastrous and melancholy; why, he, the victor in so many battles, the conqueror of so many nations should finally have been hurled from his high station; and vanquished and abandoned, have been twice dethroned and twice an exile: amidst many causes which concurred to produce this catastrophe, two, more particularly, may account for his violent and fatal fall.

In the first place, his strategetical system, the very principles on which his tactics were founded, almost inevitably led to adventurous, if not desperate hazards. He delighted to break through positions of his antagonists, through the line of their defence, to place himself in their rear, to intercept their retreat, and separate them from their resources. But this was on the presumption, that if his movements led to battle, victory was his sure attendant. His game, it was true, was played with wonderful skill, but could not be rendered exempt from hazard. If, for instance, at the close of his first great war in Italy, when he pursued the Archduke Charles to within a few leagues of Vienna, the Austrian Cabinet, instead of signing the treaty of Leoben, had risked a battle under the walls of their capital, and gained it, there would have

been scarcely any chance of retreat remaining for him. His army was greatly reduced, the Austrians from the Tyrol, and the Venetians, had actually closed and encompassed his rear; and the gorges of those mighty mountains which he had left behind him, could easily have been secured against a defeated and flying enemy. If, at the battle of Austerlitz he had been beaten, with a victorious army in front, a strong and increasing force advancing from Bohemia on his flank, and the Danube in his rear, his retreat must have been disastrous. At Jena, when, by his manœuvres, he had placed himself almost in the rear of the Prussian army, he exposed himself to the same evils, to which, by the event of battle, his opponents were actually subjected.—At Marengo, his position was daring, if not desperate. On all occasions he appeared gratified with bold and appalling enterprise—pleased not only to direct the stormy wave of battle, but to mingle in its conflicts when its surges were most impetuous, and its danger most intense; to place himself wherever its perils were most imminent. When, therefore, he gathered together his mighty hosts against Russia, and prepared with his characteristic impetuosity to assail her wild and almost immeasurable wastes; in the midst of calculations which so seldom deceived him, of preparations which had never before been equalled, one error proved his irremediable ruin. He forgot that SPACE itself was an enemy. That the operations, which in a small district, must close a contest; that the marches and battles, which in Italy or Prussia, or even in Austria, might curb or control a whole nation, would be lost or unheeded in the forests of Russia; that in so great an Empire, with its scattered population, no spot was so essential or so sacred, as to render its possession by an invading enemy, the proof of conquest, or the cause and signal of submission. Accustomed, however, to terminate a war in a campaign of a few weeks, or at most, of a few months, his impatient spirit could not consent to allot two seasons even to this gigantic enterprise; he plunged forward, contending against time, against space, against climate, against a warlike people, and his power perished in the unequal conflict. We believe no one now can review those memorable days and not feel persuaded, that if Napoleon could have consented to limit his first campaign to the line of the Dwina and the Dnieper; had employed the autumn and winter in re-organizing Poland; in collecting provisions and military stores on the base of his new positions; and in summoning from his extensive dominions, such reinforcements, as on a near inspection of his objects he should have found necessary, he might easily, in his second campaign, have dictated to Russia his own terms; and

no nation in his rear could have openly manifested any hostile intention; while, with such an active force, he could immediately have retraced his steps to repress every inimical movement.

When, however, that power was once broken, enemies on all sides uprose to seize on, or scatter its fragments. This secret, deep, and almost universal hostility was the second, perhaps efficient cause of his final overthrow. His early rise had been portentous, but it seemed only ominous to the enfeebled dynasties of Europe. He humbled ancient pride and ancient power, and he was upborne, in his career, by the spirit of innovation and reform that was then wildly afloat throughout Europe. In his first conquests, therefore, he was frequently hailed as a deliverer, even by the people whom he came to subdue. If he was viewed as the man of destiny, it was as him who was destined to break down the antiquated abuses and corruptions of government and of society, and let in that flood of light, and liberty, and glory on the world, which the excited imaginations of men were accustomed to anticipate in their day-dreams as the legitimate and necessary overflowings of the French Revolution. But in his ascent to greatness, he disclosed his impatient and encroaching spirit, an ambition to be restrained by no limits, and subjected to no authority. A love of power, which seemed to be offended by the shadow of independence in any foreign government. In his system, all nations must be subordinate to France—France subordinate to him alone. Hence, his disposition to form small dependent states and kingdoms around France, either from the spoils of greater powers, or by amalgamating those that were too small, individually, to be serviceable to him. But these perpetual modifications of the map of Europe, if we may use the expression, were all trespasses upon the feelings of the inhabitants. In Italy alone, these changes excited no resentment, because the Italians considered themselves as already subjected, by violence, to the foreign domination of Austria, and hailed, with transport, any change that might release them from an inglorious bondage. In the rest of Europe, every man felt the independence of his country violated; and the deep emotions of patriotism and of national pride, which pervade almost every bosom, and which are frequently more strong in the lower than in the higher classes of society, were wounded and irritated by these unceasing aggressions. Hence, an embittered and indignant hostility began to prevail throughout Europe, and particularly in the North of Germany, against Napoleon. All of his promises—all, even of his actual ameliorations were forgotten amidst the awakened resentments of a

humbled and insulted people. All who spoke the German language, or were affiliated with the Teutonic race, were invited or summoned, by secret associations and missions, by voices breaking on the midnight silence, to arise and assert the independence of Germany, and avenge her wrongs. Amidst such feelings, nothing was wanting but a disaster, such as befel his arms in Russia, to overturn his mighty empire. All Europe rose against him, not governments only, but at last, the people also. War assumed a fiercer aspect; battle, a more determined and sanguinary character; and after a desperate struggle, he fell, overpowered by the multitude of the enemies, whom his own restless ambition had raised up against him.

But his military talents, however pre-eminent, would give, of themselves, a very insufficient and imperfect sketch of the character and genius of Napoleon Bonaparte. When at the head of the Italian army, he was seen victor over the united forces of Sardinia and Austria, he was only placed where many of his colleagues and competitors had been placed before him. Dumourier, Jourdan, Custine, Pichegru, Dugommier, Moreau, had all gained great victories, had made conquests, and extended the limits of the Republic; yet, no one had acquired over the French nation a decided influence, or was known, but as the conqueror in such an engagement, or of such a province. But Bonaparte, even on his first battle-field, stood like a man of power, distinct from other men; young and unknown, or only remembered in a very subordinate rank, the superiority of his character was instantly felt, and the veterans by whom he was surrounded, and who, but a few weeks before had been indignant at the strange appointment by the Directory, moved at his dictates, like instruments, of which he had acquired the absolute control. Even the commissioners of the government, who were appointed to watch and scrutinize his conduct, became, as soon as they approached him, only solicitous to execute his wishes. He appeared like one predestined to dictate and command. He assumed authority as if to him it was natural and inherent. No event (but defeat, which was for a long time unknown) surprised or embarrassed him. The movements of to-morrow were as clearly seen as the victory of to-day, and his views, comprehensive, distinct, elevated and connected, embraced both the hour of battle, and all the results that might be derived from the most unlimited success. He seemed to be master, not only of the present, but the future; and his energy was equal to his powers of comprehension. The "*nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum*" of Lucan, may be applied to him with as much truth as to the great victor of Pharsalia.

Nor was it only in the field, or in his military arrangements that his great superiority was felt. In council and in the cabinet, amidst the ablest statesmen and most wily politicians of the Revolution, amidst Sieyes and Talleyrand, and Fouché, and Carnot, and Tallien and Barras, his ascendancy was equally conspicuous. Not merely in his later years, when his power may have been considered stable and too absolute to be resisted; but in the moment of revolution, when called in, perhaps only to aid in overthrowing the directorial government, he controlled at once, all men and all parties, by the decision and energy of an overpowering and enlightened mind. We think, that in the "*Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*," a very inadequate view is presented of the general powers of his understanding, of that characteristic stamp of native and instinctive greatness, the faculty of governing his fellow men, of overruling so many, and such powerful minds; that almost super-human sagacity which enabled him to wield, with so much efficiency, the forces of his mighty empire; and to maintain, in the midst of incessant wars, in which he was always personally engaged, the administration of a new government, in the most perfect order, in which, perhaps, a powerful government was ever preserved. He had, it is true, counsellors skilful and cautious to advise, vigilant and prompt to act; but he had the merit of selecting and upholding these counsellors, and the still greater merit of regulating their conduct, and of keeping them, by honors and rewards on the one part, and by unceasing vigilance on the other, in the paths of their own duty.

The improvements that distinguished, in every country which he actually governed, the reign of Napoleon, endeared his memory, even to those who were unfriendly to his dominion. His administration was one continued series of magnificent, and, at the same time, useful enterprises. A few of his great works at Paris may have been designed solely for the embellishment of the capital. But even in these projects, his accurate and calculating spirit generally intermingled some object of public utility. The battles of Jena and Austerlitz were commemorated by bridges thrown across the Seine; on which, all the beauty of hydraulic architecture was combined with great local ornament and convenience. The Alps have been traversed by civilized nations for nineteen hundred years, and yet show no other work so stupendous, so permanent, or so useful as that road across the Simplon, which was executed in his short reign. Roads, canals, bridges, dock-yards, public edifices of all descriptions, were undertaken in every part of his empire, where they were required: and if it is imputed to him, as a reproach,

that many of these works were left unfinished, let it be added, that his possession of power scarcely exceeded twelve years; and then let impartial history determine what monarch, in the ages which have elapsed, from the reign of Augustus to the present hour, ever accomplished so many national and really useful labours, as added splendour, and will give enduring reputation to the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte. His Court was the most magnificent and dignified in Europe; yet such was the order and economy introduced into every department of his government, that excepting during some short intervals, when war pressed heavily on his resources, his system of public improvement was never suspended, rarely ever retarded.

It was not, however, to works of magnificence or public utility alone, that his cares and talents were directed. Every portion of his empire, every department of its administration was modified and improved by his unwearied attention. The political arrangements of his government; his police; the organization of his prefectures, by which his orders could be executed simultaneously; and, as if by one movement, over his extensive dominions: his caution in appointing his prefects over departments to which they were strangers, that their conduct might be biassed neither by family connexions, nor by personal attachments, have been celebrated even by his enemies.

The schools of the empire occupied, at different periods, much of his care. Order and a connected system marked also this portion of his government; and, although it is said that the primary schools, those in which the elements of learning were to be communicated to all of the children of the nation, were neglected in the latter part of his reign; and that funds were not regularly supplied to carry into execution this, the real basis of his beautiful system; yet the lyceums or secondary schools were regularly maintained at the public expense. Scholarships in each were provided, to reward the most studious and successful of the pupils, by defraying, according to merit, a part or the whole of the expenses of their education. From these lyceums, a large number was annually selected and promoted to higher establishments, and the élite of France, those eminent for talents, attainments and conduct, were detached and sent to complete their education at the military schools of the empire; where every thing was taught that could exercise the faculties and improve the mind. It is true, that in these schools, the order, the discipline, had all a military character, were calculated, perhaps, too much to direct the imagination to military occupations. Yet we are not certain that this was an essential defect—we doubt, whether, in a country like our own, to be

defended and guarded by a permanent militia, this very portion of Napoleon's system, which has been highly censured, might not be advantageously adopted.

His efforts were unremitted to render Paris, the capital of Europe, not only by the power which was concentrated in her palaces, but by the science which was collected in her halls.—Every facility that a powerful and liberal government could bestow; every acquisition that wealth could purchase, or that labour could procure, was lavished on the scientific and literary institutions of this favoured city; and pensions, and places and dignities, were freely bestowed on the distinguished men, of whom Paris might so proudly boast. It is again true, that something like military honors were seen attending on science and the muses; and the halls of the Institute, it is said, were sometimes decorated with files of grenadiers; whether to aid in arranging the zoological systems of Cuvier, or the natural orders of Jussieu, or the salient and re-entering angles of the chrysalis forms of Haüy; or to prevent discussions which the police might consider as foreign to the labours of its professors, it is not for us to determine.

To the same motive, we may ascribe the practice, commenced so early in his military life, and so long continued, of removing to France, all the finest productions of sculpture, statuary and painting; the rarest manuscripts, the choicest productions of the press, which his victories placed within his power. He was solicitous to assemble in Paris all the bright trophies of genius, those forms of beauty and of grace, those creations of imagination and of mental power, which had immortalized individuals and diffused glory over cities and nations; that men from every clime might be attracted to his capital by every allurements that could act upon the feelings, by all that could dazzle the imagination, fascinate the senses, or enchant even the judgment itself. To those who objected so strongly to this system of spoliation, to this ravishment of objects, which the usages of modern war were accustomed to respect; it, perhaps, could only be replied, that Rome, the great ideal prototype of the French Republic, or French Empire, had been accustomed to consider the works of art, as the legitimate spoils of war; and it might, in truth, have been added, that the specimens of Grecian sculpture and statuary, which were thus forcibly transported to Rome, had been better preserved, even amidst her calamities, and declining fortunes, than those which had been permitted to remain in their original abodes. To speak seriously, however, we rejoice that these doctrines of high-handed power, have been practically discountenanced, and that the claims, and what may be termed



the testamentary bequests of genius, have been consecrated by the voice of armed nations. No practice could have proved more fatal to the arts, more depressing to the ardour and aspirations of opening talent, than the application to them of the arbitrary law of force. For, without entering into an argument on the subject, what could tend more effectually to discourage in small states, in small societies, or even among individuals, those efforts, by which genius has been so often vivified, and supported and matured, as an insecure and uncertain possession. Who would waste labour or lavish expense on works of art, if, whenever their exertions or patronage had given birth to productions of rare or pre-eminent merit, these productions were, by an unsocial law or custom, liable to become the prey of the first spoiler, the prize of the first victor under an hostile banner.

Another of the civic triumphs of Napoleon, perhaps the greatest, is the celebrated code which bears his name. He found France a legal chaos, almost without government, entirely without law. The Revolution had demolished all ancient forms, and privileges and systems of jurisprudence; it had created nothing; it had driven the ploughshare of desolation, not only over the abuses, but over the consecrated principles of justice. It had left France without any legal governance, but those occasional ordinances which the political state of the country required from the Government, and which were generally tinged with the violence and imperfections of all temporary measures, enacted during a state of excitement. These were unsuitable even for the foundation of a permanent system; and there were other circumstances which rendered it inexpedient, when France had become more tranquil, to remedy her judicial embarrassments, merely by reviving her ancient jurisprudence.

"It had been the reproach of France, (say: Sir Walter) before the Revolution, and is one of the great evils which tended to produce that immense and violent change, that the various provinces, towns and subordinate divisions of the kingdom, having been united in different periods, to the general body of the country, had retained in such union, the exercise of their own particular laws and usages, to the astonishment as well as to the great annoyance of the traveller, who, in journeying through France, found that in many important particulars, the system and character of the laws to which he was subjected, were altered almost as often as he changed his post-horses. It followed from this discrepancy of laws and subdivision of jurisdiction, that the greatest hardships were sustained by the subjects, more especially when, the district being of small extent, those authorities who acted there, were likely neither to have experience, nor character sufficient for exercise of the trust reposed in them." Vol. ii. p. 150.

These evils, which arose from the various times, and modes and circumstances, under which the different portions of France had been united to the kingdom, were more and more felt, as the improvements of society increased the intercourse between the different provinces. During the long and generally peaceful reign of Louis XV. and the early years of Louis XVI. no minister had been found able or enterprising enough to face this great, and increasing and acknowledged evil. All considered the petty intrigues of the Court as greatly too important to allow them leisure, for objects which merely concerned the convenience or the welfare of the people. None of them, in truth, had either talent or energy to encounter such a measure. The Revolution finally swept away the nuisance—it abrogated all local rights, and laws and customs, but it substituted nothing in their stead. Two or three efforts were indeed made during the administrations of the Convention and the Directory, to establish a new system of jurisprudence, but the authors of these projects had neither talents nor influence sufficient to carry them into execution. Bonaparte, as one to whom power and authority were familiar, before whom all obstacles must yield, engaged in this enterprise, formidable as it had been to his predecessors, at the very commencement of his administration, amidst the untried perils of new and supreme power, and the secret intrigues and covert opposition of many, to every thing which appeared like the exercise of an usurped authority. It was completed long before the termination of his reign, and the jurisprudence of France was ameliorated by the substitution of one code, simple, uniform and perspicuous, in lieu of the fifty systems of her ancient government.

The merits of the code itself, we cannot here discuss. Neither will our limits permit us to inquire how far the re-founding of the whole judicial system of a country, which was so important, at that moment to France, would be either necessary or useful to a country under other circumstances. It must be obvious to all, that of a new code, however clear may be its principles, however logical its deductions and corollaries, the operation can never be fully known until its doctrines and precepts have been illustrated by their actual application to existing circumstances. Every adjudication under a new code, becomes an important incident : it is a history of the application of abstract principles to human action. It becomes registered, and forms the commencement of a series of recorded decisions, explaining, applying, extending or limiting the written axioms of the code itself. Perhaps, every system of jurisprudence may be considered rich or perfect, in proportion to the number of able

adjudications which have been made under its authority; of particular cases and principles which have been deliberately settled—all that remains to be done, will be occasionally so to arrange or digest these decisions, as to point out readily, the space and objects over which they have been extended, and the contrarieties that may exist in the adjudications which have actually been made.

In an established and tranquil government, it may well become a question, how far or how often its jurisprudence ought to be reduced to primitive or abstract principles. If by this operation, no settled or well known rule or doctrine is to be destroyed—but axioms and corollaries, precepts and decisions, are all to be lucidly and systematically arranged, and the scattered fragments of the law, collected from their disjointed, and confused and intermingled abodes, are to be re-united to their proper members, to give symmetry and strength to the renovated and living form, it is immaterial how often it shall be done, so it be done with accuracy and with judgment. But if on each revision of a code, every thing is to be obliterated, but what the memory, the foresight, the talents of its compilers can contrive to engraft and incorporate with its principles, we should doubt whether, in any code that ever has been, or ever shall be framed, one-half, perhaps one-tenth part of the wants, or the errors, or the frauds or the crimes of social man can be foreseen or guarded against.—In this point of view, the hundred volumes of commentaries and reports, which already surround the French Code, some of which were published even during the reign of Napoleon, greatly it is said to his annoyance, may be considered as valuable appendages to his system, as giving by practical illustrations, life and activity, but yet definite action to its abstract doctrines.

Be this, however, as it may, a code to France, at the time when Napoleon undertook to have his great system compiled, was a work of urgent and paramount importance. Unappalled by the magnitude or the difficulties of the enterprise, his ardent and enlightened spirit immediately engaged in the toil, and his perseverance and intelligence smoothed the asperities, and accelerated the progress of this immense labour. His code is distinguished amidst all similar designs, by the profoundness and clearness of its principles, its lucid and logical deductions, and its adaptation to the present state of society. Though based upon the civil law, it does not follow it servilely, but freely applies its principles to modern improvements and new opinions. No higher testimony can be given of its pre-eminent merit, than the fact that his successors, hostile and jealous even of his posthumous reputation, have preserved his code unaltered, but in

name. The Code Napoleon, or "Civil," as it is now termed, was a gift of much value, and will continue to be a source of many blessings to the French nation; to its author, a monument of glory more durable, more splendid than Jena, or Austerlitz, or Marengo.

Nor should the personal labours of Napoleon on this great work be unnoticed. This code was not only compiled by his orders, and during his reign, but he aided the commissioners, to whom this work was delegated, in their discussions, and the Council of State in its subsequent revision of the report of this commission; and, in the language of Sir Walter Scott, "his acute, calculating, and argumentative mind, enabled him, by the broad views of genius and good sense, often to get rid of those subtleties, by which professional persons are occasionally embarrassed, and to treat as cobwebs, difficulties of a technical or metaphysical character, which, to jurisconsults, had the appearance of bonds and fetters." He, who at the head of armies, seemed born only for arms and camps and bannered fields, who in council could instruct the wise, and teach lessons of policy to experience and age, was alike distinguished amidst the sages of the law, for his comprehensive, clear and practical understanding. His code was, unquestionably, rendered more valuable by his personal assistance. When his wars and his ambition are forgotten or forgiven, his good deeds will rise upon the memory, and consecrate his name.

If we have dwelt for some length on these topics, it is because we think Sir Walter Scott has not done justice to the genius and character of Bonaparte. To his military talents, as we have already remarked, he has given unqualified praise; but on every other point, there appears to be a reluctance to acknowledge his great superiority over his contemporaries. The commendations of Sir Walter, are all intermingled with some qualification of time or circumstance, or motive, or result, as if constantly apprehensive that a too favourable impression might be left on the mind of his readers. It appears to us also, that Sir Walter always leans to that authority which is most unfavorable to Napoleon. Thus, Gen. Gourgaud's testimony is used when unfriendly to the Emperor at St. Helena; but altogether rejected, when correcting Segur's history of the Russian campaigns. To Fouché's pretended memoirs, written certainly by some enemy of Napoleon, he seems disposed to attach implicit credit, quoting it as the testimony of Fouché, almost at the very moment when he acknowledges its authenticity to be more than doubtful. In many other instances, the writers who censure and criticise the conduct of Napoleon, seem always to meet with

a favourable reception. It is true, that Sir Walter rejects the atrocious calumnies propagated, respecting his personal character. But he scarcely gives due credit to the private virtues, or the domestic decorum of his reign. England, under George III. and Austria, may have exhibited equal propriety and decency in their palaces, but where else in Europe was to be seen so much order, so much dignity, so much respect to public morals, as around the throne of Napoleon Bonaparte. We differ so much from Sir Walter, who represents him constantly as severe and vindictive, that we consider his temper as naturally liberal and indulgent, but with this, he possessed an understanding sufficiently clear to perceive the limits to which these feelings ought to extend, and a character sufficiently firm, to prevent them from encroaching on his public duties.

With talents so rare and so transcendent, with a character formed by nature for high and daring exploits, and thrown, by circumstances, into the midst of a revolution, where a career was fairly open for gifted ambition, it is not surprising that his success was rapid, his elevation great, and his power, at one period, almost unexampled. Few men, in the history of our race, have experienced such vicissitudes. In 1795, thrown out of service as a suspected jacobin, he went to Paris to solicit employment, destitute of all resources but his talents, and without one friend to cheer his efforts or support his claims. In 1811, the following picture is given by our author of his power.

"It was especially when a formal annunciation, both in France and Austria, called the good subjects of both realms to rejoice in the prospect that Maria Louisa would soon give an heir to Napoleon, that men who opened the map of Europe, saw with fear and wonder, the tremendous inheritance to which the expected infant was likely to succeed.

"The actual dominions of France, governed by Napoleon, in his own proper right as emperor of France and king of Italy, had gradually attained the following extravagant dimensions. They extended from Travemunde, on the Baltic ocean, to the foot of the Pyrenees, measuring from north-east to south-west; and from Dunkirk to Terracina, on the confines of the Neapolitan territories, measuring from north to south. A population of forty-two millions of people, fitted in various ways to secure the prosperity of a state, and inhabiting, for wealth, richness of soil, and felicity of climate, by far the finest portion of the civilized earth, formed the immediate liege subjects of this magnificent empire.—

"Yet, to stop here, were greatly to undervalue the extent of Napoleon's power. We have to add to his personal empire, Lombardy, the Illyrian provinces, Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania. Then in his character of Mediator of the Helvetic Republic, the Emperor exercised an almost absolute authority in Switzerland, which furnished him, though unwillingly, with several fine regiments of auxiliaries. The German Confederation of the Rhine, though numbering kings among their

league, were, at the slightest hint, bound to supply him, each with his prescribed quota of forces, with a readiness and an affectation of zeal, very different from the slack and reluctant manner in which they formerly supplied their paltry contingents to the Emperor of Germany.—

“Murat, with his kingdom of Naples, was at his brother-in-law’s disposal, and if, as Bonaparte’s hopes whispered, the Peninsula should ultimately prove unable to resist the war he waged, then Spain and Portugal would be added to his immense empire.—Thus, at least three-fourths, but rather a considerably larger proportion of the civilized world were either in quiet subjection to Napoleon’s sceptre, or on the point, as was supposed, of being so.—

“Of all the Continental States, assuming even the semblance of independence, Russia seemed alone to possess it in reality—yet, there were but few who thought that Russia, in opposition to the whole continent of Europe, would dare confront Napoleon; and still fewer, even of the most sanguine politicians, had any deep grounded hope that her opposition would be effectual. Out of such a *cimmerian* midnight, to all human views, was the day-spring of European liberty destined to arise. Vol. ii. p. 295.

In 1816, a prisoner on a rock, in the midst of a tropical ocean, if not like Prometheus, actually chained, a victim of that destiny he was accustomed so much to invoke, he, at least, bore a consuming vulture in his bosom.

If we were to inquire what human cause had undermined and overturned such power, and swept away such lofty hopes, and to mortal eye, such certain expectations, we must ascribe it all to that sin by which even Angels fell, that restless and insatiable ambition which could find no enjoyment in the present, but looked for gratification always to the future. Actual possession palled on the jaded appetite. In a few days or a few weeks, he seemed to have exhausted all the schemes of improvement which a new conquest could furnish: (for to his praise be it spoken, improvement was always in his mind, we believe also in his wishes and in his heart; he was desirous that the condition of the whole world should be ameliorated; but he chose, at the same time, that he should be the great reformer, and that all beneficial changes should redound to the glory of his name.) Hence, he turned from one object to another, as if driven by an untiring passion for new enterprises or new possessions. In the midst of this almost physical excitement and necessity of action, there hovered around him that mystical opinion of predestined superiority, and supernatural protection, which was so often expressed, and seemed, really at moments, to influence his own conduct. Even in his most desolate hours at St. Helena, he looked forward to a time when the necessities of the world would recal him from exile, and replace him on the great theatre of action,

at the head of human affairs. He seemed to consider himself as alone among men, without an equal or a fellow, and was, therefore, apt to consider all events, all principles, all rights, only as they bore on himself alone.

"He held himself out to others (says Sir Walter) and, no doubt, occasionally considered himself, in his own mind, as an individual destined by heaven to the high station which he held, and one who could not, therefore, be opposed in his career without an express struggle being maintained against destiny, who, leading him by the hand, and, at the same time, protecting him with her shield, had guided him by paths as strange as perilous, to the post of eminence which he now occupied. No one had been his tutor in the lessons which led the way to his preferment. No one had been his guide in the dangerous ascent to power; scarce any one had been of so much consequence to his promotion, as to claim even the merit of an ally, however humble. It seemed as if Napoleon had been wafted on to this stupendous pitch of grandeur, by a power more effectual than that of any human assistance, nay, which surpassed, what could have been expected, from his own great talents, unassisted by the special interposition of destiny in his favour." Vol. ii. p. 145.

Amidst the interminable schemes, and sleepless and unappeasable ambition of Napoleon, one peculiarity tended beyond all other circumstances, to alienate governments and people from him, and secretly to kindle and to nurse that indignant hostility under which he finally fell. He was, generally, a profound and skilful calculator, fond too of dazzling and captivating the imagination; yet, in this instance, he departed from any apparent principle. We allude to the insults he was accustomed to offer so unceremoniously to nations and to their rulers, and the moments which he usually selected for his sarcasms or his unexpected usurpations; recreating often in the very hour of returning peace, the causes, and rekindling the emotions of bitter animosity. We know not whether to consider his conduct as arising from a determination to perpetuate hostility with surrounding nations—and this, as a calculation, was, if he supposed human enmity a weak and inactive principle, unworthy of him—or merely as an outpouring of unrestrained pride, that regarded the feelings of other men as beneath his consideration. Thus, at the close of one of his brilliant campaigns, he often granted to a vanquished enemy better terms than might have been enforced, and at the very moment when such acts opened a door to returning harmony and good will, he would commit some aggression which would inevitably efface every friendly sentiment, and renew the impressions of deep, even if disguised mortification and resentment. Immediately after the treaty of Amiens,

while he was taking praise to himself for having given peace to the world, he began to announce in the *Moniteur*, that Great-Britain was excluded from the affairs of the Continent, that she could have, or claim nothing, but what was specially permitted by that treaty; and in order to shew, that in his views, no limits were placed by that treaty to his own encroachments, he assumed the office of President of the now stiled Italian Republic; acquired by treaty with Spain, the reversion of Parma and Elba, and the cession of Louisiana; obtained from Portugal the cession of Portuguese Guiana; and to settle some petty feuds in Switzerland, which he, himself, may have created, marched an army into the country, and accepted the supreme power, under the title of Mediator of the Helvetian Republic; offending by these usurpations of dominion, Austria and Prussia, as well as Great-Britain. Again, as soon as he assumed the imperial crown, an act, in some points of view, gratifying to the other sovereigns of Europe, as it arrayed Napoleon himself on the side of authority, and took from his grasp that revolutionary weapon which had created so much terror, and, in truth, endangered, so much, the feudal aristocracy of that Continent; as if this peace-offering might too far conciliate his brother monarchs, he assumed also the title and authority of king of Italy, and to shew that this was not to be an empty pageant, he annexed Genoa to his empire, as if Italy could already be apportioned according to his sovereign will. After the peace of Presburgh, he gave the thrones of Holland and Naples to his brothers Louis and Joseph, and formed the Confederation of the Rhine, creating by this means dependent States, even in the heart of Germany. In forming these States, however, it was found convenient to obtain some districts belonging to Prussia, and Napoleon immediately offered in exchange Hanover, the hereditary dominions of the king of Great-Britain. This kind offer was readily accepted by Prussia, then at peace and in alliance with England; but two or three months afterwards, when Napoleon commenced a new negotiation with this latter power, he offered, at once, to restore Hanover, appearing to think provinces or kingdoms as mere gew-gaws, which he could give and resume at pleasure. At Schoenbrunn, in the interval between the battles of Essling and Wagram, he issued the decree which deprived the Pope of his temporal dominions and power, and between the battle of Wagram and the peace of Schoenbrunn, while negotiating a family alliance with Austria, the Pope, the head of the Catholic Church, to whom the Court of Austria was peculiarly and zealously attached, was carried a prisoner to France, and treated with much personal disrespect, if not indignity. In the same manner,



while at peace with Russia, he seized the Duchy of Oldenburg, belonging to the brother-in-law of Alexander, with as little hesitation as if it had been the territory of the most dependent of his vassals. He never permitted the fears of the crowned heads of Europe to slumber, hence coalition after coalition was formed against him, and frequently in wars, which were provoked by his own unrestrained ambition, he would, apparently, be acting altogether on the defensive.

In France, itself, he was continually trespassing on all the principles of freedom; nominally remodelling, but virtually destroying every liberal institution which the Revolution had created, until, at length, not only the genuine Republicans, but even the advocates of a constitutional monarchy became secretly hostile to his government.

By these means, even amidst his great exploits, he was insensibly alienating the affections of multitudes; and when his fortunes changed, he found, that even in France, even in that country he so dearly prized, he had wearied, by his perpetual wars and encroachments, and by the sacrifices his systems required, the efforts and even the admiration of its citizens. He was abandoned, though with regret; he was lamented as soon as lost; and in the countries that he governed, the monuments of his glory, and the public benefactions and improvements with which his name must be inseparably united, will perpetuate his memory, even though history should be silent in his praise.

Our observations on the character and policy of this extraordinary man, have been extended beyond our expectations, and the subject is by no means exhausted. The remarks which we intended to make on the narrative, and on some of the opinions of Sir Walter Scott, must be reserved for a future occasion.

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ART. VII.—*Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy.* By THOMAS COOPER, M. D. *President of the South-Carolina College, and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy.* Svo. Columbia, S. C. Sweeny. 1826.

WHILE Political Economy has been thoroughly investigated in many of its parts and divisions, its fundamental principles are still far from being satisfactorily elucidated. Whether the

period has not arrived for a comprehensive examination of the phenomena, in consequence of the imperfect manner they have been observed, recorded and arranged; or, whether there is an inherent uncertainty in all such investigations, remains to be determined by results, more positive, than any yet furnished by the labours of economists. We have reasons for doubt, were the elements of a comprehensive and complete system and theory at hand, whether the fulness and force of evidence, by which they must be accompanied, to command general assent, are attainable. And such must be the state of every recent science, whose leading truths do not admit of the tests of direct experiment or precise calculation. The satisfactory demonstration of fundamental principles, must, under such circumstances, await the slow accumulation of materials proper for the construction of a system generally applicable, and a theory fully explanatory.

It is but very recently that statistical inquiries have been made available in those more limited investigations which profess to explain particular phenomena. The materials of national comparison must be supplied, in at least equal copiousness, for advantage in all general reasonings which profess to develop the real foundations of wealth, and the invariable causes of its increase. We know that the riches of countries augment from circumstances widely contrasted. For example, experience assures us, that on that division of the globe on which our lot is cast, a high degree of wealth results from involuntary services, accompanied by a greater share of enjoyment to the labourer, than on many of those sections of the earth where the relation between the employer and the employed is totally different. How does this state of things agree with the explanation of economists, that the relation which anciently subsisted between the master and the slave, was an impediment to the increase of riches? How can it be shown that the payment of wages is an essential ingredient in a modern system of wealth? We might multiply illustrations of this kind, if necessary. They are calculated to rebuke the presumption that would construct systems of general application from only one point of observation.

It has been deemed not a little remarkable, in economical science, that discussions should have arisen as to the causes of certain phenomena before the real character of the phenomena themselves had been ascertained; that theory should succeed to theory, and system supplant system, in an examination into the sources of wealth, before the problem had been satisfactorily solved what wealth is? It would appear as if the first proper step was to agree in the sense we should affix to certain essen-

tial terms. We believe, however, the influence of this circumstance on the progress of economical discovery, has been stated in terms much too broad. We do not know, that the determination of the fundamental question, what are the sources of wealth? has been at all assisted by those controversies (that even, at this late day, so frequently cross the path of investigation) which profess to resolve the points, what is wealth, and what productive labour? We all have a sufficiently distinct perception of the character and constituents of riches, and of the instruments by which they are increased, without the aid of any shadowy and metaphysical distinctions between wealth composed of products that perish in the instant of production, and products of a durable character—between quantities evanescent and quantities permanent and palpable. We all know what objects contribute to our comfort, accommodation and luxury, and are, at the same time, susceptible of valuation. What more is requisite to conduct us in the true path of inquiry? It is the real foundation of those products of labour which constitute the sources of our enjoyments, both mental and bodily, that we feel desirous to develop, and not whether, in a system of wealth, the artist is to be classed with the artizan, and the magistrate with the merchant, under a common denomination.

The complete accuracy of our classifications may be a subject of speculative curiosity; but the detection of some anomalies in the arrangement of the phenomena, or a few examples that may not exactly square with the rule laid down, is far from helping forward the investigation of leading principles. We consider many of the recent discussions in regard to definitions, as embracing questions of arrangement too refined to be useful, and as involving the propriety of classifications, meant merely as aids to investigation, and never urged as differences founded in the nature of things. We, of course, do not mean to deny the utility of some brief description at the outset of an inquiry of the sense we affix to certain words of leading signification and frequent employment, but there can be no difficulty in collecting the sense from the reasonings in the context, whilst, in many instances, the definition is far from corresponding with the doctrine laid down. How frequently do we see definitions which are either too circumscribed or too comprehensive, as compared with the theory to which they are introductory. Whilst, therefore, pages are filled with ingenious refinements, to show the incompleteness of the definition, the theory to which it is the mere formal appendage, receives much the smallest share of attention.

It is, also, not unworthy of remark, that the order of investigation never having been properly defined, the results of economical investigation have reached us in disjointed parts, and insulated by long intervals of time. This sufficiently explains why its discoveries have multiplied so slowly. In scientific investigation, in general, the development of one principle or general fact promotes the elucidation of another. Each point gained is a farther step in the ascending series of discoveries. There is, in such cases, a certain continuity in the succession of principles. In political economy, however, the different branches having been investigated in a detached and desultory order, there has not been that concatenation and dependence of parts which so greatly promotes investigation, and its discoveries have consequently been effected, not only more slowly, but more laboriously.

It is also to be observed, that in many instances men must be made to feel before they can be brought to investigate. This applies, generally, in the science of politics, and with peculiar force in the science of political economy. Truth, in these cases, follows, and rarely precedes individual and national suffering. It is after countries, classes and persons have been greatly oppressed by some external or internal cause, that the attempt is made to establish general rules of conduct, founded on the immutable distinctions of right and wrong, truth and error. It has been in this order that the principles of economical science have been elucidated and developed.

The extreme abuses which accompanied that tampering with the currency which characterized the public authorities of the Italian States, between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, gave the first impulse to political economy, and led their distinguished writers in this branch of science, at that period, to an investigation, in several admirable treatises, of the true doctrine of money. In this manner, we may trace almost every truth of the science to its source in some public disorder or abuse of the times. The ruin of thousands of individuals, connected with the South-Sea and Mississippi schemes, was followed by the discussion and clearer comprehension of the laws and limits of paper currency: and down to a very recent period, the principles applicable to paper issues, in connection with payments in gold and silver, had not attained that certainty and general assent in England, which the state of the science, in the nineteenth century, might have led us to expect, until the utmost violence had been offered to the relations between debtor and creditor, and landlord and tenant, in the native country, as it has been called, of political economy.

If we pursue this train of investigation, we shall find that the comprehensive examinations, instituted within the last thirty years, into the policy of the British system of poor laws, and restrictions on the import of corn, were intimately connected with the extreme pressure of the former on the payers of the rates, and the latter, on all classes, except landlords: and, it is even not improbable that the reaction of extreme suffering, immediately succeeding inordinate excitement, has had as much to do with the recent modifications of the British commercial system as any conviction that its principles are erroneous. The history of the discoveries of political economy is, it would appear, then, in a great degree, the history of certain public disorders and abuses, and, in some instances, we may add, of intense public suffering. Whilst this explains the desultory progress, or irregular march of the science, it sufficiently accounts for the late period at which its separate truths have been digested and arranged in the form of elementary propositions.

Dr. Cooper has performed a highly acceptable service to the students of the science, by combining these propositions in a luminous and instructive order. The plan of his work embraces, however, a much wider scope than falls properly within the limits of an elementary treatise. He has blended with his exposition of established truths, a brief description of those points of the science which are still in controversy, accompanied by a judicious commentary of his own. By this plan, the student is led to a full knowledge of the present state of the science—its unquestioned truths and established doctrines, with the systems and theories yet in dispute, and the evidence and reasonings by which they are supported. The directness, simplicity and clearness of expression which characterize Dr. Cooper's manner of communicating instruction, is not more admirable than the facility with which he appears to digest and appropriate the discoveries of others—the acuteness with which he detects sophistry, and the impartiality with which he weighs the merits of opposite systems and theories. These are the real, and not less rare than real, qualifications of the teacher of science.

We differ with Dr. Cooper on two leading subjects of dispute, in the present state of the science; these are RENT and POPULATION. He adopts, on both these questions, the doctrines of the new school. As no investigation into the sources of wealth can be satisfactory while the real theory of rent and the true principle of population are unsettled, we purpose to bestow some attention on *these* two topics in the present article. A short preliminary view or outline of the points of difference which have essentially distinguished the two leading divisions of econo-

mists, namely, those who have preferred the agricultural system, and those who have regarded the system of commerce and manufactures with most favour, may assist us in the investigation of these questions.

The characteristic difference between these two divisions, is, that one looks to LAND, and the other to LABOUR, as the *principal* source of wealth; a small number of each class, regard the one or the other as the *exclusive* origin of riches. The sect of the economists, presents an example of such as consider land, and the Ricardo school of those who regard labour as the sole source of reproduction. Dr. Smith and Mr. Malthus hold a middle place in these different divisions, although the latter inclines most to the school of Quesnay, in his views with regard to the land, and some of the doctrines of the former approach very nearly to the opinions of labour entertained by Mr. Ricardo.

The economists of the Continent of Europe, at the head of whom we would place M. Say, are not ranged under any of these classifications. Their views of the sources of wealth, are, generally considered, far more complete and comprehensive, than those which characterize the British writers. From the earliest period of investigation into economical science, in England, labour has been the predominant element or principle, in the explanations offered, from time to time, as to the sources of wealth, and the means of its increase. Passages from Berkeley, from Hobbes, and even from Hume, might be cited in confirmation of this opinion. Mr. Locke and Mr. Harris, whose views on economical subjects, are deserving of the greatest attention, are, it is well known, very explicit on this point;—they assign to labour, a disproportionate share of the effect in production. The same idea, in a more qualified sense, pervades the system of Dr. Smith. It is evident, he regarded the various divisions and subdivisions to which labour had been carried in Great-Britain, as among the primary sources of that general abundance which manufacturing and commercial countries so strikingly exhibit, although he considered the land as the source of higher relative profit to individuals.

The system which has been framed since his period, and which has obtained the most extensive popularity, has raised labour to a still higher importance, both as an agent of reproduction and an element of value. The Ricardo school, which has given so much weight to this agent, that it has, with metaphysical refinement, generalized it into the *sole* ingredient of price, numbers not only the eminent names of Mill and McCulloch in England, but several distinguished followers in the United States.

It would seem, however, that although Dr. Smith regarded labour as the great elementary principle of the modern wealth of nations ; he did not overlook the co-operative powers of nature, in, at least, one of the leading departments of production, namely, agriculture. But conceiving, that as nature did not work for man in those processes, by which rude produce is fashioned for his convenience, a nearly proportionate subdivision of labour was necessary, in those employments which admitted of it, to maintain a certain level of benefit between agriculture and manufactures. The powers of land and labour were somewhat, in this manner, balanced in his system. He refused to manufactures, what he gave to agriculture, of the bounty of nature, but as he was forced to deny to agriculture, what he was compelled to allow to manufactures, of the mechanical skill and invention of producers, to save in the expenses of production, a sort of equipoise and scheme of compensations were established in his system. Dr. Smith, had, therefore, no *exclusive* bias to *land* or *labour*, in the formation of his system ; but he failed to explain, in a satisfactory manner, the real sources and laws of production, from overlooking the aid which nature gives to the industry of manufacturers, in common with agriculturists. His scheme of compensations and theory of wealth was, therefore, imperfect ; he left a balance in favour of the land, for he deemed its cultivation a more productive employment than either commerce or manufactures. This, of course, on his theory, left a surplus for rent. That he inclined to labour, as a power of very great influence in production, notwithstanding, is evident from the place it occupies in his system, and his regarding it as the invariable measure of value.

It is easy to comprehend why the economists failed to elucidate the sources of wealth. Their theory is defective, for a reason the very opposite of that which renders the system of Mr. Ricardo incomplete. As *they* overlooked that application of material laws and use of natural agents which enable the manufacturer, by a skilful modification of raw materials, to give additional value to matter, so the framer of the new system, is chargeable with the oversight of regarding these laws and agents, as limited in their influence, in modifying the matter of the earth, so as progressively to increase the productiveness of the land. Accordingly, labour in his system, is the substitute for the parsimony of nature in agriculture. Its essential principle is, that manufactured products fall in the progress of society, from inventions which save labour, whilst raw produce rises, during that progress, from the failing powers of the soil, which render increased physical exertion necessary to an augmentation of subsistence

and raw materials. That the later economists of the Continent of Europe, allow a proportionate influence over all the departments of production, to those agents and properties, which nature has gratuitously and abundantly supplied, for multiplying our enjoyments, it would be unnecessary to say to those who are acquainted with their works. No system of wealth can be complete, and no theory of production satisfactory, which does not ascribe equal effect to the powers and principles of the material world in raising, manufacturing and transporting those products to which value is annexed, in the estimation of mankind.

We have thus endeavoured, briefly to shew, in what manner the two leading divisions of economists are separated, and it is not difficult of comprehension, why the agricultural system has found the greatest favour in countries, where nature has been bountiful in fertile territory; and why, on those sections of the earth, where she has been more sparing of her favours in this form, but true to her great scheme of compensations, she has given superior facilities for manufactures and commerce; the system by which they are best promoted, should be preferred. Theories, in fact, in almost all cases, may be traced to some bias or prepossession, resulting from the position of those who devise them. The economical system owed its formation to a partial point of view of its author, who limiting his observation to agricultural phenomena, naturally looked to land as the exclusive source of wealth. The native of a country more restricted in its capabilities of riches from the soil, but exhibiting unusual results from commerce and manufactures, will incline to that system of wealth which gives them the precedence.

From this exposition, it is less remarkable than it would otherwise appear, that the rent of land should have been deduced from two opposite sources. The idea of there being a surplus or *produit net* from agriculture, it seems natural should be the origin or foundation of rent with the sect of the economists; nor is it a less consistent deduction of that school, of which Mr. Ricardo is the head, that the origin of rent should be traced to the diminished productiveness of the land. It will be seen from the preliminary remarks we have offered, that we consider both these explanations unsatisfactory.

The foundation of the supposition that land alone yields a surplus, which admits of rent being paid, is to be found, we apprehend, in the notion, that it is paid for by the tenant for the use of the natural agency which its temporary possession is supposed to convey. But this is certainly a misconception. Land is not a natural agent in the ordinary sense of that expression. We



know that there can be no modification of matter, by which value is given to it, unless by the application of certain principles, and the employment of certain natural properties and powers common to all the arts. Man accomplishes nothing by unassisted labour. There is no element or principle in the earth, as such, by which it admits of being turned to a productive account without the air, the rain, and the sun, and without a skilful application of the laws of matter, and these are agents and principles independent of the land on which they act. We might, with equal propriety say, that the value paid for the use of a ship is a consideration given for the employment of the wind and water by which she is navigated, or that the price allowed for the hire of a steam engine, is the equivalent given for the use of that form of vapour by which it is put in motion. The manufacturer converts the money he borrows into the raw materials of his work and the means of subsistence of his labourers. Those materials, when worked up, and the provisions consumed during the process of manufacture, enable him to give a new form to matter, but whoever contended that he paid in the value he borrowed for the use of the natural agents, by which the change of form has been effected? He is a borrower, however, precisely in the same sense as the tenant, that is, not of the properties of the atmosphere, and the principles which co-operate with him in his labours, but of the instrument by which he produces a productive result. Land is substantially such an instrument. The fact, that it is the immediate source of those supplies which constitute the materials of our food, clothing and habitations, cannot entitle it to a peculiar character. These materials could not have been procured, except, as we have already observed, by the aid of the same agents and properties that subsequently adapt them to our use and convenience.

In this point of view, agriculture is only the first stage of manufacture: the depositions in the earth, and the compost by which they are nourished, are as much among the raw materials of this art, as the matter collected from its surface, or extracted from its bosom, constitutes the raw materials of the process of manufacture. There is no portion of matter, therefore, however modified by human labour, but must owe that modification, in part, to the use of certain agents and the application of certain laws of the material world, which, of course, make no portion of its inherent properties, and exist independently of it. To this general description, land, as we have endeavoured to shew, forms no exception.

That nature produces spontaneously from the soil, does not affect this view of the subject. The quantity of subsistence and

raw materials from spontaneous growth, is very inconsiderable ; and natural luxuriance is sometimes so prejudicial to profitable cultivation, that labour is required to correct or to repress it. Admitting, for a moment, therefore, that there is a greater reproduction in agriculture than in manufactures, so as to admit of a specific surplus in the form of rent, the cause is not to be sought in any properties of the soil itself, or its greater adaptation to the laws of the material world and the agency of nature, than is possessed by *matter in general*, which admits of appropriation and of value being given to it.

It is evident, that the natural power of production is a distinct consideration from the extent to which that power is actually developed, admitting that rent is connected with natural fertility. It is not by this criterion, that we are to measure the surplus, which, on this admission, would go to rent, or even that which goes to profit, or whether there be any surplus or not from the soil after the payment of the unavoidable expenses of its cultivation. The undeveloped capacity of the land can have nothing to do with the gains of landlords, any more than the latent energy of steam has to do with the profits of navigation and manufactures. The natural powers of the soil may not be fully called forth, from the want of adequate demand, as is the case in new as well as old countries, whilst the real productive energies of many of the natural agents, in the process of various manipulations, may be, as yet, only imperfectly unfolded ; as for instance, in the application of steam to branches of manufacture, to which it is entirely new, and the further extension of it to that of cotton. Admitting, however, the highest natural resources in the land, and, that they are fully called forth by adequate demand, this has nothing to do with a surplus for landlords. When Dr. Smith speaks of the superior productiveness of agriculture, and the economists of a *produit net*, it is on the supposition, that there are certain inherent and indestructible qualities of the soil, which admit of a surplus for rent, above what can be so derived in manufactures.

It may, however, be said, that the value obtained in the most productive branch of manufacture known, is not as large as is usually obtained in agriculture, so as to yield rent in addition to profits and wages, as the worth of the goods produced, is not in proportion to the increase of quantity, whilst, as regards rude produce, the value in exchange always tends to approximate to the value in use. It will not be denied, however, that if the produce of the land increased, without a correspondent extension of the demand, the surplus or supposed excess of value, would disappear, as in manufactured products. If supply

produces demand, as well as demand supply—this is not more applicable to agriculture than to manufactures. We know, that with the augmentation of the quantity of cotton goods, the demand, with temporary interruptions, progressively increased from the fall of price, notwithstanding the great productive power of the agent applied. With every successive improvement in the application of this power, the consumption has been enlarged, and as the fall of price, for the whole period that the improvement has been in progress, has not been equal to the increase of quantity, the surplus or excess of value has been augmented that goes to profit. This is in reference, of course, to the whole value, and not to individual profit. The entire value of the products of manufacture, as well as those of agriculture, may be increasing whilst the rate of profit may be falling, and this value may be higher in the former department of production, than in the latter, even with the greatest resources in land, and those resources fully called forth. The division of the produce among a smaller or greater number of capitalists, has nothing to do with the entire value of that produce. The derivation of a large general surplus above the unavoidable expenses of production, *in proportion to the quantity produced*, is not then a peculiarity that attaches to agriculture, any more than to manufactures, in any stage of society that can be named, or under resources of the land, natural or acquired. Men cannot subsist without clothes or habitations, any more than without food; and the demand for these equally necessary resources to an increase of population, is as ready to appear and follow the supply, as the demand for subsistence itself.

It must be admitted, however, that it is more usual for the demand to be in advance of the supply of food and raw materials than the converse, and that there is a tendency to an overbalance of profit or larger excess of value, from price and quantity combined, in cultivation, than there is from the latter alone in manufactures. But this is not more peculiar, although more usual, in one department of production than another. The large excess in both cases, from quantity and price united, or even from price alone, may admit of the application of very expensive instruments of production. Labour, instead of being displaced, may become more and more in demand, notwithstanding the progress made in inventions and processes, to save in so expensive a machine as man, and in despite of the advance of wages. The expense of a recourse to inferior soils, requiring more costly instruments of cultivation, may thus be supported. And this brings us at once to the notice of the other and opposite hypothesis—namely, that the origin and sole cause of rent is the necessarily diminished productiveness of the land in the natural progress of wealth and population.

The source of that principle is to be traced to the idea that nature, in presenting fertile territory, as one of her most valuable gifts to man, terminated her services and her bounty together. The doctrine, accordingly, is, that if the species are to draw a larger fund of subsistence from the earth, in proportion to their own increase, a greater number of cultivators is absolutely indispensable, or starvation must ensue. Thus, as nature is supposed to labour *less*, man, it is alleged, is compelled to labour *more*, or just in proportion as her assistance becomes necessary to an increase of food, must be the bodily exertion to obtain it. That this is a supposition quite as gratuitous as that which assigns a greater reproduction in agriculture, than in the other arts that minister to human comfort and accommodation, we think demonstrable on rational theory, if not so susceptible of proof from a direct appeal to experience.

There is no evidence to support the opinion, that improvements in agriculture, by which exertion is saved on the land, are not progressive. That they are not so, in a manner so uniform and uninterrupted, as in manufactures, affords no proof that a physical law here prescribes a limit to those ameliorations of the soil which augment its produce, and those inventions to save expense, which, in their progress, economize land as well as labour. There is no such boundary marked out to skill and ingenuity, when the co-operation of nature is properly solicited, whether it be to aid the exertions of the cultivator, or those of the manufacturer. It is by the skilful imitation of her processes, that this is effected on the soil. It is by the same *modus operandi*, by which she toils herself, that her great law of reproduction and renovation is copied, on a reduced scale, in the labours of agriculture. It is by analysis and combination, that all the wonders of art, as manifested in the increase of the physical enjoyments of the species have been wrought since the beginning of the world. Nature has scattered abroad the elements of this power of reproduction, in the greatest abundance, and she is ready to unite her agency to that of man, whenever the state of his knowledge shows that he is prepared to profit by her services. What, in this respect, has she done more for one branch of production than another—for the manufacturer, than for the agriculturist? She has spread out before both, the principles and properties of the material universe, that they may be made subservient to the uses of humanity. There is no reason whatever, to conclude from theory, that nature is arrested or pauses in her labours, more in any one department of art and skill than in another,

except when the instruments and modes by which her aid is solicited, are imperfect. In any seeming interruption of her operations, we must learn to see the limit which circumscribes the science and skill of producers, and not the boundary of her labours, or the failure of her bounties. We throw upon her the fault which is chargeable to the defects of our observation or the unskilfulness of our combinations. Whilst she operates her changes gradually, by equal and general laws, we complain that she proceeds too irregularly in her unceasing transformations for our increasing wants. Thus it is, that when we are either unskilful, or unobserving, or improvident, we deduce one law for one department of production, and a different law for another—one law for agriculture, and another for manufactures.

Historical evidence shows, that generally throughout the corn countries of Europe, the prices fell for fifty years together after the treaty of Utrecht; a period, it must be confessed, favourable, from the absence of unusual stimulants, to the gradual extension of cultivation. This fall was most striking in France and England, accompanied by an addition in the latter country, including Ireland, of three millions to the population.\* That this extension of the growth and increase of supply must be attributed entirely to improved management of the land, can admit of no doubt, and totally discredits the supposition, that at any period of wholesome and moderate stimulus to agriculture, those ameliorations that increase the produce, and such inventions as abridge and save labour on the land, are necessarily interrupted for longer intervals than affect other departments of industry. It would appear, then, that the origin of rent is connected neither with the natural powers of the soil, by which a surplus is created, nor with any physical necessity, that we should employ more labour on the land, by which, as affirmed, an addition to the prices of raw produce, and a rent on the most productive soils are the results.

What then is rent and its origin?—Rent, where land is valued as a source of profit exclusively, is the interest on a capital invested in its purchase, or laid out in its improvement, and has its source, when of this character, in the same principle that governs the proprietor of value in any other form, when he consents to forego the profit for an adequate consideration in favour of another who employs that value productively. Land, when acquired by purchase, with the same facility and on the same principles as capital in general will obey its laws. Its rent, in these cir-

\* See Lowe's *Present state of England*, p. 208.

circumstances, must be regulated by the general rate of interest at the time, for the tenant will never pay the landlord more than this, when, by borrowing money at this rate, he is enabled to become a proprietor himself, and derive the usual rate of profit in agriculture. The prevailing rate of interest must regulate rent where land is as easy of acquisition as capital in general, and is purchased solely with a view to profit.\*

But when the monopoly of land is established, and certain incidents usually connected with its possession, in this manner, have grown out of its ownership, it makes a considerable difference in the principles by which rent is produced and regulated, as it prevails in most countries, and as it may exist in all. When the soil has been purchased as an instrument of political influence, or as a source of dignity and power, its price will not be subject to the rules which govern its market-value as a commodity, in those countries where it is sought, purely for the profit that can be made from it. Something must be paid for the additional value acquired by land in consequence of these circumstances. This addition to the price will not be given, of course, by those who purchase land exclusively with a view to profit. The interchange of capital between agriculture and other employments, so far as regards the acquisition of the soil; with a view to profit, is consequently impeded to this extent. Capitalists are necessarily compelled to become tenants in place of proprietors, and the effect is, that instead of the level of profit being effected by this interchange, it is produced by the rise and fall of rent. Rent then, or its payment, when land is not sought solely on commercial principles, is essential to the level of profit, and will be regulated by profits in those businesses or departments of production which afford the greatest advantages to producers.

Accordingly, when the territory of a country has been monopolized, although only in part, if it is purchased principally as a means of political influence, or for the dignity and power usually connected with its possession, and not with a view solely to profit, every rise in commercial and manufactured products, by which higher returns are derived than in agriculture, will be attended by a fall of rent, equally as when a rise of agricultural produce, by which a difference is created the other way, must be accompanied by the elevation of rent. We see then, that it is not the rise of the products of the land absolutely, any more than the fall of manufactured and commercial products absolutely,

\* The rate of interest referred to here, it will, of course, be understood, is what is paid for the use of money, with the view to a profitable result, and not what the borrower allows when he wishes to discharge debts, or to spend unproductively.

that admits of a surplus for rent, but such a difference in the returns from the soil, compared with those from commerce and manufactures, as renders rent essential, when land is purchased (in the circumstances and for the considerations abovementioned) to the equilibrium of profit. As the fall of rent on the worst lands, when they are forced for additional produce, is absolutely necessary to obtain the usual profits in agriculture, so when the supplies are derived from the better soils alone, if they should afford higher returns than commerce and manufactures, rents must rise on them to effect a similar level between profits in cultivation, and profits in those employments.

But such an excess or surplus from the land, above the average rate of profit, in those employments which afford the greatest advantages to producers, as admits of rent, and its separation generally, or the formation of a class divided from that living on profits and wages, are things entirely distinct. The proprietor of land, where it is wholly or partially monopolized, may choose to have the profit as well as the rent. That he does not so choose, is evidence that the amount of rent is sufficiently large to enable him to forego the profit. The perpetual splitting of landed possessions, by which the aggregate value of rent to each proprietor is too small to enable him to live luxuriously, as a landlord, would, perhaps, prevent the separation of rent generally, where the soil is acquired on purely commercial principles, and freely alienated; but this does not preclude particular owners from deriving a rent regulated by the general rate of interest, if they choose to live as landlords on a limited income. Rent, then, admits of being paid, and may be derived under any arrangements, with regard to the soil; but such rent as arises from a surplus above the general level of profit, is prevented from appearing, unless there is such a division of the territory as connects political influence or other real or fancied advantages peculiarly with its ownership, and this rent will not be generally separated without such an amount of income from large landed possessions, as will enable the proprietors, notwithstanding having relinquished the profits, to live on rents, in that style of expense in which landlords, under such circumstances, are naturally inclined to indulge. The greatest pressure of the population against the limits of the food, or the highest degree of relative scarcity, may not, therefore, afford a fund of sufficient magnitude for landlords generally, although it may admit of a surplus above the general level of profit, for rent, to particular proprietors.

It is obvious, also, that whether the rent that arises in fully peopled states, originates in the manner we have described, or

results from the unavoidable scarcity of fertile territory, still the rent which we consider more natural, because regulated proportionably to what can be made from any other investment of capital, may be produced under any disproportion between the population and the produce, or any degree of external demand. As long as good land shall be abundant in the United States, compared with capital, and the science and skill of more matured countries continue to be applied to a virgin soil, by which a large amount of produce is derived with a small expenditure, the disposition, as well to hire as to rent land, to any but a very limited extent, will not, perhaps, appear: but whilst the arrangements with regard to the land, continue favourable to its alienation and its value is regulated solely on commercial principles, this state of things will indefinitely delay the appearance of that rent which is produced from a surplus or excess, as we have described it; and this, although the whole of the territory should be fully occupied and peopled. The high relative returns, from particular tracts, whether originating in increased productiveness or the gradations of land, would pass under the appellation of profits, and the excess or surplus produced by the greater acquired fertility of one tract compared with another, or arising from these gradations,\* and which is supposed, most peculiarly, to constitute rent, would never be visible. The difference would be precisely of that character which enables some particular cultivators to obtain higher annual returns than others from superior management of the land, even when none but the richest soils have been broken up. If the gradations of the soil where a high stimulus forces the additional quantity of produce required from inferior tracts, is to entitle the difference, or the value of the difference, to the appellation and character of rent, why should not every saving of expense or increase of skill, by which a larger return is obtained by some cultivators to what is derived by others, even in the early stage of agriculture, merit the same character and title? The payment of rent is not then a necessary condition of the supply of raw produce in any state of society, and its appearance and separation, generally, do not exemplify a natural progress.

\* We have termed the difference from the gradations or different qualities of the soil, a surplus or excess; but it must be understood in a different sense to that in which it is employed by the writers of the Ricardo school. It is not to effect a level of profit in agriculture, by the rise of rent on the better lands, that this difference is caused, but by the fall of rent on the poor soils, to enable them to be cultivated, with the existing and average rate of profit. There cannot, it is true, be two rates of profits in cultivation, as alleged by the advocates of this doctrine. There may, however, be two or more rates of rent.



Whenever the separation, generally, of rent has taken place, its amount is settled, of course, on a mixed principle—the actual power of the land, whatever that is, and the existing price of its products. When Mr. Ricardo denies that increased fertility will augment rent, he overlooks the first of these considerations. He attends solely to the rise of rent, which has its source in relative scarcity. It is disregarded, however, in his view of rent, that such rise is not incompatible with an augmentation of the corn rent. If, indeed, the increased quantity from additional fertility were thrown on the market all at once, the conflicting influences of increased demand and increased supply would be balanced, for they would necessarily counteract each other: the price would, of course, fall as the supply had augmented—the tendency to a depression of the corn rent would exactly equal the opposite tendency to an elevation of the money rent, and it would remain at its former amount. But this is never the case with any commodity. The additional quantity produced is thrown upon the market in portions successively, and never altogether: consequently, the price is sustained.

It makes no essential difference as to a rise of rents, when they have been generally established, whether the land from which the additional supplies are derived, is of an uniform or of a different quality. The last capital applied to the soils already in cultivation, or to new and less productive tracts, with a diminished return as to quantity, can never produce a rise of rent, unless the price has been forced up previously, so as to yield higher profits in agriculture than in other employments. If the value of the produce should merely place the cultivator on a level with other capitalists, there would be no surplus for rent; but if the price should exceed this level, and, at the same time, the soils in cultivation yield a quantity of produce which would augment this difference, then the surplus for rent would be determined by this excess, in addition to the other.

The definition of rent by Mr. McCulloch, (which is in substance that of Mr. Ricardo) “that it is nothing but the excess or value of the excess of the produce obtained from the best, above that obtained from the very worst soils in cultivation,”\* is defective in not noticing the excess or surplus caused by the higher price, (all other things being equal) of agricultural compared with commercial or manufactured produce, as well as that originating in the increased productiveness of the land, and the saving in the costs of cultivation, by each of which circum-

\* See article, “Political Economy,” in the Supplement to the Edinburgh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica.

stances, a difference in the returns may be produced. But, be this as it may, how, we should like to be informed, can a resort to a worse or more unproductive quality *increase* this difference, and increase it, moreover, in a *two-fold degree*? If the tenant on the better soils improve them, whilst the produce increases in price, so as to yield higher returns in cultivation, than in commercial and manufacturing employments, there must be an accession of rent on those soils, from price and quantity combined; but, if the difference is not increased in this manner, the landlord's gain can only be in proportion to the relative scarcity. Why, if a given portion of land, No. 1, yields 100 quarters of corn, and an equal quantity of land, No. 2, but 90 quarters, the owner of No. 1 should obtain the excess or difference, equal to 10 quarters, as corn rent, from the price being forced up, we can very readily conceive; but why the corn rent of No. 1 should increase, whilst its powers of producing continue the same, we are totally at a loss to comprehend.

This scale of rent, whether in reference to the gradations of the soil, or to the difference in the corn returns, from the application of equal capitals on the old land, is an attempt to apply a sort of mathematical sequence or progression to a subject that does not admit of it. It is not by such a rule, that we can measure the gains of landlords, so far as they depend on quantity. It is not by commencing on the second quality of soils, or with the difference as to quantity produced by the application of equal capitals on the lands already in cultivation, and increasing in both corn and money rent, in the descending progression, as this difference augments, that the law of rent, founded on relative fertility, is to be inferred; but it is by beginning at the highest degree of productiveness, and falling in the rent for the inferior soils, at every step in the descent, and rising in the rent on the better tracts, if they yield higher returns than the general and average rate of profit, that that law is to be truly deduced. As then, profits in commerce and manufactures will regulate profits in agriculture, where lands are generally occupied and under lease, so will rents on the superior soils, govern rents on the worst lands in cultivation, when they are forced for additional produce. It is to enable the cultivator of No. 2, to obtain the same rate of profit with the cultivator of No. 1, that the rent on No. 2 falls, in proportion to its more limited powers, and from no other cause. No. 2 must, however, pay a rent at least equal to what this quality of land would yield to its owner in a natural state, or it would not be allowed to be cultivated. The same circumstance that enables the most productive tracts to yield a high money rent, enables

the most barren soils cultivated, to pay a corn rent. It is the rise of price that elevates the former, but without the payment of the latter, cultivation could not be extended. If, therefore, it be admitted, that money rent, or rent which is founded on value and demand, cannot be a component part of price, this does not apply to corn rent, or rent in proportion to fertility, natural or acquired.

It is invariably the case, we believe, that when considerable wealth has been attained by States from commerce and manufactures, that profits in them will govern profits in cultivation. As the price of those commodities raised at the least expense, will regulate, in ordinary circumstances, the price of the others, in the same department of production, so will profits follow the same general law, as regards different employments. Those branches of business that afford the greatest advantages to producers, can be carried on with lower profits, than those in which equal facilities are not to be had. Under the existing arrangements with regard to the land, in most parts of the world, capital has been prevented from accumulating on it, whilst the population has been unnaturally stimulated—a system which has resulted in a corresponding addition to rent. If this explanation be correct, profits in commerce and manufactures, in countries so circumstanced, must govern profits in cultivation, just as on those parts of the globe where more natural arrangements prevail, and whose inhabitants enjoy superior facilities of production from the soil, the rate of profit, generally, will be regulated by what can be made by the capitalist from the land.

Now, admitting that an unusual stimulus to cultivation from demand, may force the additional produce required from inferior soils, or those already in cultivation, but partially exhausted, it does not follow that such a state of the demand presents the natural, or even the usual circumstances. They are, on the contrary, such as attend an extraordinary excitement. Still the increased expenditure on the inferior or less productive tracts, is compensated in the great excess of price above what is ordinarily derived. And, practically, the high price *precedes*, and never can *follow* extension of cultivation. It is never the *effect*, but invariably the *cause* of additional expenditure. Although it were true, therefore, that the return in *quantity*, from the inferior or less productive soils, should be smaller than from the superior lands, or from those already in cultivation, with the same or even additional expense, still the return in *money*, may allow of a considerable rise of profits and wages, as well as rents.

If we are correct in these deductions, it will not be difficult to decide, whether facility of production on the land, is so widely different from facility in manufactures, as is affirmed, not only by the new school of economists, but by Mr. Malthus and Mr. West, who presented to the world at the same time, that doctrine of rent, from which all the leading conclusions of the school alluded to, have been derived. If it be true, that the commodities raised from the soil, are not capable of regular increase from improved modes of cultivation, in the same degree nearly as articles produced by machinery, then has agriculture one law to regulate its returns, and manufactures another. But we have endeavoured to prove that there is no just ground for the conclusion, that improvements in cultivation are necessarily partial and not progressive like manufactures, and that a physical law bounds human skill and invention more in that art which provides us food, than in the others that minister to our necessary wants. We have said that clothes and habitations are elements just as necessary to a proper standard of comfort, as subsistence itself. Mr. Low estimates that the corn wages of the English labourer are 56 per cent. of his whole consumption, when not over liberally paid.\* If we make a small addition for the raw materials necessary for clothing and lodging, we shall find that the demand for the produce of the soil, is but little in advance of that for commercial and manufactured products, taken together. But as the condition of the labourer improves, his scale of comforts and conveniences is enlarged, and his relative expenditure on mere necessities, diminishes.

Facility of production on the land, like facility of production in manufactures, is dependent, therefore, on those arrangements which best stimulate, in all departments of industry, the invention and efforts of producers, and on these alone. The price, generally, of the products of the soil, like the price of articles produced by machinery, will be governed, in the absence of all unnatural excitements, by the expense of raising that portion which is produced at the least cost. This is restoring the principle of Dr. Smith, from which Mr. Malthus was the first to depart, as relates to production on the land, and thus became himself, the cause of those heresies in the school of Ricardo, as to the influence of costs on prices, against which he has so much protested. He has, in consequence, in his "*Principles of Political Economy*," embarrassed himself with two conflicting principles, which he vainly attempts to reconcile, to wit, the operation of supply and demand on prices, and, consequently,

\* Present State of England, p. 229.

on profits, and the modified influence of an alleged necessarily increased expenditure in cultivation, in reducing profits.

The idea that nature made a present in the different gradations of the soil, of a number of machines of unequal powers, and that, by a sort of physical necessity, resort must be had, in the progress of population, to those which require a greater quantity of labour to work them, is very plausible and striking; but nothing is more common and more dangerous in these speculations, than to mistake metaphor for truth. It is not susceptible of evidence, admitting there are many qualities of land, that man must necessarily go from the best to the worst of these, to obtain increased supplies from the soil. Nature has made a present to us of agents of unequal powers, as well as soils of unequal qualities. Steam is more powerful in propelling machinery of the same character, than wind or water. If they were capable of appropriation, their value would be determined by what they could produce, as is the case with land. The soil has no intrinsic worth. It derives its whole value, as the immediate source of necessary supplies, from the returns obtained by the influence of labour, and the agency of nature united. Admitting then, the justness of the comparison, and that the best machines are first worked in agriculture, whilst the worst are put earliest in operation in manufactures, the value of land may be increased, if only of moderate powers, and kept up, if naturally of the richest description, by that union of science and skill, to which it is impossible to prescribe a limit, or allege with truth, that their influence is controlled by a physical principle or law of nature.

On the whole, the attempt to show, on the part of Mr. Malthus, that land is not subject to the laws of monopoly as rent is generally established in old countries, because its produce sells at its necessary price, or that price which is necessary to yield the actual supply required, must be deemed unsatisfactory. It would be the same thing, so far as the consumer is concerned, if such a demand were created as would raise the value of raw produce enough to admit of rent, whether that value fell to landlords or to those who both owned and worked the soil, with this difference, however, that in the latter case, a part of the excess arising from the high money price, would be returned to the land, in the form of reinvested capital, whilst, in the former, nearly the whole is spent unproductively. Capital is accumulated on the soil more abundantly and rapidly when large money returns fall into the hands of cultivators who are owners, than when they are divided with landlords. It would, of course, be the same, should both spend alike, but the circumstance of own-

ership makes all the difference possible in the results.\* The saving from profit to add to capital, is a principle that is never weakened when the security of property is complete, and when the increased value given to capital, in whatever form that value may exist, continues with the improver instead of passing into the hands of others. Now, the effect of the whole of the rents being spent unproductively, and scarcely any part of them returned to the soil, in the shape of reinvested capital, is to cause a greater relative scarcity of the products of the land than would prevail under other arrangements. If the saving of income from rent to add to capital took place in agriculture, as the saving from profit from land, where there is no rent established, there could be no greater monopoly connected with rent than there is with the high money prices of commodities in general; but as the effect of the high rents which the scarcity originates, becomes a cause in turn to aggravate that scarcity, there must, to this extent, be a greater transfer from the consumer to the landlord than in other instances of high money prices.

In opposition to this view, it may be said, that the landlords expenditure encourages the industry of the manufacturing and commercial classes, and, that the welfare of the society is as much promoted by this species of demand and consumption, as if their rents took any other form of expenditure. But the effect is, that by diverting capital from the land, a greater relative encouragement is given to commerce and manufactures than to agriculture. It may be inferred, as a positive consequence, that the establishment of rents, as they exist generally in countries where the land is held under strict or even partial monopoly, postpones to a late period, if it does not preclude, those improvements on the soil which require capital equally with science and skill. Landlords, in general, are always more disposed to take the chance of an increase of their rents, from the high price of the products of the land, than from returning to the soil, or leaving in the hands of their tenants, a portion of their rents, to add to the quantity of produce. When they, besides, constitute a class possessed of political influence, the elevation of the price of raw produce and subsistence costs nothing but the exercise of their power, but to receive an accession of income from increase of fertility, if effected by their own means, they must forego present enjoyment, with the view to a distant return. Such motives

\* The custom of allowing long leases is a practical recognition of the truth of this principle. The nearer the tenure approaches to permanent possession, the greater the improvement of the land.

do not generally govern when the same results may be effected by an exercise of power.

If these views are correct, they assist to determine whether, and to what extent, profits depend on the fertility of the land last taken into cultivation, or whether they are solely governed by the demand as compared with the supply of capital. We have endeavoured to show that improvements on the land may be progressive and not partial, and that consequently the value of the returns may be augmented either by diminishing the expenses of cultivation or by increasing the quantity produced. And in those cases in which the supply of raw produce and subsistence could not be augmented as rapidly as population increased, without additional expenditure on the soil, the question of falling profits would be practically answered, if the reward of labour kept pace during such increased expense, with the gains of capitalists and the rents of landlords. The universal prosperity of labourers, as well as the high profits of capital in Great-Britain, between 1793 and 1813, when more inferior soil had been broken up, than in any equal period of her history, decides this question. If it could be made to appear, that at every recurrence of more than usual comparative scarcity, the increase of profit could not proceed, proportionally, with the additional expense of forcing inferior land, the inference would be just, that profits must fall if wages rose, with every step made in this progress; but it is overlooked in this theory, that the gains of the capitalist admit of being *more* than proportionally extended, from the stimulus originating in a foreign demand for commercial and manufactured products, terminating in a correspondent demand for those of agriculture. It is not recollected that such an excitement produces money returns that provides a fund more than sufficient, not only for the payment of the additional *quantity*, but the additional *price* of labour, to which the capitalist is subjected in such circumstances. If these returns were no more than sufficient to meet the expense of the cultivation of the poor soils, produced by employing a greater *number* of labourers, the higher *rate* of wages he would be compelled to pay, if the demand for labour should exceed the supply, would leave him less for profit. As it is demand, therefore, that raises wages, it is demand that raises profits, and we may add, that raises rents, notwithstanding the necessity of employing more labour in cultivation, and paying for that labour at a higher price.

Mr. Malthus has much insisted\* on the necessity of a fall of profits as well as wages, to the extension of cultivation over in-

\* Principles of Political Economy, ch. iii. p. 190.

different soils, but we believe it never happens that such extension takes place in this manner, but is invariably caused by the high money prices of raw produce. If profits should fall it would lessen the inducement to an increase of expense, when there would be no fund to meet it. The fall of profits and additional expenditure are absolutely incompatible effects. But to make such fall indispensable to the cultivation of bad land, and to make it also the consequence of that cultivation, is still more inconsistent. It is the same thing as saying, that the return *in money*, from the difficulty of finding employment for capital, must be first reduced to admit of additional supplies from the soil, and then, that the return *in produce* being less, compared with the same expenditure, than before, will be accompanied by a still further reduction in the rate of profit. This inconsistency results from abandoning the principle of demand and supply, as regards the products of the soil, or which is the same thing, supposing the increased expense of raising the last portion of subsistence and raw materials, is the *cause* instead of the *consequence* of the price being elevated.

With regard to the fall of money wages or the price of labour, on which so much stress is laid, as also necessary to the cultivation of indifferent land, the heaviest portion of the expense in reclaiming such soils from their natural poverty, is in *manure* and not in *labour*, except in some peculiar situations. Nearly the whole of the inferior lands of the county of Norfolk, (Eng.) have been brought into profitable cultivation from the application of composts, to obtain which, the greater part of the outlay has been in stock, and in what are technically termed, artificial manures; instances of levelling and draining, in which labour is the principal ingredient of cost, constitute exceptions rather than the contrary. There is, then, never any transfer in consequence of the fall of profits and money wages to rents, under any circumstances; and, we may add, that there is never any transfer, as insisted on by the new school, of profits to wages, as the difficulty of procuring the subsistence of the labourer increases, unless the working portion of the population can submit to no further reduction in the quantity or quality of their food, and no increase of physical exertion.

The capitalist has every interest in that excess of population, which, while it tasks the labourer to the utmost of his bodily energies from the pressure of want, keeps down his money wages to their lowest possible limit. The landlord has an equal interest in the depression of his corn wages. The toils and privations of the working classes may not always measure the amount of profits and the value of rents, for wages may advance



proportionally with both; but, in the ordinary state of things, the sacrifices of the labourer will very nearly determine the gains of landlord and capitalist, excepting, where, under a system of poor laws the former is compelled to refund a portion of his high rents in the form of rates. It would appear then, that the stages between a moderate and a low standard of comfort for the labourer are so far separated, that the point at which the fall of profits commences, from the pressure of the population against the limits of food, is scarcely if at all to be prescribed. It is impossible to say where it can be placed. The situation of the people of Ireland, with great natural resources in land, is conclusive evidence of this. But, admitting the influence of this circumstance on the population, it is in no instance a resort to inferior soils that affects profits by influencing wages. The cultivation of indifferent land is never forced, as we have endeavoured to show, except under a very high stimulus, and in that state of things it is great excess of value or most extraordinary money prices that rewards labourer, landlord, and capitalist liberally.

We are not disposed to deny the influence of fertility on profits. They must be limited by the capabilities of the soil, supposing them fully called forth by adequate demand. But, as Mr. Malthus has, himself, well observed, *limitation* is a different thing from *regulation*. They cannot exceed the natural or acquired powers of the soil, nor be depressed below them, should the proper stimulants be present. The land cannot support a greater number on the profits of stock, than, after allowing for the labour devoted to its cultivation, it can be made to yield in subsistence and raw materials; but this does not invalidate the principle, that profits as well as wages depend on the great law of demand and supply; on the contrary, it is in strict subordination to it. It is the demand of the manufacturing and commercial classes, for the produce of the soil, that measures the value of the general returns obtained in agriculture, as it is the proportion of capital to population that governs the rate of wages and profits respectively. The principle that regulates the division of the produce of society between the labourer and capitalist, lies so open to observation, that it cannot be misunderstood. It is competition that must determine the share that falls to each class under every condition of things, whether rent be paid or not.

The principle of the new school, therefore, by which that law of profits, which is founded on competition, is superseded, is neither true in fact, nor rational in theory. What is gained by the labourer, is not *necessarily* lost to the capitalist, and vice

versa. If it were true, that population must be always excessive, compared with the demand for the produce of its labour, and the means of setting it to work, still, until it be shown, that the labourer's wages in money, must rise as his wages in corn diminish, the rate of division will not be as stated. There is a different scale of comfort for the working population in the same country, at periods not very far separated, and it cannot be conceded, that habit is so connected with a certain and invariable standard of necessities for the labourer, that the rate at which he is recompensed in money, must be necessarily raised, as the rate of his reward in commodities in general is lowered. The division then of the whole produce between labourer and capitalist will, when the population increases faster than the produce, or the converse, be adjusted by the law of competition. The labourer must receive fewer commodities when they exist in relative scarcity, and a smaller sum in wages, if there are a greater number seeking employment, than there is demand for the products of capital and industry. This is agreeable to universal experience. But in a just theory, it is more natural to suppose that the demand should not be so far separated from the supply of provisions, as well as the commodities produced by labour and capital generally, than, that wages should always be encroaching on profits, and, that an unavoidable action and re-action each on the other, should present a necessary progress. It is more rational to infer, that if some disturbing influence were not, in the division of the whole produce or its value, constantly varying the proper proportions—that as a greater share fell to the lot of the labourer, a larger quantity would be assigned to the capitalist. Under no circumstances, however, would we be entitled to reject the influence of the law of demand and supply. The supply might admit of being a little in advance of the demand for commodities, and the labour by which they are produced. The price or money value of both might fall slowly and progressively together.

It is a mistake to suppose, that supply will not produce demand, as well as demand supply. The *expectation* of an extension of demand, from increase of quantity and fall of price, is sufficient to stimulate producers, equally with a pre-existing demand. The love of indolence, by which the demand may be suspended or lessened, or the markets not fully supplied, is not a stronger principle, as assumed in too many of the reasonings of economists, than the wish, in the majority of mankind, where property is well secured, to better their condition and to accumulate. Activity is, on the contrary, the overbalancing motive.

The illustrations of the superior force of the opposite principle, have been necessarily drawn, in the greater number of instances, from those parts of the earth where, although possessed of great natural resources, the inhabitants have been sunk in slothful habits, from the absence of the stimulants that best call forth those resources, and the powers of human labour and invention. Those systems of political economy, therefore, in which a greater influence is ascribed to indolence, than to that activity, mental and physical, which is the main spring of all improvement, because connected with increase of enjoyment, the desire of possessing and transmitting property and a dominion over others, must be false. The occasional recurrence of gluts, is a symptom of the faulty distribution of capital and of a disturbance in the regular exchanges of its products, and not a proof that man must cease to produce from the want of consumption, in the ordinary way.

But those writers who are not advocates of the passion for expense, appear to lay too much stress on the necessity of accumulation. Whilst one class of economists seem apprehensive, therefore, that men will spend too freely, another appear to dread, that they will accumulate too fast. Both apprehensions we think equally unreasonable. These desires are in equilibrium in the conduct of the majority of men, when left to their natural impulses, and the enjoyment of the fruits of their labours. There is an equal absurdity in the doctrine that teaches the necessity of unproductive consumption, to a balance between produce and expenditure, as in that which is the foundation of sumptuary enactments.

The length to which we have extended these remarks, precludes us from explaining the points of difference between us and Dr. Cooper, on the subject of *population*. We hope, however, at no very distant period, to redeem the promise with which we set out, in noticing the very useful contribution he has made to science, by his "Elements of Political Economy."

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ART. VIII.—*The Tenth Annual Report of the American Society, for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States. With an Appendix.* Washington. Way & Gideon, 1827.

THAT the institution of slavery is attended with some evils, and those not inconsiderable ones, we readily admit ; though we think that it is also attended with advantages which, in some degree, compensate for them. That the scale of evil preponderates—that, upon the whole, domestic servitude is not, with a view to the general circumstances of the world, the best of all possible institutions—even this proposition, it is not our purpose to controvert.

We believe, however, that much as the subject has been discussed, it is not yet thoroughly understood. We think that in the various publications unfavourable to slavery, which have appeared in print, the evils have been exaggerated, and the compensating circumstances, in a great measure, overlooked. We are of opinion, that on this subject, there exists and has existed for some time past, both in this country and in England, a great deal of uninformed and misguided zeal ; as much, perhaps, as on any, that has ever employed the thoughts and pens of men ; and, that many of those who conceive themselves to be best informed and best qualified to instruct, and who have taken the greatest pains to enlighten others on the subject, are grossly ignorant, not only of facts but of the very principles upon which a judgment is to be formed. And, what is most surprising of all, some individuals among ourselves, instead of attending to what passes before their own eyes and under their own observation, are content to take up their opinion, ready-made, from the haphazard speculations and vehement invectives of these enlightened and benevolent, though distant instructors. We believe also, that most or all of the schemes which have been proposed for the abolition of slavery, or the mitigation of its evils, are useless or impracticable, or dangerous, and likely to do infinitely more harm than good.

We do not, however, purpose, at present to enter at large into the discussion of these topics. We shall have occasion to recur to them, perhaps, in the course of our future labours. Our views in this article shall be exclusively confined to the plans of the Society, whose name appears at the head of it.

This institution has gone on from the very beginning, with much energy and zeal. This report announces, that its success can no longer be considered as doubtful. A colony has been

established, which has every prospect of prosperity. The views of the Society enlarge, with the successful progress of their labours. The present Report announces, that an application will be made to Congress, during its present session, for an appropriation to aid them in prosecuting their schemes; and a late article in a popular Periodical Journal, which appears to be intimately connected, both with the Society and the present administration of the government, seems to have been designed to make an impression on the public mind, favourable to the success of such an application.

Public opinion, on the whole, appears to have been thus far favourable to their undertaking—decidedly so in the non-slaveholding states. In the slave-holding states it has been more divided; but even in these, the Society reckons, amongst its members, some of the most enlightened and distinguished of our citizens.

Our own opinions, we confess, are unfavourable to the institution, and we take this early opportunity to state some of our objections to it, even at the risk of doing so in rather a hasty and imperfect manner. They are,—

That so long as the operations of the Society are confined to its avowed objects, it will be nearly or entirely useless to the United States at large, and utterly so to the Southern states:

That its operations, however, are not intended to be confined to the objects at present avowed; and we would not lightly expose ourselves to the dangers of an ambiguous policy:

That the means by which the main ulterior object (the abolition of slavery) is to be effected, so far as we are able to form any conjecture concerning them, are likely to prove dangerous to the peace and safety of the slave-holding states:

That if this object is to be effected at any time, it must be by the slave-holding states themselves; and that the interference of others who have not a common interest, and will not be exposed to common dangers with them, is most seriously to be deprecated.

We utterly deny the constitutional right of Congress to make the appropriation proposed; and the justice and expediency of the measure, even if it were constitutional.

We have no faith in power, which has a natural and necessary *tendency* to encroachment. We apprehend, that if the General Government conceives itself authorized to interfere in this way, for remedying the evils of slavery, it may, in future, interfere by more direct and short-handed legislation on the subject; and to this we should look forward as the source of all imagina-

ble calamity to the Southern states, and to the whole confederacy.

Although, if the operations of the Society were, in good faith, confined to its avowed objects, we should have little interest in them, and perhaps no right to find fault with them; yet, we have a right to complain that they have, in many respects, been so conducted as to be calculated to produce, and to have actually produced, in some degree, a feeling of alarm and insecurity in one portion of our population, and of discontent and insubordination in another.

The avowed object of the Society is to diminish the number of free-coloured persons in the United States, or to prevent their increase by encouraging and aiding their voluntary emigration to Africa. And some of its members seem anxious that their object should not be misunderstood. Mr. Clay, in his speech, asks, "what is the true nature of the evil of the existence of a portion of the African race in our population. It is not that there are *some*, but that there are so many of a different caste." In another passage, "the object of the Society was the colonization of the free coloured people, *not the slaves*, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes and instruments are also voluntary."

The Society tell us that they have established an orderly and prosperous colony. This may be a very good thing, and very gratifying to a benevolent mind. The individuals who have established themselves in Liberia, may possibly have improved their own condition, and elevated the hopes of their posterity. But, with these considerations, we have, at present, nothing to do. We are considering the benefit that is to result from the project to the United States—in a *national* point of view, as the friends of the Society are fond of expressing it. In this light, we ask, how are the objects of the Society to be considered as a national concern, so as to entitle it to the assistance of Congress, and the aid of the public funds? Particular neighbourhoods may, for aught we know, have been benefited, by getting rid of troublesome individuals; but is the Federal Legislature invoked, is it authorized, and was it established to transport vagrants?

Since the Society has been in operation, it has transported to Africa, not more than a few hundred persons. During the same period, according to Mr. Clay's calculation, the increase of free coloured people in the United States, has been about sixty thousand, and of coloured persons, of all descriptions, between four and five hundred thousand. The simple stating of this

proposition, would seem to go far towards determining the question, as to what extent the Society is likely to be useful in diminishing the number of coloured persons in the United States, or checking their increase. But the Society allege, that the limited extent of their operations, has been owing to their limited pecuniary means, and, that they have hitherto found as many emigrants willing to go, as they were able to send. We think, however, that there are obvious and conclusive reasons for believing, that whatever amount of funds the Society may have at its disposal, its operations can never become much more extensive than they already are—we mean, of course, so long as they shall be confined to the voluntary emigration of those already free. Every body knows that nine-tenths of them will not go. We are told of the spirit of enterprise, which prompts men to explore and to settle new countries. But in the most enterprising community, it is but a small proportion of the population that can be thus excited. We have never, except in very early stages of society, heard of a whole people's emigrating *en masse*. A vast majority of the human race are essentially unenterprising, and will endure much hardship and misery, before they will risk a great change.\*

It may be true, that if the colony continues to prosper, the disposition to emigrate will increase and spread. But the process will be exceedingly slow—the work of many years; and long before this disposition can become general, the subjects of this benevolent scheme, will have multiplied far beyond any means which the Society can ever be expected to possess, of transporting them. Mr. Clay supposes, that if six thousand could be removed annually, the numbers of the free coloured population would remain stationary. We do not believe, if the whole revenue of the United States were at the command of the Society, they could find two thousand recruits for the colony in a year, unless by tempting them with exorbitant bounties. We are surrounded by numbers of this class of persons, and we hesitate not to affirm, that so far as we are able to form a judgment, there is not an individual among them, of any sort of respectability, who could be induced to go. One family only, we believe, has ever gone from South-Carolina. A few recruits have been picked up in North-Carolina and Virginia; none from the states South and Southwest of us. Speaking as to our own state, with respect to which, we are, of course, best informed, we know of no class of persons less disposed to change their place of

\* Adam Smith somewhere remarks, that after all that has been said of the levity and inconstancy of mankind, human creatures are, of all others, the most difficult to move.

residence. It is rarely that an individual is to be found among them, who will go willingly, even to the states North of us, where the laws seem so much more favourable to them than they are here; and our Legislature is troubled with importunate petitions, to permit the return of those, who, in an evil hour, have been induced to remove to that land of equal rights. We think it to be, in some degree, characteristic of these people, to cling, with the greatest fondness, to the places to which they have been accustomed, and to be timid and reluctant in venturing on new scenes.

We are aware, however, that the case may be somewhat different in the states to the North of us. This sort of population is in a much better condition, and much less troublesome to society, in the slave-holding, and especially in the planting, than in the non-slave-holding states. In the first place, wages are higher, and the means of subsistence more easily attainable. In the next place, the climate is more congenial to them; and lastly, and principally, the law coincides with public opinion, in assigning to them an inferior and servile rank. They are accustomed to their station in society, know they cannot better it, and are reconciled to it. In the states, where the laws put them on an equal footing with the white population—but the opinions, or what they may justly consider as the prejudices of the white portion of the society, present an insuperable bar to their taking that station—their feelings are those of men who have been tantalized and deluded. They are thus rendered more discontented and disorderly, more idle, dissolute and vicious, than the corresponding class of persons amongst us. This is notoriously the case with respect to the coloured population of Philadelphia. It is not so much inferiority of rank that excites a feeling of contempt on one side, or of degradation on the other. A private soldier may be perfectly respectable in the station which the laws assign him, though his rank be the very lowest; and so may the peasant in Germany. To be degraded by opinion, is a thousand-fold worse to the feelings of the individual, than to be degraded by the laws. To be despised by those with whom we conceive ourselves entitled to stand on a footing of equality, constitutes the very bitterness of degradation. Accordingly, we believe, that the free coloured persons of the South, are less contemned and more respectable than those of the North.

We do not think that the free coloured population in our own state, or in the other slave-holding states, at all events, those South and West of us, in the numbers in which they exist, or, under our laws, are likely to exist, within any definite period



to which we can look forward, is any serious evil. Indeed, it might well be made a question, whether they do not contribute to our security with respect to the enslaved part of our population. At all events, we hold it to be utterly preposterous to expect that their numbers will be materially diminished, or their increase materially checked by voluntary emigration. So far from it, that, unless our laws prevented it, we are quite satisfied they would receive large accessions by emigration from the Northern states.\*

It may be convenient and desirable that Philadelphia and New-York should be rid of their coloured rogues and vagabonds; but we cannot think it constitutional or just, that we should be compelled to contribute to an expense, by which we are not only not benefited, but as we shall endeavour to show, seriously injured. We feel the irony severely, when we are told in the article of the Periodical before alluded to, that as the Southern states are subjected to some hardship and inequality by the tariff of protection, they are, perhaps, entitled to an indemnity, by enabling them to get rid of their free negroes.

In the same article, and in the speech of Mr. Clay, calculations are made of the practicability and expense of transporting fifty-nine thousand annually, which is supposed to be equal to the whole increase of the coloured population of the United States. But how are these persons to be obtained for transportation? If the states should pass laws for banishing all free coloured persons, or transporting them, *nolentes volentes*, to Liberia, the philanthropic members of this Society would be among the first to exclaim against the hardship and injustice of the measure. And it seems even to us, who do not set up for sentimentalists in this matter, a cruelty to which we cannot yet reconcile ourselves. But suppose the states to pass such laws, a few years would rid us of the free blacks; how is the Society

\* While we were in the act of writing these lines, a friend communicated to us a fact, which we consider as perfectly characteristic. Our informant, who has been lately in New-York, was waited upon by an intelligent young man of colour, whom he had formerly known in this state, and who wished to have his opinion, with respect to the practicability of returning to his former master. The good natured master had taken him and his wife to the North, with a view to emancipate them; and, in addition to their freedom, had offered them maintenance, until he could learn some trade. Our friend asked him, why do you not go to Liberia? He replied, good God! Sir! go to Liberia! I saw two black men who had made their escape thence, the other day, and who described it as the most miserable place in the world: I had rather remain *here*! Our friend reminded him, that though he might be contented to remain with his master, yet, in the event of his master's death, he knew not into whose hands he might fall. His reply was, that in respect, he had rather take his chance than remain where he was. Whether this young man's information with respect to Liberia, was correct or not, such, certainly, is the belief of the free coloured people of the Southern states on the subject—a belief that will not easily be eradicated.

then to proceed with respect to the slaves? We do not observe that any calculation is made of the expense of purchasing them. Supposing that sixty thousand were to be purchased annually, at the price of two hundred dollars each, the cost would be twelve millions of dollars. This, added to the expense of their transportation, would be not less than fifteen or sixteen millions per annum. If the Society had the command of funds to this extent, their difficulties would be only beginning. If they should advertise to purchase those who should be sent to their agents in the Northern cities, they might be assured of receiving none but the most abandoned characters—such as, if transported, would insure the speedy destruction of the colony. That they should send agents into the slave-holding states, to inquire and select proper subjects, is not to be thought of. As long as the semblance of independence and sovereignty remains to the states, it is not to be supposed that they will submit to a proceeding so dangerous to their peace and safety.

The most plausible idea seems to be, that by the establishment of the colony, masters will be induced to emancipate their slaves, by sending them to Liberia. We say emancipate by sending them—for if they should emancipate, with a view to their going voluntarily, the number of free coloured persons, instead of being diminished, would be greatly increased. By far the greater number would decline to go. But this is no less fallacious than the other views of the Society. If a passion for emancipation should be excited, and great numbers should be sent in this way, the colony would be destroyed. Unprepared for freedom, ignorant, half savage, nothing more could be expected than that they should relapse into the habits of the other tribes of Africa. But we do not believe that this danger will be incurred. The instances in which masters can be thus operated on, must, for a long time, be rare and casual. This would be the case, more especially in the planting States, where slaves are most valuable. Occasionally an individual, whose conscience had been alarmed by the homilies of fanatics against the abominable sin of holding their fellow-men in the bonds, in which the Divine Founder of their Religion found and left them without even an observation, will direct, by his last will and testament, that his slaves shall be sent to Liberia; but this cannot be supposed likely to have any sensible effect in diminishing the relative numbers of the whole body of the coloured population. We leave out of the question the hardship and cruelty of transporting even slaves, without consulting their inclinations.

Indeed, so impracticable and inconceivable does it appear to us, that any material effect can be produced by voluntary emi-

gration, or by masters sending their slaves, without consulting their wishes, that we should find it difficult, on that ground alone, to believe that the Society contemplate no more than this. It is probable that amongst its various members there are very various views and projects. Some of them, we know, cannot be suspected of meditating schemes injurious to the slave-holding states. Some of them are men of the highest character and intelligence. But we must not submit implicitly to the authority of the most respectable names. On this subject we cannot help distrusting the soundness of their conclusions. That some members do entertain views of more extensive operations and further interference on the subject of slavery, no one who reads one of their annual reports, can, for a moment doubt. Mr. Clay, in the very speech to which we before referred, and while he carefully disclaims such views, indirectly sanctions our opinion, when he asks, "what would they who thus reproach us have done? If they would repress all tendency towards liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this Society." The tendency of the Society then is, to cause ultimate emancipation. How does this agree with the declaration, that "it is not that there are some, but that there are so many among us," and with the limitation of the views of the Society to transporting a number of free coloured persons, equal to their annual increase. In an able pamphlet, "*The Crisis*," published in this city during the last summer, extracts are made from the speeches of members of the Society, very clearly shewing that general emancipation, by some means or other, is expected to be accomplished by the operations of the Society.

But how? by what means? what measures are intended to bring about these consequences? We do suppose that most of the members have never very definitely answered these questions to themselves. They regard slavery as an enormous evil, and are anxious to keep alive excitement on the subject; they desire to be meddling—a generous zeal in the cause of justice and humanity we suppose they call it. They desire to vindicate the right of interference on the subject, on behalf of the non-slave-holding states. They intend to alarm us on the evils and dangers of slavery, and perchance to drive us into taking some efficient measures for preventing them. Indeed, in various publications, it is repeated that this is a common concern of the whole United States, and must be managed accordingly. What is meant by these expressions? Is it only meant that individuals and societies have a right to address themselves to the slave-holding states by remonstrance, expostulation and argument? This we cannot prevent; but we have, certainly, a correspond-

ing right to tell them that their interference is injudicious, officious, injurious to us, and even to the cause they desire to serve.

But more is meant. The interference of the General Government is already asked, of course, on the ground, that it is a matter which concerns the *general welfare*. To this purpose are the arguments of the friends of the Society, "that the present consequences of slavery—its remote effects—the mischiefs and the benefits attendant on any remedy, immediately concern every member of the confederacy. They all, therefore, have the same interest, though not to the same extent; and all who are sensible of this interest have the right, and, indeed, owe it as a duty to discuss every question of policy concerning it." It is against these views that we do emphatically protest. They are dangerous to us—they are dangerous to the Union.

We cannot enter into the argument about the right of appropriating money with a view to promote the general welfare; but we ask if good faith and common sense are to be utterly disregarded when we are construing the Constitution? Is there any well informed man who does not know, that in forming the federal compact, the slave-holding states exercised the most jealous care to exclude, entirely, all interference of the General Government, with this strictly local and domestic concern, and, that had they not supposed they had effected that object, they could never have been brought to adopt the Constitution. By what captious and technical mode of construction is it, that we arrive at a meaning entirely different from what all parties know was intended to be expressed? Such an interpretation, however plausible, must necessarily be unsound and fraudulent.

How is this an object appertaining to the general welfare? ▲ few states hold slaves, and some cities are annoyed by idle and useless free coloured persons. How is it that all the states have a common concern in the subject of slavery? Is it that we have a common character, which is exposed to a common opprobrium? By the same argument, Congress might be justified in interfering in every municipal concern—in regulating tippling shops, or the observance of the Sabbath. Is it because it is a matter which concerns the common defence, and we are weakened and rendered less efficient for the common defence by the existence of slavery among us? If so, as there is no doubt about the right of Congress to provide for the common defence, they may legislate directly on the subject. They may transport our slaves without consulting the slave-holding states in the matter. Shall we be told, that under the Constitution the Federal Government possesses this power? If Congress may ap-

propriate money to enable the Society to transport voluntary emigrants, they may appropriate it to purchase; and such an attempt has been made.

Our objection to the manner in which the Society conducts its operations, is, that such views are constantly presented. We are told, at one time, that they do not profess to be agitating any project of general emancipation. Oh no! their sole and exclusive purpose is to lessen the evils and dangers of slavery, both to the slave and the master. Their projects are recommended to the latter, because, by ridding the country of free negroes, we shall be relieved of a class of persons who are, most likely, to feel discontent, and to excite disturbances. By diminishing the number of coloured persons, we are told we shall lessen the dangers of insurrection, and keep up the value of slaves as property. Yet, in the speeches annually delivered, and in the various publications of the Society and its advocates, the horrors of slavery and the prospects of universal emancipation, are topics of perpetual recurrence. These publications are circulated with the utmost care in every corner of the Union. The pulpit is, occasionally, brought into the service. Slave-holders are attempted to be alarmed by lively pictures of the perils of their situation, and the minds of others excited into a fever of zeal in the great cause. Slaves are not precisely taught to expect emancipation, to be sure, or in so many words, exhorted to insurrection. They are gently admonished to have a little patience, to wait, as the Abbé Gregoire told the mulattoes of St. Domingo, till the reasoning and eloquence of their friends shall have enlightened the understandings and awakened the humanity of their oppressors.

We address ourselves, at present, to those who profess the most moderation, and who affect to regard the security of the master, no less than the welfare of the slave. What effect are these things likely to produce on the minds of the slave population? Do not doubt that these views come to their knowledge. Many of them can read. The subject, of course, is one of intense interest to them, and likely to be a continual theme in their intercourse with each other. What effect will probably be produced on them by these eternal tirades upon the injustice and horrors of slavery, and the prospects of universal emancipation. They are peculiarly liable too, to misunderstand and exaggerate the purposes of the Society. Conceiving that there is some power at work for their relief, the nature of which they do not accurately understand—constantly reminded that there are those in the world who think them the victims of injustice, and who have the power to protect and relieve them—they

contract of course, the anxious restlessness which is the natural effect of anticipated good deferred. This effect will be produced, though every thing else in their disposition and circumstances, should be the most favourable to their contentment. Let a mechanic or farmer—an individual in the circumstances which have been supposed the most favourable to happiness, and as happy as any one ever was in those circumstances, be once persuaded that he is entitled to an estate, or that he has an opportunity of raising himself to a higher rank and condition, and he becomes at once dissatisfied with his situation, and therefore miserable. It is by such means as we have mentioned, that almost all attempts at insurrection have been instigated. It was the “*Amis des Noirs*” who set on foot the insurrection of St. Domingo. The attempt made in this city some years ago, was the result of the discussions on the Missouri question; and similar disturbances have been repeatedly got up in the West Indies, by the philanthropists of England.

Let it be understood that we have no apprehension of an insurrection, that shall be successful to any considerable extent. We scorn and disavow the notion of depending on our Northern brethren for protection against our domestics; and it is one of our subjects of complaint against the Society and their advocates, that they attempt to excite unnecessary and exaggerated alarm on this subject. Even if the danger existed to the extent they are fond of supposing, we should claim the exclusive right of judging of its magnitude or proximity, and of guarding against it. But this danger does not in fact exist. If the disproportion of slaves were much greater—if they were ten to one, we should have no dread of the ultimate success of an insurrection. With their habits of subordination, without arms, without intelligence or concert, if they should make general and persevering attempts of this sort, the result could only be their extermination. To your thorough-paced philanthropist, this may seem a consummation to be wished—next, perhaps, to the extermination of the whites; but it is not to him, we at present address ourselves. How is it that armies (and soldiers are, to all intents, slaves) so seldom mutiny against their officers? It is easy to prate about a soldier’s sense of honor and hopes of distinction; but those who understand the matter, know that, in general, they are discontented slaves. What was the disproportion of slaves to the free population, in Sparta, Athens, or Rome? Let us not be told of St. Domingo! We are not St. Domingo, nor do we intend to be. We know with what infinite difficulty, the friends of the blacks, backed by all the authority of the mother-country, could organise the insurrection

in that subordinate dependency. We flatter ourselves, that we are not colonies, but sovereign States—competent to protect ourselves against all attacks, at home or from abroad.

We should not fear *attempts* at insurrection, but for the exertions of our neighbours to let our slaves know how miserable they are, and how grossly their rights are violated. We believe they would hardly find out these things of themselves. When that eminent philanthropist, Santhoax, summoned the slaves of St. Domingo to his standard, with the promise of emancipation, he found that a large proportion of them could not be prevailed on to quit their masters. A slave may have his moral sense so misguided, (what our friends can, perhaps, hardly conceive) as to think insurrection a crime. He may be so uninformed of the abstract rights of humanity, as to shrink from cutting the throat of a master, who had been, all his life, his friend and his benefactor. He may be so grovelling as to think that moderate labour, with the ample supply of his natural wants, and relief from anxiety about the future, constitutes a tolerable condition of existence, and be content that it shall never be better, being assured that it will never be worse. Such a one would need to be instructed of his greatest want—liberty—and stimulated to aspire after something better than he had yet conceived.

The real evils which we fear, are, that from the ignorance and improvidence of these people, they may be excited to make rash attempts. The partial outrages that may be thus perpetrated, are greatly to be deprecated. It is sufficiently painful to be subjected to the necessity of punishing such attempts, though no serious mischief may be perpetrated. We think it a misfortune, that we should be compelled to subject to a jealous police, and view with distrust and severity, those whom we are disposed to regard with confidence and kindness. It is no little grievance, that the weaker individuals among us, are harassed and alarmed with the terrors so industriously sought to be inspired. It is, with no pleasant feelings, that we see members of our families turn pale at observing a pamphlet of the Society on our tables.

Two periodical journals have been set on foot, exclusively devoted to the subject of slavery; one of them under the direction of the Colonization Society; the avowed object of the other is to examine the laws of the several States, in relation to slaves, and to shew how inadequate these laws are for their protection. The authors of these journals, intersperse with their discussions, a good many anecdotes, to shew the odious character of slavery. Are they incapable of comprehending, that where

the condition of slavery exists at all, the security of slaves must necessarily depend not on laws, but manners? The laws may provide restraints on gross and flagrant cruelty, and we believe the laws of all the slave-holding states do so; but they cannot secure them against minor severities. If you take away the power of discretionary punishment altogether, they are no longer slaves; they will soon set the master's power at defiance, and be transformed into insurgents and out-laws. If the discretionary power of punishment be not altogether taken away, but it be only attempted to restrain its abuses, their condition will be rendered worse. Such laws may be always evaded, and the slave will certainly suffer for it, whenever the master conceives that positive enactments vexatiously interfere with his conduct in regard to him. It would be just as absurd to attempt to extend complete protection to all those whom the relations of society put in the power of others—to guard wives from ill-treatment by their husbands, children by their parents, or apprentices and school-boys by their masters. We are perfectly satisfied, that the condition of slaves would be much worse than it is, if the so much talked of privilege, of bearing testimony against the whites, were granted to them; and this, in a great degree, because the white man's situation in relation to them would be rendered utterly intolerable.

We may be answered, that these considerations serve to shew more strongly, the evils inseparable from slavery. Be it so! That is not what we are now considering. What we ask, is, that your attacks shall be avowedly directed to their real object.

There are many intelligent and liberal minded men, among our brethren of the non-slave-holding states, to whom, perhaps, we ought to render acknowledgments for the favourable sentiments they have expressed on our behalf. But we think, that if an appeal were made to them, they would say that their's are not the popular sentiments in their several states; and, that by a large proportion of their population, we are regarded as a sort of criminals and oppressors, on whom no suffering or punishment could be undeservedly inflicted. We have heard the wish passionately avowed, that every slave should destroy his master. And yet we are to be persuaded, that to the people of these states, we ought to commit the management of this all-important concern!

In the article of the Periodical Journal, to which we have referred, it is said that any plan of abolishing slavery, or essentially mitigating its evils, must, to be effectual, have the co-operation of the slave-holding states. But it is apparent that



these states never can, or will co-operate in plans originating elsewhere. The true—almost the only security for good government and free laws, is, that those who make the laws are to be affected by them, and have a common interest with those who are to be governed. On this subject, we say to the North, we cannot admit your right of interference. We fear *no* danger but from you. This is the evil which now presses on our thoughts. We cannot trust the regulation of this subject, so vitally important to us, to those who have not a common interest with us. Legislate wisely or unwisely, prudently or rashly, honestly or dishonestly, it touches not you; while we have all, every thing, that men hold dear, or sacred, or valuable, involved in the issue of your measures.

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The extraordinary debate in Congress upon the claim of Marigny D'Autrive, having reached us just as this article was going to the press, we think it necessary to be more explicit upon this subject, than we have been in the text. Whatever may be the opinions or the feelings of others whose situation is different, we, who live on the Southern side of the Potomac, do, by no means, hold ourselves responsible to *them* for the institutions which have been handed down to us from our fathers. It was our intention, as it is always our desire, to have avoided every thing like a controversial or an irritated tone upon this subject. We have no wish to be the aggressors in a contest, which, come when it may, must infallibly engender the *bellorum interneciva odiâ*. But we must be allowed to express our deep regret, to see affairs wear such an aspect as they seem to be already assuming in certain quarters. The debate upon Mr. Livingston's resolution, whatever may be its immediate issue, has conjured up a spirit, which those who first stirred that portentous matter, may find it hereafter difficult, perhaps impossible, to lay. We do not know what others feel—we take it, however, that in this state, at least, there is a perfect unanimity on the subject—but we will answer for ourselves, that none of the disagreeable and irritating topics, that have, for a few years past, been agitated in Congress in such rapid succession, have done as much mischief, as may spring from the discussion that has arisen out of this trifling claim. Mr. Randolph's way of putting the case, we venture to say, was exactly that, which every Southron, from the Capitol to the Mississippi, most heartily approved. We would not even plead to the jurisdiction—there is but one course to be adopted whenever such a subject shall, either directly or incidentally, be made a matter of serious consideration, much more be decided by a majority of Congress.

When we speak of the evils of domestic servitude, we speak mainly with a view to the principles of political economy. We have in another article (No. VII.) noticed it as an apparent anomaly, that in the fertile states of the South, slave labour is not only profitable, but for some purposes, indispensable. We have no doubt, however, that this is not generally the case. As much as has been said of the rigid and even

cruel discipline of the task-master, it is not to be compared with that of necessity. A man discharged from all concern about his future situation in life, will never be brought to labour so hard, or so much, or to live upon so little, or to be so careful of his implements, his clothing, &c. by the exaggerated terrors of arbitrary punishment, as he would be under other circumstances, by the prospect of such evils as threaten the *operatives* of England every day and every moment of their lives.

It is for these reasons, that slave-labour is profitable only where the article raised, sells at a price somewhat higher than those articles which may be produced every where, and are every where of first necessity. "The planting of sugar and tobacco," says Adam Smith, "can afford the expense of slave cultivation. The raising of corn, it seems, in the present times, cannot. In the English Colonies, of which the principal produce is corn, the far greater part of the work is done by freemen. The late resolution of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, to set at liberty all their negro slaves, may satisfy us that their number cannot be very great. Had they made any considerable part of their property, such a resolution could never have been agreed to. In our Sugar Colonies, on the contrary, the whole work is done by slaves, and in our Tobacco Colonies, a very great part of it," &c.

As to the abstract question, whether slavery is consistent with the law of nature, with humanity and with justice, we repeat, that it is not our purpose to go at large into it on the present occasion. The Christian religion, we conceive, to have nothing to do with the matter, except, indeed, that the total silence of its Divine Author upon this subject, and the positive injunction of obedience upon bondmen, in the midst of the sternest, the harshest, and the most indiscriminate system of servitude that ever existed,\* seem to make the inference inevitable, that He considered the institution as altogether a matter of political expediency. Grotius, who had some pretensions to humanity, and was withal, not altogether ignorant of the law of nature, and the principles of the Christian faith, maintains distinctly, that slavery is not contrary to natural right. His view of the matter may be worth presenting to the reader. *Est autem servitus perfecta quæ perpetuas operas debet pro alimentis et aliis, quæ vitæ necessitas exigit; quæ res si ita accipiat in terminis naturalibus, nihil habet in se nimis acerbatis: Nam perpetua ista obligatio compensatur perpetua alimentorum certitudine, quam sæpe non habeat, qui diurnas operas locant, &c.* de J. B. et P. l. ii. c. 5. § 27-2. See also, l. iii. c. 7. § 1. where speaking of the saying of the civilians, that the *Jus Gentium* did not in this respect coincide with the law of nature, he affirms, that it can mean nothing more than that servitude could not exist, *citra factum humanum aut primævo naturæ statu, &c.*

The remark, that the obligation on the part of the master, to afford a perpetual subsistence to the slave, whether he be able to earn it or not, for the obligation of perpetual service, seems entitled to some weight.

\* In Sicily, one of the granaries of the Roman Empire, Florus tells us that the slaves worked in chains. *Terra frugum ferax, et quodammodo suburbana provincia, latifundiis civium Romanorum tenebatur. Hic ad cultum agri frequentis ergastula, catenatique cultores materiam bello præbuere.* Lib. iii. c. 19.

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England, or any other very populous country, in a very prosperous state of business, but slaves? them? But the moment they cease to be slaves, their bondage becomes complete and hopeless, to all intents and purposes, a slave, and the same powers and duties, that fully entitle them to be placed in the category with the vilified and detested race of slaves. Indeed, as every very prosperous manufacturing country, we think, a very populous one, pauperism or poverty is inseparable from the accumulation of great wealth

in any way. Villenage in gross disappeared in England upwards of two centuries ago, and since that time, it seems, the air of that fortunate island is too pure to be breathed by a bondman. Yet we are at a loss to perceive the difference, in any essential particular, between the inmates of a parish work-house, and those even of a Roman Ergastulum.\* Malthus is right. Accumulation of capital, as we have remarked, can seldom exist without a redundant population, and this latter is the source of every evil under the sun. It is, however, the price which rich countries pay for their envied superiority; and the same wealth which reduces the rate of interest, makes a poor's rate necessary, and the poor man a slave.

The following remarks of the Abbé de Mably, (*Droit Public de l'Europe*, c. xi. § 3) would scarcely have been expected from one of the greatest champions of political reform, and the philosophical freedom or rather libertinism of the day, that France had to boast of during the last century.

"It has been supposed that I proposed to violate the laws of nature, by proposing to establish the use of slaves in Europe: but are not these holy laws violated in states, where some citizens possess every thing, and others nothing. I beg to remark, that the liberty which every European thinks he enjoys, is nothing more than the power of occasionally breaking his chains, in order to get himself a new master. Necessity makes him a slave; and his case is the more lamentable, inasmuch as nobody provides for his subsistence. It is mendicity that degrades men, and that is inevitable in every country that does not set bounds to the cupidity and the fortunes of its citizens. It is an insult upon common sense to pretend, that every man is free in a country, where one citizen employs another citizen to serve him, and condemns him to the vilest, the most laborious, and the most disgusting occupations."

\* Except the Statutes against the Papists, it is difficult to imagine any thing more harsh and barbarous, than the English Poor Laws.

ART. IX.—*Report on the Geology of North-Carolina, conducted under the direction of the Board of Agriculture. By Denison Olmsted, Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of North-Carolina. Part I. Nov. 1824.—Part II. Nov. 1825. Raleigh. Gales & Son.*

THE inhabitants of the Southern states have been, from the first settlement of their country, devoted to the pursuits of agriculture. The earth was the bounteous parent which furnished them with subsistence and enjoyment, with the realities of to-day and the hopes of to-morrow; but it was from her surface and her soil that they derived these blessings. In some districts, a little remote from the ocean, and locally known as the "middle country," covered with almost interminable forests of pine, the early settlers intermingled the habits and avocations of pastoral life; but the increasing population soon encroached upon the space required for the profitable management of wild stock, and the inhabitants became exclusively agricultural. No arts were cultivated but those which were connected with their habitual occupations. No sciences studied but those which were allied to their favourite pursuits. The fertility of a great portion of their soil, and the comparative value of the articles which their climate enabled them to produce, encouraged this exclusive adherence to one object; and the wealth of the waters, and the hidden treasures of the earth were abandoned to waste and to neglect, or reserved for the benefit of future generations.

Years are producing some changes. The still increasing population of the country has brought into cultivation all the more fertile soils, and the declining value of the most important of our staples has diminished the facility with which competence, if not wealth, was formerly acquired. The attention of many has latterly been directed to the discovery of new resources, of new means of subsistence, and, if possible, of profitable employment. Science, also, has been extending her influence over a people long engrossed by the simplest and most fascinating of all occupations. Literary curiosity and enterprise have been awakened, and numbers have become solicitous to explore, or to have explored, the rocky or earthy substratum of our Southern soil, some, to indulge in scientific researches, but many more, to ascertain what resources the mineral kingdom, in our country, could furnish for the uses of domestic life, or the facilities of commercial intercourse.

Views of this nature produced the Reports which we have placed at the head of this article. The Board of Agriculture of the State of North-Carolina, in the application of some small appropriation made by the Legislature of that State, appointed Mr. Olmsted, Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of North-Carolina, to make a geological survey of the State, expressing, at the same time, a wish that he should "direct his attention chiefly to such objects as were of practical utility, that he should search out and describe whatever substances the mineral kingdom affords within our State, which either are or may be rendered subservient to the arts and purposes of life, and that he should not only point out where these substances may be found, but also give such an account of them as may diffuse more generally the knowledge of their uses and their value in relation either *to domestic convenience and economy or to commercial enterprise.*" Under these instructions, with very limited means and time restricted and curtailed by paramount duties, Professor Olmsted collected the information contained in his valuable Reports.

As the researches of this gentleman were of necessity directed to particular objects rather than to general views; as his excursions were made at different times and in different directions, when the vacations in the University permitted him to be absent; and as his observations were reported in detail at the close of each journey, it may not be useless to make some preliminary remarks, which may serve to connect the detached portions of his Reports.

North-Carolina, when geologically considered, is composed of three distinct belts of very unequal breadth, traversing the State from north-east to south-west, in a direction almost exactly parallel to the shores of the ocean.

From the sea-coast to the falls of the rivers, the country is composed of a continued series of tertiary formations, differing from each other in composition, and probably in their relative antiquity, but containing many of the mineral productions which are usually found in soils or rocks of this age, and characterised by most of the fossils which distinguish the more modern strata. This belt is bordered along the ocean and the margins of the rivers by a more recent alluvium, too inconsiderable, however, to claim, at present, much notice, or to detain us in the brief outline we are endeavouring to sketch.

The breadth of this tertiary district is probably about ninety miles, and its western limit, extending from Halifax near the borders of Virginia to the neighbourhood of Cheraw, in South-Carolina, forms, to the eye or on the surface, a sinuous line,

which departs, however, very little from a direct course. The primitive rocks, as you ascend the rivers, first appear at their falls, and if a line were drawn from river to river, traversing at its lowest rapid or fall each stream, this line would probably mark the real boundary between the tertiary and granitic regions, and in its direction, be, perhaps, exactly parallel to the Atlantic coast. On the ridges between the rivers, the primitive rocks are covered, for a few miles, with some portions of the tertiary formations, whence arises that sinuous or irregular outline to which we have just alluded.

From the falls of the rivers, the second geological division of North-Carolina, extends to the summit of the Alleghany mountains. This great division, exceeding in breadth two hundred miles, and extending across the State from Virginia to South-Carolina, may be considered as strictly granitic. For boulders or veins, or beds of granite or gneiss, or sienite, every where occur, even where they do not become the sole apparent rocks. But on, and in this primitive foundation, have been deposited beds and veins of other substances, independent or distinct formations, if it were now permitted to use the language of the old Wernerians, scattered over the surface in detached though sometimes in immense masses—and imbedded in, or intermingled with these rocks, are found many of those minerals which are collected to adorn and enrich the cabinets of science, as well as to aid the improvements, and promote the welfare of civilized man.

The third geological division of this State extends from the summit line of the Alleghany mountains to the summit of the Bald and Iron mountains, which form the western boundary of the State, and comprehends a wide and fertile though broken valley inclosed within these limits.

This district is altogether composed of the transition rocks of Werner. The limestone, the grey wackè, the schist, the red sandstone, all belong to that ancient series. And, although occasionally some fragments, or boulders, or summits of primitive rocks appear amidst the superincumbent strata, yet the predominant mass belongs always to the transition order. Frequently, the line of demarcation is so accurately distinguished, that while the rocks on one slope of the mountains, are all primitive, on the other, we find ourselves surrounded by masses, filled with the impressions and reliquæ of organised bodies.

The researches of Professor Olmsted were principally directed to the second—the largest, perhaps the most important, and certainly the most interesting of these geological districts. We shall not, however, follow him in his separate excursions, but

attempt to methodize his observations in the order in which we have arranged these divisions, beginning with the tertiary formations along the sea-coast. We are aware, that there are many blanks in this survey which we have not the means to fill, many omissions, perhaps inaccuracies, even in those portions which have been most sedulously examined, that must be left for future observers to supply or to correct. We can only hope to furnish such an outline as may induce others to complete this picture, or to excite so much interest as may urge some of the citizens of North-Carolina, or tempt foreigners to examine, thoroughly and accurately, one of the richest mineral districts in the United States.

The examinations which were made of the tertiary rocks were principally on a line across the centre of this maritime district—a line which appears to offer a very correct view of the nature and general arrangement of the strata. Commencing at Cape Lookout and passing from Beaufort to Newbern, then ascending the Neuse to the neighbourhood of Raleigh, exploring the banks of the river, and where practicable, the adjacent ridges, the following general distribution of soils and rocks were observed:

The drift sands at Cape Lookout, and on the adjacent coast, near Beaufort, are evidently, in their present condition, of recent formation, assuming their aspect from the united influence of the winds, and the waves of the ocean. They form long low ridges, separated by narrow wet vallies, and until they are sheltered by a covering of shrubs and trees, changing, in some degree, their figure, with every heavy gale that sweeps along the coast. They are intermingled with the fragments of marine animals, and with shells, resembling altogether the present inhabitants of the contiguous ocean. But they cover, at a very small depth, an older soil, and the remains of a more ancient race.

“The opening of the new canal between Clubfoot and Harlow creeks, forming a water communication between Newbern and the ocean, by way of Beaufort, affords an opportunity to examine the upper strata of this district, and discloses to view a specimen of the curious fossil remains of animals with which this region is stored. These excavations expose a depth of sixteen feet for a distance of three miles, through a tract that is nearly a dead level, and they penetrate through the following horizontal strata.

1st. A black mould, such as is usually found in the eastern swamps, capable of producing corn and wheat in the greatest luxuriance.

2nd. Potter's clay, of a yellowish-brown colour.

3d. A thin layer of sand, full of sea-shells and the remains of land animals, particularly of the mammoth or fossil elephant. Along with a profusion of shells, in perfect preservation, there are not unfrequently

thrown out, huge teeth, vertebræ and skeletons, more or less entire, of a gigantic race of animals, which, no doubt, were buried here by that great catastrophe which also shut out the ocean far eastward of its original borders. Conch shells, scallops and clams are the most common varieties of shells, and they correspond both in kind and appearance with the marine aggregates accumulated on the sandy beach near Cape Lookout. The clam shells, however, are frequently of a larger size than those met with at present.

4th. A soft, deep blue clay, which is sometimes in contact with the potter's clay (number 2) though it is frequently separated from it by the layer of sand (number 3). The inhabitants assert, that this blue mud corresponds in its character precisely with that which is now found in the bed of the adjacent ocean."—Rep. No. 2. p. 88.

We have frequently made attempts to discover the real connection between the alluvial and tertiary formations on our coast; to ascertain if there had been a gradual transition from the older to the more recent soils, if some races or species of animals had insensibly disappeared, while new forms arose to occupy their places, whether any strata could be discovered in which the different races were promiscuously intermingled, or vestiges which would mark the approaching extinction of one series, and the gradual appearance of another; whether, in fact, there had been a continued succession of varied forms of organised beings, or distinct creations, separated by strong and abrupt lines of demarcation, exhibiting on either side different species, if not different tribes of beings.

The fossil teeth, the vertebræ, the skeletons of land animals found in excavating the Beaufort Canal, on the very verge of the ocean, all belong to extinct species, and indicate an antiquity beyond that of the races which now inhabit the adjacent shores. It will remain for accurate observation to determine whether any of the species of shells are really similar to those of the now living tribes. Specimens of the shell rock, which we have seen, from the shores of Cape Hatteras, appeared to us to belong distinctly to the tertiary formations. If we reason from analogy, from the examinations which have been made in an adjoining state, we shall conclude that the Beaufort canal must have passed through some portion at least of tertiary rocks. In excavating the Santee canal in South-Carolina, similar vestiges of quadrupeds were discovered, but then all of the zoological remains belonged to extinct species. On the contrary, on examining the Winyaw and Santee canal, which, in one place, at the depth of sixteen or eighteen feet, traversed a bed which contained many shells, all of them appeared to be exactly similar to those of the adjacent ocean. In excavating a well



within the limits of the city of Charleston, which at the depth of eighteen feet, passed through a stratum of mud, in which shells were thickly imbedded—out of sixty-six species which were noticed, fifty-six were ascertained to belong to species now living in the contiguous waters, six belonged to species unknown to us, perhaps, undescribed, and four had been mentioned by Say, among fossils discovered in the tertiary rocks of Maryland. It would thus appear probable, that along the coast of South-Carolina, the alluvial belt is wider than at Cape Lookout; whilst at, and to the South of St. Augustine, the tertiary rocks, as at Cape Hatteras, are washed by the waves of the ocean.

Further observations, and from persons acquainted with comparative anatomy and mineral conchology, and more ample collections of our native fossils, are still wanting to enable us to trace the connexion of the alluvial with the tertiary rocks. In crossing the tertiary strata, we know that the vestiges of the now existing species are soon lost. If it should be ascertained that every stratum in this district, contains its peculiar and appropriate fossils, their extent and the order of their superposition may be determined with as much accuracy, as those of the Paris basin.

We will, however, return to our author, and reserve some further observations, until we terminate his review of this district.

“In ascending the Neuse towards Newbern, the banks generally appear low, but occasional bluffs present themselves. The most conspicuous bank, which I had an opportunity of inspecting, occurs at Johnson’s Point, four and a half miles below Newbern, on the South-side of the river. This contains an extensive deposit of marine shells, more or less decayed, and blended with clay, constituting that valuable species of manure, shell-marl. The bed occupies a space of about five feet above low water mark, and consists of a vast collection of marine substances, among which are scallops, oysters, clams, conchs, corals and madrepores. Immediately above the shells, is a thin layer of clay, exhibiting prints of shells only, the shells themselves having apparently mouldered away. Above the clay, the remainder of the bank, about fifteen feet, is occupied by sand.

“Similar banks of shell-marl occur in various parts of the district under review, and one is found on the Tar river, above Tarborough, near the borders of the upper country. Extensive and rich banks of shells are also met with near the river Trent, in Jones county. In some instances, these fossil shells are of a size much greater than those existing at present in the neighbouring seas. Thus, at the place last mentioned, oyster-shells are frequently met with a foot or more in length. Rep. No. 2, p 89.

“The first bed of limestone that I observed in proceeding westward from Newbern, crosses the road about four miles from the town; and

from this place to Bass's Ferry, eight miles above Waynesborough; and, therefore, almost to the western limits of the low country, limestone rocks, in a constant series, occupy the bed of the Neuse, in parallel ranges, running north-east and south-west, and corresponding therefore with the geological formations of the other parts of the state. These rocks agree in containing various organic remains, principally of sea-shells, and variable proportions of silix or sand. Their external aspect, however, is various, and those appear to be more siliceous, which are nearest to the ocean."

"On the Trent, six miles west of Newbern, may be obtained a good view of the first ridge of limestone before mentioned, where the rock has been quarried for use. It makes its appearance on the left bank of the river, near its bed, and fifteen feet below the surface of the ground. It has been traced a mile up and down the river, and extends to an unknown depth, lying in horizontal masses. This limestone consists almost entirely of small convex concretions, irregularly aggregated, and forming numerous cavities. The peculiar forms of these concretions make them resemble the moulds of shells, no longer preserving their organic character, but now united with silix into a rock. The cavities contain more or less water, which holds a portion of the lime suspended, so that there exudes from the rock, when first removed from its bed, a liquid resembling milk. The colour of the stone when first quarried, is a bluish green, and its hardness is not much greater than that of ordinary limestone; but on exposure to the air, it becomes brown, and hard enough to fire with steel." p. 92.

"In the north-western corner of Jones county, on the dividing ridge between the Neuse and the Trent, is a deposit of hard, dark-coloured limestone, containing small oyster-shells imbedded. Shark's teeth also occur very abundantly in this limestone, sometimes penetrating the rock, and sometimes scattered loosely among the seams. I find this to be a purer limestone than any of the low country that I have examined, containing about 93 per cent. of lime. The masses of rock lie in a horizontal position, very near the surface of the ground, and, consequently, are quarried with great facility." p. 95.

"In company with the limestone, at this place, is an extensive and valuable deposit of stone marl. It appears in very large rounded masses, occupying the bed and banks of a creek. It is soft and friable, of a dull, yellowish hue, contains a few small scallop shells, and resembles certain earthy sandstones. The circumstance which chiefly distinguishes it from limestone, and determines it to be a true marl, is its property of falling to pieces in water. Also lumps, when exposed to the weather a few days, in winter especially, crumble into a soft powder." p. 94.

Much of this portion of the Report, as addressed to an Agricultural Society, is occupied with discussions on the nature of marls, and their importance as a manure. We shall insert what may be considered as a summary of these observations, because applicable to a great extent of country in the United States, and then continue our extracts.

"The soils of the district under review, are of the kind which would be deemed susceptible of great improvement by the application of this substance, not only on account of its supplying calcareous matter to earth, naturally deficient in it, but also on account of its yielding a portion of finely divided clay to a soil, naturally far too siliceous." Rep. No. 2, p. 94.

"Near the dividing line between Lenoir and Wayne, on the South-side of the river, I observed at the depth of ten feet, a layer of very fine white sand. It has a beautiful appearance, consisting chiefly of minute grains of rock chrysal. It compares very nearly with the sand imported from Demarara, and used extensively at the Boston glass-works, for the manufacture of white flint-glass, and is, probably, of a similar quality to the Lynn sand used in England for the same purpose." p. 95.

In the eastern part of the county of Wayne, is a high ridge of land, (the Sarpony Hills) extending along the south-side of the river for several miles, and dividing the waters of this river from those which pursue a longer course to the Cape-Fear. These hills are covered with large round blocks of a fine stone-marl, beneath which, at the bed of the river, lies a formation of limestone, of the description called by mineralogists, oolitic limestone—different in its appearance from all other beds which occur on this river. It crosses the river in a north-east and south-west direction, and affords every indication of being one of those general formations which traverse the whole state.

"The most favourable view of these rocks occurs at Mr. Griswold's, on the bank of the river, nine miles below Waynesborough, where a bluff of ninety feet high exposes them fully to inspection. Thirty feet above the limestone in the side of the hill, the blocks of marl above mentioned, make their appearance. It is of a close texture, nearly or quite destitute of shells and other organic remains, and does not, like the stone-marl of Jones county, fall to pieces on exposure to the weather. It is of a lively grey colour, and when first removed from the bed, it is so soft as to be easily cut with a knife or sawn into blocks; but on becoming quite dry, it grows hard and firm, and assumes every appearance of a most elegant building stone, closely resembling the Bath stone of England, and appears to be equally well fitted in texture, colour and beauty, for the finest purposes of architecture." Rep. No. 2, p. 96.

"Near the mouth of Falling creek, in the county of Wayne, we meet with the most western bed of limestone that has hitherto been observed on the Neuse. It differs from all those before described, in complexion, and is more earthy in its texture, and apparently inferior for lime to some of the others. It is also distinguished by containing organic remains resembling worms. [Serpulæ?] At the same place, a ridge of ferruginous sandstone, of very coarse texture, crosses the river, and strews the neighbouring banks with its fragments." p. 99.

One other production we shall notice in this interesting district.

"Seven miles below Waynesborough, the north bank of the river affords the best view that I could obtain of that singular deposit of cop-

peras, which abounds for the distance of more than one hundred miles along the banks of this river. The different strata of sands and clays exhibited at Spring Bank, afford a favourable opportunity for viewing the general structure of the country.\* About twelve feet above the bed of the river, the eye meets with a layer of green sand, embracing a black charry substance, which on examination, is found to be fossil wood in the state of coarse coal. Here may be found, by digging, the trunks, branches and barks of trees, forming a kind of subterraneous forest. In company with this stratum, is found the copperas, more or less mixed with sand, from which it is easily separated by lixiviation." p. 98.

Such are the rocks and beds which occurred even in a hasty examination of this remarkable district ; a tract of country, of great extent, nearly level, and composed of those tertiary strata which traverse not only North-Carolina, but all of the maritime districts south of the Hudson. This geological division of the United States presents to our observation one of the most extensive, continuous, unbroken formations on the surface of the globe. It commences in New-Jersey, and passing along the sea-coast of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, occupies the promontory of Florida, while one branch turning to the west, passes to the Mississippi—and, although we speak not from positive information, we have reason to believe, that this division bends along the gulph of Mexico, and only terminates at Yucatan, in the Republic of Central America. Even omitting the country beyond the Mississippi, it can be traced, whether we proceed from New-Jersey to that Father of Rivers, or to the promontory of Florida for more than a thousand miles, with a breadth varying from sixty to two hundred. It is, also, in all probability, one of the richest deposits of animal remains that exists, and when carefully explored, will add hundreds, if not thousands to the present catalogue of lost species. The identity of the fossils in different portions of this district of country has not yet been altogether proven, neither is

\* The strata are as follow :

- |  |         |          |
|--|---------|----------|
| 1. Sands of a light colour and different degrees of fineness,                                  | - - -   | 10 feet. |
| 2. Coarse ochrey red sand, - - -   | - - -   | 1 foot.  |
| 3. Lignite, sometimes in large trunks, sometimes alternating in their layers, with green sand, | } - - - | 12 feet. |

Interspersed through No. 3, is the copperas intimately mixed with the green sand and lignite. The lignite is, in some instances, perfectly charred, exactly resembling charcoal; sometimes it is only partially charred, exhibiting the remains of trees very perfectly. We uncovered a trunk for five feet, which was in a state of complete preservation, having the bark entire and unbroken. The diameter was twelve inches by six, and its figure, therefore, ellipsoidal, a circumstance which is common to all the lignite I have seen. This mass was horizontal, resting on its broader side, and coincident with the general range of strata (viz. north-east and south-west.) It burns readily on the fire. Fragments which are scattered over the surface become petrified, the vegetable matter being replaced by silex. In this collection, were also fragments of fine chlorite slate, containing octaedral iron, than which, nothing could be a greater stranger in this region.

an absolute identity to be expected. On no extensive coast, particularly if it traverses many parallels of latitude, are the inhabitants identical, although co-existent. If, for example, any catastrophe were suddenly to occur which should cover the coasts of even South-Carolina, Georgia and Florida, with some marly substance, capable of preserving uninjured the organised bodies that now exist, it will be obvious to all who are acquainted with the inhabitants of our shores, how widely different would be the fossils that this newly formed bed would exhibit—what different species, if not genera, would be found at the extremities of this stratum. How few instances, in fact, would occur, in which the species around Charleston, though contemporaneous would be *identical* with those at Cape Sable, or even at Cape Canaveral.

Yet, even the superficial examinations which have been made, disclose a striking affinity between the fossils of this extended district. The *Fusus 4-costatus*, the *Venus difformis* of Say, of Maryland, have both been found near Vance's Ferry, on the Santee in South-Carolina. Our *Pecten*s are closely allied, if not the same, and the *Ostrea gigas* of the Mississippi has also, judging from the description, been found in this state. One other fact we will mention before we close this digression. Of all the fossils hitherto found in the middle districts of South-Carolina, for of this state we speak with more certain knowledge, no one resembles, exactly, the species now living on our shores, while we have specimens resembling, perfectly, some which still exist in the West-Indies, as the *Pecten nodosus* and some species of *Area*. We have also moulds of *Cones*, of which genus no species inhabits the North-American coast in so high a latitude as 33. These reliques of ancient days are calculated to excite a strong suspicion, that in those days the temperature of our shores and oceans was higher than at the present time, while nothing exists which can connect, decisively, the inhabitants of the more ancient of our tertiary formations to the beings of the present age.

In order to obtain a knowledge of the comparative age and the superposition of these rocks, much accurate observation is still wanting. It is not only necessary that the fossils should be carefully collected and described, but those of each bed or each particular soil should be kept apart and compared with the fossils in the other beds, and in similar strata in the adjoining states. It is only from extensive comparisons of this nature, that general and satisfactory conclusions can be derived. The beds of plastic clay, of marl, of marsh mud, of sand, may each be found to have its peculiar fossils; and even in the various beds of lime-

stone and marl, there are strong indications of distinct and successive formations. As yet, no stratum containing the remains of animals inhabiting fresh water, has been found interposed between the different soils of this tertiary land. The bones of the quadrupeds which have hitherto been discovered, have either been intermingled with fragments of marine shells, or have been found deposited immediately on the beds in which marine substances and reliquiae are interspersed. Nothing has yet been done which can aid us in arranging the series of rocks and soils in this great formation.

While many of the substances have been found in this district, which usually accompany tertiary rocks, some have not yet been discovered, which would amply repay our researches—amber and jet may be mentioned as articles of curiosity rather than of value; they have occurred in New-Jersey and Maryland, but have not yet been noticed in North-Carolina. Gypsum, however, generally abounds in similar geological districts, and it is in this belt of country that the Southern States must hope for the discovery of this valuable substance. Among primitive rocks, it may occur accidentally, but amidst the tertiary, it must be expected almost as a constituent part of the series. Coal also, although not of the best quality, is frequently found amidst the older beds of the tertiary strata, and from the great abundance of lignite noticed in North-Carolina, strong expectations may rationally be formed, that at a greater depth than we have yet penetrated, beds of bituminous coal may be discovered.

If to this district, nature has been apparently unkind: if she has covered a great portion of its surface with coarse and arid sands, and inflicted on its soil the curse of temporary sterility, she has, in some measure, compensated the evil by the inexhaustible beds of marl and soapy clay, of almost every description and quality, which she has amassed under the soil. She has given to man the appropriate remedy.\* In many places,

\* We have seen, in this point of view, with great satisfaction and interest, the operations now in progress on the state road over the sand hills, a few miles below Granby, South-Carolina. The facility with which clay is obtained from the sides of every hill, and its efficacy in changing the texture of the soil, must strike, we think, every observer. We have stated in a preceding article, (see p. 58) the constituent parts of a good soil. Lime is wanting in the immediate situation to which we allude; but when we recollect that the limestone and marl of the tertiary districts is scattered over a belt forty to eighty miles wide, adjoining or underlaying the poorest district in the three Southern States, it is obvious, that nothing but canals or rail roads, or some cheap mode of transportation is wanting to enable our farmers or planters to supply this deficiency in their soils, and to expose that surface to the action of manures, and the influence of the atmosphere, on which they have been found to produce the most beneficial effect. We may also add, that if the limestone of this district is too much intermingled with siliceous or argillaceous particles for the uses of the architect, even as a cement, it is, perhaps, so much the better prepared for the purposes of agriculture.

even among the most unpromising, effects, almost magical, we believe, might be produced, by scattering freely the subsoil of the hills over their surface, and permitting the elements to form new combinations, and a new basis for vegetable life.

The GRANITIC DISTRICT of North-Carolina commences at the western limit of the tertiary formation, and extends to the summit of the Alleghany mountains. It forms an undulating and gradually ascending slope, hilly, but with only three or four of those hills aspiring to the rank of mountains, or becoming, excepting in one central spot near the Narrows of the Yadkin, precipitous, rugged, and exhibiting the outline of a mountainous region. The greater portion of its surface waves gently and moderately, or becomes perfectly level. Even along the very base of the Alleghany mountains is found an extensive plain, which, viewed from the Chesnut hills to the east, resembles an immense basin, and is to the eye so deceptive, that in its northern portion it has received the popular denomination of the "Hollows of the Yadkin," while the streams which traverse its surface shew, at once, its elevation and its inclination.

The junction of the primitive with the tertiary rocks has not yet been determined. We know not whether the granitic strata or masses descend from the falls of the rivers gradually, though at a great depth, to the ocean, and form an immense base, on which the tertiary rocks repose, or whether the older rock terminates abruptly, forming a wall, against which all the subordinate strata rest. It is certain, however, that the primitive rocks never appear in the maritime district, nor do they break out any where along the margin of the ocean.

The primitive rocks, which first appear at the falls of the rivers, are almost invariably granitic; occasionally, they are intermingled with gneiss, and, in a few spots, contain epidote, and form the protogyne of the French geologists. In some places in North-Carolina, along the eastern border of this central division, the boulders of granite, scattered over the surface, contain coarse crystals of feldspar, so imbedded, as to give the whole mass a porphyritic appearance.

A line drawn from Halifax on the Roanoke to Cheraw in South-Carolina, will give, with sufficient exactness, the eastern, or more correctly, the south-eastern limit of the granitic region. Most of the subordinate beds in the granite run parallel with that line; perhaps their direction would be more accurately marked if we should give to these parallel lines a slight curvature corresponding to that of the sea-coast.

Within a few miles, after we pass the limit of this belt, we begin to perceive mica slate, succeeded by primitive slate, and

this, probably, is covered by those beds of other rocks, which form a remarkable feature in the geology of this portion of North-Carolina.

The first of these great beds, as we enter on this district from the east, is the sandstone formation. If we were disposed to indulge in speculative opinions, we might suppose that this bed, and perhaps the slate which succeeds it, are remnants of a transition series of rocks, of which the superficial covering has, in a long course of ages, been borne away by the steady operation of time, and the base alone remains, resting on the more ancient strata. The sandstone first appears at Oxford in Greenville county, and passing to the east of Chapel Hill, enters South-Carolina a little to the west of Sneedsborough. The breadth varies from eight to eighteen miles, and may be considered as averaging about twelve. Although in the north-east, this rock appears to terminate at Oxford, Professor Olmsted remarks, we believe correctly, that from an entire similarity in the rocks, as well as from a coincidence in the range, he has no doubt, that the North-Carolina sandstone, as well as that of the coal basin near Richmond, Virginia, belongs to that long and narrow formation which Mr. McClure has traced for four hundred miles from the Connecticut river to the Rappahannock. (Rep. No. 1. p. 18). We know not how far this bed extends to the south-west, but it is not improbable that the sandstone of Columbia, South-Carolina, and Augusta, Georgia, belong to the same formation, although in its southern progress it may have gradually approached to the eastern limit of the granite. If this should be the case, it would be a remarkable exemplification of that extent and regularity of the mineral formations in the United States, which has led Mr. McClure to consider this country as the best elementary geological school in the world. Here would be a formation not exceeding the average breadth of ten or twelve miles, extending seven or eight hundred miles, and probably bounded on each side, through its whole course, by the same strata.

This rock, independent of its value as a material for building, for mill and grindstones, (and from the inferior beds or strata, these have all been obtained of an excellent quality) is very important from its geological connexion with coal.

The existence of coal beds, in this formation, near Richmond, Virginia, has long been known. The Virginia coal beds have already been traced for sixty or seventy miles. In North-Carolina, one bed of good coal, just to the north of Deep river, has once been used. This bed, however, was only one foot thick, and was, therefore, only employed when it was found contigu-



ous to the surface. No experiments by boring, we believe, were made to ascertain whether, as in almost all coal-fields, other beds might not occur beneath, alternating, as usual, with beds of sandstone, slate, and limestone. This is an important inquiry, worthy even of public consideration, if public interference were necessary, for, in the present state of science and the arts, it would seem as if the comparative wealth of nations will become, in a great measure, dependent on the supply of fuel which the earth itself, and not the forests on its surface, may furnish. In the coal beds of Virginia, a shaft has already been sunk to the depth of three hundred and fifty-feet, and, in England, beds are wrought at much greater depths beneath the surface.

"With regard to the extent of this coal mine, (observes our author) I have no means of judging with much certainty. On the road from Salem to Fayetteville, by way of Tyson's Mill on the Deep river, the traveller crosses a number of ridges of that shelly kind of black slate, which is the accompaniment of the coal, and may be considered as a symptom of it, wherever it occurs." Rep. No. 1. p. 19.

It may be remarked, as a circumstance of some importance, as connected with this coal, that a great quantity of argillaceous iron ore exists in its immediate neighbourhood.

Before, in our survey, we continue on to the west, we will pause and consider some detached and comparatively small mineral veins or beds, which are found between this sandstone and the eastern border of the granite. Of these the plumbago of Wake may be considered the most important.

"This great deposit of black lead lies a little westward of Raleigh. The whole formation consists of a great number of parallel beds, varying in width from a few inches to twenty feet. They lie in mica slate, and occur throughout a space not less than three-fourths of a mile wide, and ten miles long. To this extent, I have myself observed it, but a land surveyor informed me that he had followed it eighteen miles. I have no reason to suppose, that the limits of the plumbago have, as yet, been accurately defined. I have never read of any mine of plumbago, which can compare in extent with this, but have reason to believe, that it is the largest mine on record." Rep. No. 1. p. 4.

To this it may be added, that the mineral itself is of a very superior quality, and can be obtained in large masses, unmixed with any foreign ingredient.

In Wake county, exist also, very fine beds of serpentine and soapstone.

"Both of these rocks occur in great abundance, and of a very good quality, a little north of the black lead formation, and within twelve

miles of Raleigh. Serpentine is by no means an uncommon mineral, but it is not often found so beautiful as at the foregoing locality. It exactly resembles the fine variety found in Anglesea, as described by Bakewell. Fine soapstones are abundant in Wake, Orange and Randolph, and several other localities will be noticed in their places," Rep. No. 1. pp. 10-11.

One of the most prominent and interesting features of the geology of North-Carolina is, what has been termed the great slate formation. Comparing Mr. Olmsted's two reports, the following may be considered as its location and extent.

"Parallel with the freestone and coal formation, and partially in contact with it, on the west, lies the great slate formation of North-Carolina. It extends across the state from north-east to south-west. It occupies the eastern half of the county of Person, this being its least breadth. It grows much wider in the central parts of the state, but begins to contract its breadth again on the south. It covers more or less of the counties of Person, Orange, Chatham, Randolph, Montgomery, Cabarras, Anson and Mecklenburg. Its breadth is generally about twenty miles. At Chapel-Hill, or a little south of this place, the slate formation comes in contact with the sand stone, and continues in conjunction with it, quite into South-Carolina. The rocks consist principally of parallel ranges of clay slate, in perpendicular slabs. A range of sloping hills, with rounded summits, presenting a graceful and pleasing outline, that extend from Person through Hillsborough, and southwardly through Randolph, to the Narrows of the Yadkin, is made up almost entirely of these beds of slate.

"The slates of this district are of various complexions. The predominant colour is a yellowish grey, but we may often find within a short space, shades of yellow, green, blue and black. The dark varieties, however, are not as common as is usual in so extensive a slate formation.

"This region is extremely instructive and interesting to the mineralogist, as it affords a great variety of minerals, many of which are of uncommon elegance." Rep. No. 1. p. 23—No. 2. p. 105.

In the second "Report," Professor Olmsted enumerates, in a note, such of these mineral species and varieties as have already been noticed. We shall give a condensed view of his interesting table, continuing afterwards, our extracts and observations on those which are most important.

The species which have been discovered, in this formation, are—1. Argillite, eight varieties; among which are, Roofing Slate, in Person and Hillsborough; Porcellanite, in Anson; Aluminous Slate, in Hillsborough. 2. Chlorite. 3. Greenstone. 4. Porphyry, green, with crystals of yellow Felspar, a handsome variety on the river Eno, near Hillsborough. 5. Novaculite. 6. Petrosilex. 7. Hornstone. 8. Siliceous Slate. 9. Talc,

of many varieties, some of which are very handsome. 10. Steatite. 11. Sienite. 12. Quartz, of many varieties. 13. Sulphate of Barytes. 14. Carbonate of Lime, but very rare. 15. Epidote. 16. Tremolite. 17. Pyroxene. 18. Amphibole. 19. Breccias. 20. Serpentine. 21. Clays and Ochres, of many kinds. 22. Iron, eight varieties. 23. Manganese. 24. Copper. 25. Arsenic. 26. Gold.

Of most of these mineral species, many varieties are mentioned; we have noticed only those which are most interesting. On some of the substances themselves, we shall add a few remarks.

Novaculite—the hone or whetstone slate (as Professor Olmsted terms it) is found in the greatest abundance in various parts of the slate formation. In Orange, in Chatham, in Randolph, and in other counties. The best varieties appear to exist in chlorite slate; though varying in quality, they are, generally, very fine. “The excellence of the hones obtained at McCauley’s quarry, says Mr. Olmsted, is attested by this fact, that our carpenters lay aside for them the best Turkey hones of the market.”\*

Iron is found in abundance in many parts of this formation, but we shall bring together the notices of this important and widely diffused mineral, when we speak of the western portion of this geological district.

The circumstance, however, which, within a few years, has given particular interest to the mineralogy of North-Carolina, is the discovery of the extensive diffusion of gold in the district now under our consideration.

It was supposed, a few years ago, that gold could only be found in an alluvial soil, along the margins of many streams, particularly on the branches of Rocky river, one of the tributaries of the Yadkin; and, that this auriferous alluvium was altogether confined to the slate formation, which we are now noticing. Recent discoveries, however, have corrected both of these, and given to the auriferous region an extent, a charac-

\* In corroboration of this statement, we may mention that an old friend of ours, who, for a great many years has, as an engraver, been engaged in the use of tools, and who is particularly exact and careful of his instruments, has often assured me, that the very best hone he ever used or saw came from North-Carolina, and was given him by a stranger passing through this city. Yet, so little has the attention of our Southrons been directed to such objects, it was never in his power to learn where this hone had been quarried, nor in what direction he could apply for information. Whilst Charleston has been supplied with coarse and inferior hones from Canada, New-York, Vermont and Connecticut; from the north and the west, the very existence of these quarries in an adjoining State, was, until we saw these Reports, considered problematical, and it has never been possible to obtain in this city, even a fragment sufficient for a mineralogical specimen.

ter and an importance, beyond all former calculation. Instead of being limited to the low, narrow valleys along creeks and rivulets, gold has been found in the soils of the hills; and, in some instances, increasing in abundance as the excavations have deepened. It has been found in veins of quartz, traversing the slate or granite; and, within a short time, in veins of iron-ore in the granitic portion of Mecklenberg. These latter facts lead strongly to the persuasion, that the gold of North-Carolina was originally deposited or formed in veins traversing the rocky strata of this portion of that state; and, that the lumps and fine particles of this metal, which are now found in the alluvial soil, are only that portion which, on the disintegration of the veins, have been borne along by descending waters.

Within the last twelve months, beds of auriferous earth have been discovered in Lancaster and Spartanburgh districts in South-Carolina; discoveries that extend very much the boundaries of this formation. Even if we confine ourselves to North-Carolina, we shall find the extent of surface sprinkled with this most precious of all intermixtures, not inconsiderable. From the neighbourhood of Greensborough, Guilford county, to the south line of Mecklenberg, the distance is scarcely less than one hundred miles, and a transverse line, commencing eight or ten miles to the north west of Charlotte, and extending to Wadesborough, must be forty miles; even supposing the outline to be irregular, the area will, we suspect, prove considerably more than two thousand square miles, at which it is estimated by Mr. Olmsted.

The first discovery of gold in North-Carolina, was, as often happens in the history of mines, the result of accident.\* The report of this discovery caused many researches to be made in the neighbourhood, and it was soon ascertained that gold could be found in the sands of almost every stream, over a considerable tract of country. While every one, however, was searching for lumps or for veins of solid gold, the fine particles mingled

\* A young lad, a son of Mr. Reed, shooting, with a bow and arrows at fish, in Meadow creek, struck a lump of gold, which, from the description given of it, must have weighed several ounces. Attracted by its lustre, he picked it up and carried it home. His father, not more skilled in metals than the son, yet, thinking it might be valuable, wrapt it up, and put it away in one of the crevices of his rude habitation. Between the logs of his coarse dwelling it remained for three years, but business then accidentally calling Reed to Raleigh, his wife persuaded him to take that "lump of shining stuff" with him, and see if any one at Raleigh could tell him what it was. Reed applied in that town to a silversmith, who, as he said, gave him some trifle (\$3) for it, but honestly told him it was gold, and very pure.

Reed's discovery gave him much embarrassment. He was a Hessian by birth, one of the soldiers, we believe, whom the British brought over to this country in our Revolutionary war; honest, but unlearned. He became uneasy lest his neigh-

with the soil, were deemed unworthy of notice. From this cause, after a few desultory efforts, the spirit of adventure and research abated, and it is only within a few years, that, encouraged either by the success of those who persevered, or by the discovery of some new and rich mines, as they are termed, public attention has been again directed to this object.

The search for gold is attended with many difficulties. The high intrinsic value of the metal tempts to concealment, and the purity in which it is found, requiring no process to reduce or to refine it, renders concealment easy to the labourers. Hence, the proprietors of the land complain, that whether the workmen they employ be white or black, the proportion they receive is very small, and many have been discouraged from engaging in this pursuit, by the unpleasantness of the task of superintending a business which requires so much vigilance, and is accompanied with so much cause for perpetual suspicion. The fine dust, which can be separated only by repeated washings and amalgamation, seems, alone, to be securely within the power of those who may be considered as proprietors of the soil. Experience may teach them some useful lessons. The processes, at present, employed for separating the gold dust, are very insufficient: the earth in which it is contained is washed in semicylindrical troughs, the lighter particles are thrown over the sides by the constant agitation of the vessel; but it is obvious to all who have seen them, that much gold must pass over also, and this is rendered certain by the gold which has been, in many instances, obtained from earth that had been already washed.

We have mentioned, that in almost any part of this district, gold, in greater or less abundance, may be found at or near the surface of the ground.

"Its true bed, however, is a thin stratum of gravel enclosed in a dense mud, usually of a pale blue colour, but sometimes yellow. On rising grounds, exposed to be washed by rains, this stratum frequently appears at the surface; but in bottoms, where the alluvial earth has been accumulated by the same agent, it is found to the depth of eight feet; where no cause operates to alter its original depth, this appears

bours might suspect and persecute him, as for illicit practices, if he should acquire sudden wealth. When his apprehensions became known they were soon relieved, and a small association was made up, consisting of Colonel Flyfer, of Concord, Mr. Love, a preacher in the neighbourhood, and a brother-in-law of Reed's, whose name we have forgotten. These three were to find labourers, and dig for metal, allowing Reed one fourth of the ore they should obtain. The work, however, was prosecuted very feebly, although their success might, apparently, have justified great exertions. In the first three or four years, several lumps of gold were found, worth from three hundred to a thousand dollars, and one piece was said to have exceeded the value of five thousand; yet, labourers were only employed for four or five months in the year, and no regular system seems to have been adopted in their operations.

to be about three feet below the surface. Rocky river, and its small tributaries, which cut through this stratum have hitherto proved the most fruitful localities of the precious metal."\* Rep. No. 1. p. 33.

The principal mines are three—the Anson Mine, Reed's Mine, and Parker's Mine.

"The Anson mine is situated in the county of the same name, on the waters of Richardson's creek, a branch of Rocky river. This locality was discovered only two years since by a "Gold Hunter," one of an order of people that begin already to be accounted a distinct race. A little rivulet winds from north to south, between two gently sloping hills that converge towards the south. On each side of the stream is a level space, forming an extended bed, which, during the wet seasons of the year, is covered by it, but was dry at the time of my visit. On digging from three to six feet into this bottom, we came to that peculiar stratum of gravel and tenacious blue or yellow clay, which is at once recognised as the residence of the gold. The stream itself usually gives the first indication of the richness of the bed through which it passes, by disclosing large pieces of the precious metal, shining among its pebbles and sands. Such was the hint afforded to the discoverer of the Anson mine. Unusually large pieces were found by those who first examined this place, calculated to inspire the highest hopes. On inquiry, it was ascertained that some of the lands were not held by a good title, and parcels of it were immediately entered. It has since been a subject of constant litigation, which has retarded the working of the mine.

"Reed's mine in Cabarras, is the one which was first wrought, and at this place, indeed, were obtained the first specimens of gold that were found in the country. It occupies the bed of Meadow creek, a branch likewise of Rocky river. It exhibits a level between two hillocks, which rise on either side of the creek, affording a space between from fifty to

\* While this article was passing through the press, we received Silliman's valuable "Journal of Science and Arts," for January, 1828, containing an interesting account of the gold mines in North-Carolina, by Charles E. Rothe—and a paper on the character and origin of the low country of North-Carolina, by Professor E. Mitchell. We have only time to express our regret, that they did not reach us sooner. Mr. Rothe's researches tend to confirm the opinion expressed in this article, that the gold in this district was originally deposited in veins. About the causes which partially disclosed the contents of these veins, we shall not here dispute. On the alluvial deposit, Mr. Rothe makes the following accurate remark, calculated to explain the origin of that peculiar stratum in the alluvial soils in which gold is usually found.

"The gold found in alluvial spots, in the ranges of the first formation, is, most generally, deposited in a soil partly composed of red oxyd of iron, and magnetic ironsand. This bed or layer containing the metal, is nothing else than a mass of the vein, decomposed and scattered over a greater or less surface. The proof of this is, first, that we discover the gold only in this peculiar layer, while we find it neither above nor below it; and, secondly, the gold we here find, is like the gold found in the veins." p. 206.

We are gratified to perceive by these articles, that although Professor Olmsted has discontinued his labours in North-Carolina, inquiries on this important subject, have not been suspended. We wish the new labourers great success. At the same time, we ardently hope that the spirit will extend to that great and rich district, which adjoins North-Carolina on her northern limit; and, which has hitherto been so little explored.

one hundred yards in breadth. This space has been nearly all dug over, and it exhibits at present, numerous small pits, surrounded with piles of rubbish, for the distance of a quarter of a mile up and down the stream."

"The first glance is sufficient to convince the spectator, that the business of searching for gold, is conducted under numerous disadvantages, without the least regard to system, and with very little aid from mechanical contrivances. The process is as follows: During the dry season, when the greatest part of the level above described is left bare, and the creek shrinks to a small rivulet, the workman selects a spot at random, and commences digging a pit with his spade and mattock. At first, he penetrates through three or four feet of dark coloured mud, full of stones in angular fragments. At this depth, he meets with that peculiar stratum of gravel and tenacious blue earth, which he recognises as the matrix of the gold. If the mud be very dense and tenacious, he accounts it a good sign; and if stains or streaks of yellow occasionally appear on the blue mud, it is a favourable symptom. Sometimes he penetrates through a stratum of manganese—a black shelly substance which the workmen call "Cinders." This he regards also as a favourable omen. Having arrived at the proper stratum, which is only a few inches thick, he removes it with a spade into the cradle." Rep. No. 1. p. 34.

"Parker's mine is situated four miles south of the Yadkin, in Montgomery. The soil is snuff-coloured and ferruginous, and is richly impregnated with gold. The principal excavations have been made on the banks of a small rivulet, that runs north into the Yadkin, where the auriferous stratum occurs at a depth varying from three to six feet. Recently the earth for washing, has been transported to this stream from a cultivated field, fifty or sixty feet above it. The circumstances remarked at this place, are so similar to those of Reed's mine, already rehearsed, as not to require a more particular recital." Rep. No. 1. p. 39.

Barringer's mine is one that has recently been opened.

"The discovery of a very rich vein in quartz, among the slate rocks at Barringer's mine, in Montgomery, is generally known. From Charles Fisher, Esq. of Salisbury, I learn, that at this place, the metal occurs in several distinct situations, being partly in veins of quartz, partly in the dense blue mud, which accompanies it at most of the other mines. From the same authority it appears, that gold, amounting to not less than ten thousand dollars, was obtained from the above mentioned great vein alone." Rep. No. 2. p. 110.

The mine near Long creek, in Mecklenburg county, is a still more recent discovery, and deserves to be noticed for some of its geological peculiarities. It is, we believe, the most western deposit that has been discovered in North-Carolina; and, instead of being along the streams or in the vallies, it is on the summit of the ridge, between some of the small creeks that fall into the Catawba. Excavations are made here in the earth, and at the

depth of eighteen feet, to which the proprietors had dug, in the spring of 1827—the soil was much more auriferous than near the surface. It is in this neighbourhood, that gold has been found, interspersed in an ore of iron; and, we believe, small pieces have been found adhering to the surface of boulders of granite. Many inquiries have been made, and many conjectures formed, as to the origin of gold in this district. It is probable, that it is an original formation in the country it now occupies. The veins of quartz and slate, of iron, perhaps, also of copper, and other substances containing gold, have been scattered, in greater or lesser abundance, over this district. During the perpetual disintegration of the rocks, near the surface of the earth, the lighter particles have been washed away, while the gold, by its specific gravity, has been retained near its original location, and the soil has become comparatively more rich in its metallic treasure, as from the exposure of the surface in vallies, or on the declivities of hills, to the action of water, a greater portion of its lighter particles have been borne towards the ocean.

Before we finally leave this slate formation, we will advert to one circumstance, interesting and important both to agriculture and geology. It has long been known, that a belt of very fertile land, comparatively narrow, traverses the three Southern states. We are not accurately informed, either of its northern or its southern limit. It is generally distinguished by its deep red or chocolate coloured soil, and by its great fertility, injured only by a texture rather too adhesive, and, therefore, disposed to cake or harden in dry seasons. It would be desirable to know whether this soil is intimately connected with the composition of the subjacent rocks, and whether the same formation accompanies the same soil through all of the adjoining states. As far as North-Carolina is concerned, Mr. Olmsted appears to consider this belt of land as indicative of the slate formation. While discussing another topic, he remarks—

“That the superficial covering which conceals most of the rocks of the middle sections of North-Carolina, has resulted from the decomposition of the rocks themselves, and has not been transported from abroad, is further evident from the correspondence observable between the soils of particular districts, and the earth, which we see actually resulting from the decomposition of the rocks in the vicinity. Thus, over those shelly granite rocks before mentioned, we find a soil of coarse sand, which is generally sterile, and over the slate formation, we find a stiff red clay, very similar to that which we observe incrusting those rocks of the districts, which are now in the progress of decomposition. The “red land” and the “grey land” of Orange county, are well defined



sections, corresponding with distinct geological formations; the former covering the great slate formation, the latter covering granite and sandstone." Rep. No. 2. p. 140.

If these observations should be found correct, and we have many reasons to rely on their accuracy, they would tend strongly to corroborate the opinion, that the deep and productive soil which covers the rocky crust of our globe, has been produced by the slow, the gradual, but unceasing decomposition of the rocks themselves, that the depth of this soil has depended on the comparative cohesion of the particles of each rock, and the fertility in a great measure, on the nature and proportions of the constituent substances.

When we pass the slate formation, the primitive rocks again rise to the surface, and continue to the ridge of the mountains. Of the primitive rocks, the most abundant are granite, particularly sienitic granite, which abounds in this portion of the district, and mica slate. Gneiss is found, but not in equal abundance, nor well characterized. In these rocks, many subordinate beds are found, but none traversing the country like the sandstone and slate formations that we have just reviewed.

Of the granite, almost every variety used in architecture, can be found, and the localities of fine varieties, are so numerous, as scarcely to require specification. The mica slate, as usual, is more rich in mineral and metallic veins, than the granite.

"It has appeared to the writer (says Mr. Olmsted) to be a general fact, that whenever a limited section of mica slate occurs in a narrow strip, in a region generally composed of rocks of a different nature, it is found to be the repository of something valuable."—Rep. No. 2. p. 117.

The most important mineral which nature has presented to North-Carolina, not, perhaps, excepting the deposit of gold with which so much of her soil has been sprinkled, is the iron which has been so profusely scattered over her surface. Beds or veins of iron-ore are so much intermingled with every formation, that we have reserved them for one general notice on the subject.

In the tertiary district, "bog ore occurs in great quantities in various places, and is constantly forming; and, although in itself a poor ore of iron, containing not more than 30 per cent. of metal, by the aid of the limestones of the same district, these ores may be so easily worked, as possibly to prove as economical in the manufacture of iron, as far richer ores, when wrought without such an auxiliary."

In Johnston and Nash, near the eastern limit of the granitic region, beds of iron ore—(brown iron stone, hydrate of iron?) are

found between strata of mica slate and blue slate, extending for many miles. These beds have once been wrought, and from their vicinity to the limestones of the tertiary district, may again become objects of successful enterprise.

In Person and Caswell, beds of iron ore have been discovered of considerable extent, and of a valuable quality, much of it consisting of the specular oxyd of iron; but the want of limestone in these districts has prevented the ore from being used. In Chatham and Randolph, brown hæmatite exists in great abundance, and in the latter county, two specimens of native iron have been found. Beds of iron ore also abound in Rockingham county, so much mingled, however, with soapstone, as to be untractable, and they have, latterly, been neglected.

"The most extensive and valuable mines of iron in North-Carolina, are contained in those very extensive and interesting series of iron beds, which constitute so prominent a feature in the geology of several of the western counties, particularly Stokes, Surry and Lincoln. These beds occur in mica slate, but this rock, composed almost entirely of mica, on the north, loses this ingredient in its progress south, until, in the county of Lincoln, it is made up chiefly of grains of quartz; yet the beds of both sections lie so nearly in the same line, ranging from north-east to south-west, and are so nearly identical in the character of their ores, that both, undoubtedly, belong to the same formation. On the north, the ore is almost uniformly magnetic; on the south, the ores are more varied. Throughout the whole, soapstone is a frequent associate of the ore.

"The iron beds of Stokes and Surrey are numerous, consisting of parallel ridges that lie chiefly between the Yadkin, on the south, and the Virginia line, and are opened in various places over a space not less than thirty miles wide. The iron beds of Lincoln occupy a ridge, which runs nearly parallel with the Alleghany mountains, at the distance of fifty miles, traversing nearly the whole county of Lincoln.—The beds themselves, vary in thickness from a few inches to several feet." Rep. No. 11. p. 118.

Many works, forges, furnaces and bloomeries, are employed in these counties in the manufacture of iron. By those, however, who are acquainted with the economical arrangements of the metallurgic art in Europe, we are accused of a great waste of fuel in our processes, while, at the same time, scarcely one half of the metal is extracted from the ore. If this be the fact, it would be beneficial to purchase, even at a high rate, the skill of one, thoroughly versed in the science and practical experience of the old world.

Copper has not been discovered in any quantity in North-Carolina, but indications of its existence have been found in many places. When we visited Reed's gold mine in Cabarras, many

years ago, and inquired whether the superintendants had yet noticed any substance, whose presence they considered auspicious, Colonel Ffyfer, immediately shewed us some specimens of quartz, richly incrustated with the sulphurated, and green and blue carbonates of copper. His impression was, that this aggregite passed into the hill on one side of the creek, in veins, but his attention was then directed, altogether, to the alluvial strata.

Lead is supposed to exist in Surry and in Ash; and we have specimens which must have been collected in Haywood, which appear to indicate some rich deposit of this metal in that mountainous county.

Limestone appears to be the great want of the whole granitic district. Four isolated and apparently small beds have been discovered in Stokes and Surry, and one much more extensive, exists in the southern part of Lincoln, near King's mountain, which passes into South-Carolina. These beds are all in primitive rocks, and appear to be partakers of their antiquity. In the limestone, which passes, apparently, from Lincoln county to York and Spartanburgh in South-Carolina, some veins of handsome marble have been discovered.

Among the subordinate beds, in the granitic district, none are so numerous as those of greenstone. No rock, in general, is so devoid of intermixtures, or contains so few imbedded minerals. It is found scattered over the slate, as well as intermingled in alternate ridges with the granite. In Rowan, beds of greenstone, full of seams, are very numerous, and to some of these, more regular than usual, we are indebted for the NATURAL WALLS, or what are now usually considered as the BASALTIC DYKES, of Rowan. Of these walls, or dykes, several have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, the largest and the most known is Robley's wall, and this has been frequently described. Of a smaller one, which Mr. Olmsted examined, he gives the following notices:

"Of the natural walls of Rowan, I made a particular examination of only two. The first, is about four miles north of Salisbury, and is known by the name of Jacob's walls. The dykes at this place, of which there are several, are narrow, running through a friable kind of granite. We uncovered one, which exhibited the following characters:

"*Width*, about eight inches, the sides being smooth planes, and separated from the granite by a thin crust of clay—

"*Dip*, eastward at an angle of  $78\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.—

"*Seams*, at right angles to the sides, dividing the whole into very regular prisms, each crossing the wall, and, consequently, of uniform length, but differing in diameter, and in the number of sides. The ends

of these prisms being in the same plane, and at right angles to their sides, form the sides of the wall.—

“This dyke, though smaller than that of Robley’s, is still more regular, and, in every respect, more interesting. The breadth being so small, and the prismatic columns so closely compacted, we found it easy to remove, entire, sections of the wall.” Rep. No. 2. p. 115.

A discussion has arisen among mineralogists on the nature of these walls, and whether they are, or are not, to be considered as specimens of genuine basalt. Our limits will not permit us to enter into this discussion; we can only add, that from the total absence of olivine, and of all the zeolitic minerals, which we believe invariably accompany the basalts of Europe, from the destitution, as in greenstone, of all foreign minerals, it will be more correct to consider, with some of the French mineralogists, these walls, as composed of basaltiform greenstone.

One other peculiar formation remains to be noticed in this district. In Rockingham, a wedge-shaped assemblage of rocks enters between the rivers Dan and Mayo, from Virginia, and pass in a west-south-west direction to Germantown, in Stokes, where they terminate, apparently, in a point. These rocks appear to belong to a transition series, which traverses a great part, if not the whole breadth of Virginia. The rocks that distinguish this formation are the following, which we have abridged from the Reports before us.

1. Freestone, of a very fine quality, suitable for any of the purposes to which this rock is usually applied.

2. Coal. “A bed of pitcoal occurs only two or three hundred yards from the northern bank of Dan river, three miles below the Eagle falls. It is of the kind which is free from bituminous matter, and burns without flame [anthracite?]-veins of coaly matter, resembling lamp black, are met with still further south, and the black slate rocks, of the whole district, are impregnated in a greater or less degree with the same.

3. Lignite—“But a more singular substance, which has been mistaken for coal, is found two miles east of Germantown. It consists of the remains of trees, sometimes lying scattered loosely over the ground, in small billets, sometimes presenting to view entire trunks, affording another example of a subterraneous forest similar to that found on the river Neuse. The fragments that are scattered over the surface, are frequently so much altered by exposure, that they resemble common petrified wood; but those specimens that are taken fresh from their bed, are invested with bark, perfectly reduced to coal, and of a shining black colour.

“The best view of the Lignite is in the bed of a small river, near a saw-mill, where entire and very perfect trunks of trees are seen between the open layers of a coarse fragmented rock, very much resembling granite. These trunks lie parallel with each other, and appear between

the rocks, formed, as though by compression, into flattened cylinders or ellipsoids, the diameters of the elliptical bases being respectively as 24 to 9.

4. *Clays and Ochres.*—These are abundant in almost every portion of the state, but are, perhaps, in this formation, superior to any which have been observed in other districts.

5. *Slate.*—The slates of this district are black and impregnated with coaly matter; they contain also, a considerable portion of lime, and are traversed by small veins of limestone Rep. No. 2. pp. 126–8.

Mineral springs, occur, as might be expected, in so large a district. The two most generally known, are the Catawba Springs in Lincoln county, and the Rockingham Springs in the county of the same name. Neither of them, however, are strongly impregnated with mineral solutions, and will owe their reputation more to their climate and scenery, than to their intrinsic qualities.

Of the third mineral district of North-Carolina, our notice must be brief. It was not visited by Mr. Olmsted, whose Reports have hitherto, in a great measure, served us as guides—and our materials from other sources, are very incomplete. We have spoken of it as an extensive valley, or rather broken table land, between the Alleghany mountains (or Blue Ridge, as they are frequently called,) and the Bald and Iron mountains, which form the western limits of the state. In the southern division, however, the country seems rather composed of a series of mountainous ridges, with no regular direction, giving rise to the numerous branches of the Pigeon, the Tennessee and Hiwassee rivers—and we know few districts in the United States that offer greater temptations to the mineralogist and botanist, than the county of Haywood.

The greater part of this district, as we have mentioned, is covered with transition rocks, limestone, sandstone or grey wacké; quartz, as usual, in great abundance and in many varieties; sulphat of Barytes; ores of lead more frequently than of any other metal, excepting, perhaps, iron, but no where discovered in such abundance as to be wrought; and fossils in great numbers and of many forms.

The primitive rocks appear occasionally through this superincumbent covering, particularly in the south, but the predominant strata are all of a later series.

In this review, which we have endeavoured to condense as much as perspicuity would admit, we have only noticed those substances which occur in large masses, and become conspicuous in the geology of the country, or those minerals which are important in their economical relation. We have, therefore,

omitted to notice those which would be only prized for the cabinet, as exhibiting the varied and beautiful forms which nature has lavished on the mineral kingdom. When, however, to the many substances we have had occasion to notice in our preceding pages, we add the Zirconite and Jasper of Buncombe, the splendid Beryls of Burke, the Lazulite of Lincoln, the sky blue Sulphate of Barytes of Hillsborough, the Siliceous Minerals of Stokes, the Amethysts of Lincoln and Mecklenberg, the Tourmaline scattered over the western counties, and the fine varieties of Talc which are widely dispersed, we might readily believe, what has long been impressed on the mind of the writer of this article, that North-Carolina may be considered, whether we regard the variety or the value of her productions, as one of the richest mineral districts in the United States—surpassed by few countries of equal area in any portion of the globe.

If then, we should inquire why the geology and mineralogy of North-Carolina has been so long neglected, it might be replied, that until within the last twenty years, no attention had been paid to these sciences in any portion of the United States. Mr. Olmsted shall add two other causes.

“1st. Until recently, no professed mineralogist has ever resided in the state, and such travellers as had any pretensions to the science, have usually passed through the state in directions parallel to that of all of our geological formations.

“2d. The face of the country every where eastward of the mountains, is marked by this strong peculiarity, that the rocks are not, as in most other countries, particularly in New-England, exposed on the surface, but are very generally concealed by a thick covering of clay and sand, and appear only in the beds of the rivers. Thus, a traveller might cross the great slate formation, (which, for its variety and the elegance of its productions, is not surpassed, probably, by any similar formation elsewhere) and still see so few ledges of rocks or precipices, and would observe the surface to be so generally unobstructed, that he might fancy himself to be journeying over an alluvial district. In the neighbourhood of Salisbury and Charlotte, the surface is, for the most part, occupied by a deep soil, with scarcely a rock to impede the plough; and yet this whole region is based on granite, which lies only a few feet below the surface.” Rep. No. 2. p. 138.

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ART. X.—*The Talisman*, for 1828. New-York. E. Bliss. 18mo.

WE need hardly inform our readers, that the species of works, of which the *Talisman* is a favourable specimen, has, within a few years, become much in vogue amongst us. The merit of originating these annual productions, in which the talents of the moralist, the poet, and the artist, are put in joint requisition, rests with the Germans. This book-making people, (we believe there are more volumes published annually in Germany, than in all Europe beside,) have had for many years, their annual Literary Almanacks; in the pages of which, articles from their most distinguished writers, have first seen the light. The English and French “caught the idea” from their neighbours; and at length, we, on this side of the Atlantic, find springing up amongst us, *Souvenirs*, *Tokens*, *Memorials*, *Forget-me-Nots*, &c. &c. in such abundance, that we are afraid the uses of their humbler weather-wise brethren, who offer themselves annually to our notice, at the modest price of six cents a piece, will be entirely superseded. “*Poor Richard*,” with all his sage remarks, wonderful stories, new recipes, and old jokes, will no longer beguile the long winter evenings of our northern farmers; and “*Hutchings Revived*,” despite his skill in *yerbs* and planetary lore, will die a natural death.

It is not our wish to exalt any of the above mentioned meritorious works at the expense of the others. Indeed, as periodical personages ourselves, we entertain a fellow feeling and warm sympathy with them all. They are, in general, much above mediocrity, and come before the public, as fine as hot-pressed paper, fair types, beautiful engravings, and splendid gilt backs and covers can make them. We wish them all success. On the festal occasions for which they are prepared, a variety is demanded; and the more there are of them, the greater opportunity for selection is given to the friend or lover, the old who wish to make glad the hearts of the young, or the young who desire to testify their regard for their seniors, by presenting these little memorials of affection. The competition, too, excited by their number, leads to an emulation among the artists of the same or different cities, which otherwise might lie dormant. Indeed, it is a fact, that the publication of the English *Souvenirs*, which has led our imitative brethren of the north to call forth the same description of talent, has materially improved

the style of our engravers in Boston, New-York and Philadelphia. It has stimulated those who already were distinguished, to further diligence, and quickened the dry bones of several plodding copper scratchers, whose illustrations of our bibles and prayer-books, have heretofore done much to prevent idolatry, though, perhaps, they may have occasionally interrupted devotion.

We are, however, to take up the *Talisman*, as a literary work—a collection of miscellanies, illustrated in the ordinary style of *Souvenirs*, from which it purports to differ, in being the product of a single hand, and not a compost of various hues, and materials collected from different quarters. As such, it offers itself a fitting subject for critical notice. There runs through it, besides, a vein of originality, which is more to our taste than the common-place sentimental stories, and pretty poetry, usually found in similar volumes. The author, Mr. Francis Herbert, as he writes himself at full length, at the end of his autobiographic introduction, is, evidently, not a novice in the manufacture of prose or rhyme. Indeed, in corroboration of what he tells us about his manuscripts having been made free with by others, we, ourselves, think we have, more than once, before now, seen his marks; and in much lauded pieces too, for which others got the praise. Be this as it may, in the sketches which he has here dashed off, apparently in haste, we recognize the style of one, who passes “from grave to gay, from lively to severe,” with the utmost ease and grace: who follows not in the beaten track which others have made before him; and whose compositions possess the merit of not savouring too strongly of the lamp. As a favourable specimen of Mr. Herbert’s ethical and hortatory manner, we give entire, the first article, entitled “Preface to an Album.”

“This book is destined to preserve the memorials of acquaintance, of esteem, of friendship, of affection—to contain the thoughts of many minds—to bear the impress of many characters. Who can anticipate its future contents? How various will be its tone—its temper—its talent—its moral expression—influence and feeling!

“Such a volume is an apt emblem of the history of our own minds.

“In the mysterious order of Providence, we are all made subject to each other’s influence. We assume the shape, colour, fashion of the little world about us. We become the very abstracts and brief chronicles of the opinions, feelings, tastes, and principles of those amongst whom we live. We are as mirrors, giving back the reflections of the society in which we are placed; sometimes, it may be, brighter and purer than the original forms themselves; how much oftener imparting to them our own dimness and distortions.



"Our power over the materials of which our daily thoughts are woven, is but that of the owner of this book over the thoughts which fill its pages; a power too rarely exercised in real life—that of shutting out the intrusion of gross evil, and opening our sympathies and affections to the kindly welcome of all that is beautiful and good.

Happy they, who, taught by the sure instinct of their own purity, have ever shrunk back from the near approach of vice. Happy they, upon whose hearts, and memory, and imagination, the vain and bad ones of the earth—the worldly, the licentious, the grovelling, have never written any lasting transcript of their own thoughts. Into such, the spirit of this world does not enter—its seductions, follies, and vices soil not them—the delusions of life find no resting place in their minds, and glide off like rain-drops from the pure and smooth plumage of the dove.

"This theme is fruitful in still deeper and higher morals.

"That influence, so powerful in its sway over us, we must, in turn, exert upon others. Other minds must become, in part, the transcripts of ours, and perpetuate the evil or the excellence of our short being here. It is not given alone to the great, the eloquent, or the learned, to those who speak trumpet-tongued to millions of their fellow-creatures, from the proud elevations of power or talent, thus to extend themselves in the production of good or ill into after-times. We are each and all of us, as waves in the vast ocean of human existence; our own little agitation soon subsides, but it communicates itself far onward and onward, and it may often swell as it advances into a majesty and power, with which it would scarcely seem possible, that our littleness could have had any participation.

"Happy, then, reader—happy thou, if thou hast confined the bad tendencies of thy nature to thy own breast—if thou hast never proved the cause of offence—not even to any "little one"—if thou hast led none into dangerous error, lulled none into careless or contemptuous negligence of duty, nor ever sullied the whiteness of an innocent mind.

"Yet Remember—that it is the myterious and awful law of thy nature, that no one of us can pass through life insulated and solitary, leaving no trace behind him. Thy influence will be—must be, for good or for evil after thee. Then, although haply thou mayest have but a single talent committed to thy charge, whether thou writest thy thoughts in these pages, or engravest them in living characters upon the hearts of those who trust, or love, or honour thee, strive always, that they may be such as will tend to "give ardour to virtue and confidence to truth," so that others may be holier and happier because *Thou hast lived.*"

The poetical preface to an Album, which follows, is in a more lively vein. After many similies and quaint comparisons, the author concludes with some practical advice to those painstaking metre-mongers, who are wont to waste their brains and ink in these "doomsday books, wherein is writ of every man's capacity, the measure;" for which, the fair proprietors will, doubtless, give him many thanks. We have only room for two or three stanzas.

\* \* \* \* \*

" 'Tis like a doomsday book, wherein is writ  
Of every man's capacity, the measure,—  
The length, and breadth, and boundaries of his wit,  
And value of his intellectual treasure.

'Tis like a TALISMAN, by magic hands  
Framed with quaint spells, and graved with figures strange,  
That by the instructed finger touched, commands  
All images that float in nature's range ;  
Recalls each well-known form from distant lands,  
And shows the shrouded dead without a change ;  
And long-forgotten scenes, a shadowy train,  
And long-forgotten faces smile again.

'Tis like the enchanted mirror, ' huge and high,'  
Wherein the archimage Agrippa showed  
The lady of his love to Surrey's eye,  
' Albeit betwixt them' the 'grim ocean' flow'd :'  
For, as we read, surrounding mists roll by,  
And we forget life's intervening road.  
The past is present, voices murmur sweet,  
And music breathes that long was obsolete."

Passing over an "Adventure in the East-Indies," which is well told, we come to the longest, and we think, the best story in the volume. It is entitled "Mr. De Viellecour and his Neighbours, a tale, moral and chirographical." Prefixed to it, are "Some Thoughts on Hand-Writing," which give us an inkling of the story, and in which, the doctrine, that the measure and bias of a man's intellect may be detected by his penmanship, is stoutly denied. Mr. Viellecour is the descendant of an old French protestant family, who had been brought up, and passed his life, in a nice observance of all the little courtesies, and points of etiquette, for which most of the *ancien regime* are so remarkable. He, moreover, prides himself upon his skill in penmanship, but, by an unlucky flourish of his quill, at the end of an epistle, which is construed into an offer of marriage, finds himself involved in a series of inextricable difficulties, from which he is only rescued by a timely and precipitate retreat. The amiable, high-minded, vivacious descendant of the Huguenots, is admirably depicted ; as are also, some of those with whom his evil star has brought him into collision. The impudent Hibernian adventurer is also very good ; and some fair hits at the gullibility of our good brethren of New-York, (which will equally apply to our other Atlantic Emporiums) are well bestowed.

We think, however, the story is unnecessarily spun out; and the episode of the sentimental milliner, Miss Adelle Eloise Huggins, is in bad taste and awkwardly introduced. There are, also, some exuberances of style and diction, which may not find favour with the fastidious reader.

The story of DeGourgues, though the events which Mr. Herbert here faithfully narrates happened in our own country, is very little known amongst us. It is a tale of chivalry and magnanimity, in which a Bayard, or a Du Guescelin might have been proud to have borne a part. Mr. Herbert here shews us that the curvettings and eccentricities of his muse, may be trained down into a chaste and purely classic style. This historical sketch is given in that simple manner, equally free from pedantry and affectation, which, to appearance, so easy, is, in reality, the most difficult of attainment.

"Major Egerton," a tale of wild, fantastical transformations, borders a little too strongly upon the marvellous, though good manners must forbid our even hinting at any suspicion of our worthy friend Herbert's drawing a long bow. The descriptive parts, we must admit, have a striking air of verisimilitude, and the costume is well preserved, whether it be copied from actual observation, or from hearsay.

Our limits will only allow us a brief notice of the dramatic piece, entitled "*Isaac, a Type of the Redeemer*," a translation of the most beautiful of Metastasio's Sacred Operas. The difficulty of preserving the spirit of the original in a close translation, and particularly those delicate turns of expression, which, in the Italian, above all others, seem to be identified with the very idiom of the language, is only to be appreciated by those who have made the attempt. Of all the poets of his country, Metastasio, perhaps, most prides himself upon the accuracy of language with which he embodies his ideas. With reference to this version, the translator has had, probably, an easier task, as so much of the language is scriptural; and he has adhered as closely to our own version of the Bible, as his measure allowed. Upon the whole, we think, he has given as faithful an idea of the original, as the transformation of the soft and melodious strains of Italy, into our own barbaric tongue would permit.

"The Cascade of Melsingah," a pretty little Indian tale, is founded on one of the superstitions of that singular people, whose history, manners, and legends, afford so much material for poetry and romance. In reading it we are strongly reminded of the early adventures of Atala and Chactas, in Chateaubriand's beautiful story. But Mr. Herbert describes what was or might

have been ; while the French author is, unfortunately, often incorrect both in his natural history and his mythology.

The tale which concludes the volume, entitled the 'Devil's Pulpit,' is the one in which Mr. Herbert has given freest scope to his peculiar style of humour. The scene is laid at New-York in the time of its early colonial history ; and doubtless much of its interest and piquancy depend upon localities, which those at a distance cannot understand. It is evidently written *con amore*, and often reminds us much of the manner of Washington Irving, without possessing any thing of the stiffness or servility of a copy. Of this species of writing, which the genius of the author of the 'Sketch Book' has made so popular, we have had of late so many mawkish imitations, that it is pleasant to meet with any thing original in the same vein.

We think, were the elegant and gentle Geoffry compelled to wade through the sad and sickening specimens with which his imitators have inundated us, and to behold the clumsy, awkward caricatures which have been made of him in cold-blooded stupidity, he would be induced to throw down his pen in despair and sorrow, at having been the innocent cause of the promulgation of so much nonsense. We have not room for an analysis of this legend, or for any further extracts than that in which Dr. Magraw, who, by the way, was a real character of the time, and a noted queller of quacks of every description, executes summary punishment upon the imp who had been playing his pranks and preaching to the people at Weehawken, opposite New-York, where the rock bearing the name of the 'Devil's Pulpit' is situated.

"All at once there started up, on the top of the cushion, and stood conspicuous in the glare of the fire, a little figure in a cocked hat, (which stood off from the crown of his head as if lifted up by some protuberances,) above a bushy and well powdered wig. He had a dark skinny face, with lustrous, black, wicked eyes, a parrot-like nose, and no chin. His form was wrapt in a short white surplice, disclosing a pair of funny looking legs cased in black silk stockings, so far as they could be seen. His arms were disproportionately long, and attenuated, terminating in black silk gloves, whose fingers hung depending like the pods of the Catalpa. With the left of these claws, he deposited beside him, a silk handkerchief ; and with the right, from time to time, he applied to his physiognomy a long white cambric cloth.

"He looked around him wildly, and hemmed and hawed and hawked, and used his white handkerchief for some minutes, and then began, in a whining tone, which produced a swinging, seesawing sound in the air, rising and falling with doleful monotonous recurrence, an harangue very much involved, and of a quaint, flourishing character, full of Johnsonian antitheses and triads, but without any periods, protracted in one

long, overloaded, intertwined and inextricable series of sentences, running round and round like the lines in the puzzle, which children call the walls of Troy. At first he seemed to utter something which sounded like an apologetical exordium, for his not being prepared to address so numerous and respectable an assembly; out of which modest introduction, without coming to any conclusion, he got afloat on the drift of his unintelligible argument, or convoluted rigmarole, his object being, as he intimated with violent gesticulations, "to enunciate to his audience didactic precepts, calculated to evolve their energies for those aptitudes which were now ineffectual." And then he talked about *soirées*, races and operas; coaches, carriages and curricles; houses, horses and harnesses; diamonds, damask and drapery; fandangos, fêtes and failures. He said that large three-story houses were better than small two-story ones. That a man who could ride in a glass coach with four fat horses, was better off than one who had nothing to carry him but his own two legs: and he dwelt much on some subjects thought very mystical at that day, though now familiar to every broker's apprentice, such as buying charters, flying kites, and raising the wind. On these things he expatiated at great length, and with many repetitions. He also stated, that high duties were good things, because honest men might make a living by evading them. During the latter part of these observations, Dr. Magraw disappeared from the post he had long occupied with immovable gravity and silence. All at once, as the preacher was winding up one of his longest expectorations, or rather sliding out of it for want of breath, the doctor appeared behind him, seized him by the nape of his neck, and held him up, shaking like a scarecrow in the wind, quite off from the edge of the rock, displaying the nether part of the creature's figure more particularly than its proprietor seemed to have wished. The surplice, flying all abroad, discovered a little pair of red breeches, ending in a knotty pair of knees; while the crooked shanks below, in the black silk stockings, terminated in two stumpy, hoof-like, clubbed knobs, cased in a pair of black velvet bags, which figured and flourished about lustily, as the doctor kept their owner suspended. After holding him awhile in this manner, while he screamed and hallooed and begged and kicked and lost his cocked hat, he set him down again on his feet or hind paws, griping him in the same place with his left hand, and belabouring him with his huge orange walking stick, every thwack of which resounded as if the effect of its application must have been peculiarly uncomfortable to the patient. Still brandishing this about his ears, he asked, "Are you not the same tattling devil, that told the oracle in old times, what Croesus was about when he was cooking turtle soup after a bad receipt?" And he gave him a whack to enforce his attention to the question. "Yes, my lord;" said the preacher in a small voice. "Are you not the prying, impertinent devil of Livonia, that told the German ambassador to Sweden, what clothes his wife had on, and what she was doing?" "Yes, your highness," whined the goblin, as a couple of buffets made all his members rattle. "And are you not the same poor, miserable devil, that in Rabelais' time, when the great devils were raising storms to destroy armadas, was blowing a whirlwind in a parsley bed?" "I am, indeed.

your excellency;" here he got a whack that made him whimper like a whipt spaniel. "And are you not the same helpless and contemptible devil, that Paracelsus carried about in the hilt of his sword, in the shape of a bluebottle fly?" "Alas! yes, your high mightiness!" and he got a kick to boot, with strappadoes nowise desirable. "And are you not the same foolish devil, that troubled the people of Maçon, by thumping behind the wainscoats, singing filthy songs, and frightening the little children, and then was decoyed by the Prior of St. Deny's into an empty Burgundy bottle, where you were corked up, and soused into holy water?" "Oh yes, your Majesty!" screamed the tormented spirit, as a terrible knock half demolished his wig, and discovered a crooked corneous projection, growing behind a pricked up, hairy ear. "And are you not the abominably impudent devil, that, for two years, has been frightening my friend, the Rev. Mr. Wesley, scratching behind the children's beds, and making plates rattle on the dresser, and ringing all the bells?" "Oh dear, yes, I and the rats," faintly replied the almost exanimate catechumen. "And now you have come here, have you—you paltry, sneaking, despicable devil—to stuff nonsense into the heads of my poor people of New-York, and teach them, before their time comes, how to lie, and cheat, and have lotteries and banks, and to shave and smuggle?" Here he suddenly took hold of him by what seemed an extraordinary excrescence from behind, hitherto concealed by his surplice, took out of his own pocket a little book with a green cover and gilt edges, which he put to the poor devil's nose, saying, "Now, Sir, I will give you a dose that will last you half a century," and then he whirled him about, and dashed him down, and a crack was heard, and a light flashed before the eyes of the spectators, like that produced by the galvanic battery, and the devil vanished, and a smell like that of phosphorus was perceptible, and the enormous rock of the pulpit was split from the top to the bottom, as it remains to this day. The sailors uttered a shout of horror and fear, the cow rung her bell, the jackass yelled as if he was mourning for all his relations, the macaws and parrots squalled, the monkey whooped, the dogs howled, the mules and cows uplifted a wail, and the two black ferrymen in red jackets sent up a guttural, hysterical, hoarse, demoniac laugh from their deep diaphragms, more appalling than all the other noises together."

The poetry of this little volume is of a high order. We were particularly struck with the stanzas 'On the Close of Autumn,' as possessing a beauty and pathos we rarely find equalled. 'The Serenade,' which is illustrated by a beautiful engraving by Ellis, from a design by Morse, is very pretty. The following sonnet on 'Tell in chains,' accompanied by an engraving by Durand, from Inman's splendid picture, is spirited and worthy the subject.

"CHAINS may subdue the feeble spirit—but thee  
TELL, of the iron heart! they could not tame:  
For thou wert of the mountains—they proclaim  
The everlasting creed of Liberty.  
That creed is written on the untrampled snow,

Thundered by torrents which no power can hold,  
Save that of God, when he sends forth his cold,  
And breathed by winds that through the free heaven blow.  
Thou, while thy prison walls were dark around,  
Didst meditate the lesson nature taught,  
And to thy brief captivity was brought  
A vision of thy Switzerland unbound.  
The bitter cup they mingled, strengthened thee  
For the great work to set thy country free."

The lines written on the Banks of the Hudson, must close our extracts :

"Cool shades and dews are round my way,  
And silence of the early day.  
Midst the dark hills that watch his bed,  
Glitters the mighty Hudson, spread  
Unrippled, save by drops that fall  
From shrubs that fringe his mountain wall;  
And o'er the clear still water swells  
The music of the Sabbath bells.

All, save this little nook of land,  
Circled with trees, on which I stand;  
All, save that line of hills, that lie  
Suspended in the mimic sky,  
Seems a blue void above, below,  
Through which the white clouds come and go;  
And from the green world's farthest steep  
I gaze into the airy deep.

Loveliest of lovely things are they  
On earth that soonest pass away;  
The rose that lives its little hour,  
Is prized beyond the sculptured flower;  
Even love, long tried, and cherished long,  
Becomes more tender and more strong,  
At thought of that insatiate grave  
From which its yearnings cannot save.

River ! in this sweet hour thou hast  
Too much of heaven on earth to last;  
Nor long shall thy still waters lie,  
An image of the glorious sky.  
Thy fate and mine are not repose;  
And ere another evening close,  
Thou to thy tides shalt turn again,  
And I to seek the crowd of men."

The manner in which the work is executed, is highly creditable to our American artists. The engravings, though few in

number, are all much above mediocrity. The one of Tell, we think, will not suffer by a comparison with the best specimens of English artists.

In the hopes of again seeing Mr. Herbert twelve months hence, we, for the present, take leave of him, with the assurance, that as an annual visiter, many will be prepared to greet him, and give him a welcome proportioned to his merits.



#### NOTE.

To the article "*Geometry and the Calculus*," at the end of the demonstration of Euclid's axiom, (page 133) add,—“The demonstration of Euclid's 12th axiom, will also follow immediately from the axiom which we have laid down, and prop. 28, b. i. of the Elements.”

#### ERRATA.

Page 2, line 10, for *ovo*, read *ovo*.

“ 3, “ 6, for *formed*, read *founded*.

“ 15, “ 26, for *we could*, read *he would*.

“ 49, “ 23, for *has added*, read *has been added*.

The note, page 47, referring to Milton's *Areopagitica*, has exchanged places with the note, page 48, referring to Lowth's *Lecture*.





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4. Address of the Trustees of the Public School Society in the city of New-York, to their Fellow-Citizens, respecting the extension of their Public Schools.
5. Report of a Sub-Committee of the School Committee, recommending various improvements in the System of Instruction in the Grammar and Writing Schools of the City of Boston.
6. Prospectus of the Livingston County High School for Boys on Temple Hill, Genesee, N. Y.
7. Annual Report of the Superintendant of Common Schools to the Legislature of New-York.—1828.

# IX. CRAFTS' FUGITIVE WRITINGS, - - - - - 503

A Selection in Prose and Poetry, from the Miscellaneous Writings of the late William Crafts. To which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life.

# SOUTHERN REVIEW.

NO. II.

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ART. I.—1. *Articles of the Constitution as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787.*

2. *The Federalist, a collection of Essays written in favour of the New Constitution.* 2 vols. 12mo. New-York. 1788.

3. *The Crisis: or Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government.* Charleston. Miller. 1827.

1. / IN government as in science, it is useful often to review its progress, and to revert even to its simplest elements. It will be salutary frequently to ascertain how far society and laws, in their present condition, accord with those which we have been accustomed to consider as their first and purest principles, how far in the lapse of time, they may have deviated from their original form and structure. Even when we recur to inquiries merely speculative, to imaginary "social contracts," to abstract rights, we may often gather instruction, and detect some concealed or neglected truth, applicable to our own times and to our own immediate condition. But when a Government is derived not from fictitious assumptions, not from ancient or obscure sources or traditions, but from actual and specific agreement; when many and various interests have been combined and compromised, and a written covenant has assured to many parties, rights and powers and privileges, it becomes a duty to revise this compact frequently and strictly, that no one entitled to its protection, may be deprived, through inadvertence on the one part, or encroachment on the other, of his vested rights; and, that no changes may be introduced into the compact, but by the actual assent of those who are parties to the covenant.

And when in the very compact itself, provision has been made to correct and ameliorate the system, whenever it shall be found imperfect or incompetent to the discharge of its functions, or shall fall behind the spirit of the age, or the progressive improvements of society, it becomes a measure of wisdom as well as justice, to take care that no fundamental changes shall be introduced, but in the manner and under the conditions prescribed and understood by every associated member.

The Constitution of the United States was arranged with the most deliberate care, was drawn up with the most scrupulous caution, was examined even with jealous vigilance. Its provisions were supposed to be so clear and explicit, its duties and its powers so well defined and accurately limited, and its language so perspicuous, that no controversy could arise respecting its real meaning, no latent or invisible danger lurk under its simple and guarded phraseology.

But in the progress of time, as the provisions of the Constitution have been gradually unfolded, investigated and applied, and their practical operation displayed, many difficulties have occurred. So imperfect, after all, is the most laboured production of man, so inadequate the language he is obliged to employ, that his best efforts often end in disappointment. The most simple expressions are frequently found to convey, when critically analyzed, doubtful meanings; and phrases, which in the common usages of life are obvious and familiar, can be rendered by ingenious glosses and interpretations, ambiguous and obscure. Hence, in the construction of the Constitution, great diversities of opinion have arisen; they occurred at an early period of the administration of the government, they have increased in the importance of their views, and in their possible results, and now threatening to become intermingled with sectional feelings and sectional interests, they may finally endanger, if not terminated by some new compromise in the spirit of our ancient friendship, the peace or permanence of the Union.

It is not only on particular facts or questions that these controversies now rest, but on the general doctrines of construction. Disputes have arisen as to the manner in which we should read and interpret the articles of the Constitution itself; on the spirit in which, under the guidance of a sound logic, of philosophic deduction, we should assign to each clause, to each phrase of that important instrument, its real power and value, its extent when collated with analogous expressions, its limits when contrasted with conflicting rights and principles.

On the one hand it is contended, that, in expounding a charter so important and extensive as the Constitution of the United

States, embracing so many interests, and involving so many duties, a liberal construction must be given to its provisions, even some latitude to its expressions—that in so complicated a system, framed to protect not only national and individual rights and privileges, but the intermediate and modified sovereignty of the several States, a construction, strict and literal, would frequently defeat the very object of the compact, and reflect even on the wisdom of its framers—that in giving general powers to carry all of the specified trusts into effect, it was intended, surely, not to confine the Government to the most simple and obvious means of executing these trusts, not to limit it to one single or solitary resource, but to allow it to pursue varied and even indirect measures to accomplish more effectually the purposes of its creation—that, though “limited in its powers, it is supreme within its sphere of action—that sound construction must allow to the national legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it, in the manner most beneficial to the people—that if the end be legitimate, if it be within the scope of the constitution, then all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the *letter* and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional”—and, that to provide for the general welfare, many arrangements and modifications of the powers which are granted, many incident provisions which could not be foreseen, or which it may have been considered superfluous to specify, must be understood.

On the other hand, it is maintained that the articles of the Constitution should receive a strict and guarded construction—that the Constitution itself is a grant of special powers to accomplish certain objects, a trust to special agents appointed in a specified manner, and authorised to execute the great duties committed to their care—that every power entrusted is distinctly enumerated, and nothing left to discretion but the subordinate means necessary to carry these powers into effect—that while we view with a candid and liberal spirit, the conduct of those agents, it yet becomes our duty to guard carefully the limits which have been prescribed to their powers, to ascertain the real extent of the trusts placed under their control, and in all cases of doubt and hesitation, it would be the part of wise and prudent statesmen to limit, rather than extend authority, as history teaches that free governments have always been des-

troyed by the assumption and usurpation of power on the part of their rulers—that in construing the articles of the Constitution, it should be a duty to summon to our councils, where practicable, those who were engaged in framing this deed, and learn from their testimony, what were the intentions of its authors; that we ought also to review, wherever it can be done, the opinions of those who adopted it, and discover the spirit and understanding with which it was accepted. That in fair construction, nothing should be considered within the scope of the Constitution, no jurisdiction extended beyond the obvious meaning of the language in which it is expressed—that where authority has been given for carrying into execution all the powers vested by the Constitution, no more was granted than the means which should be found, according to its own phraseology, necessary as well as proper for the purposes to be accomplished—that while we give to every clause the full force and latitude it was intended to possess, we must not forget that defects and omissions ought never to be supplied by construction—that our functionaries are called upon to expound the Constitution, not to make it—that arguments from inconvenience or even from a supposed necessity ought not to be admitted, because this principle, true in common cases, applies much more strongly to one in which provision has actually been made to supply, by amendment, every defect which on experiment shall be discovered, means have most prudently been devised to adapt the Constitution, at all times and forever, to the wants and improvements and changes of society.

That these discussions have increased in their importance, and that a deep interest is now felt in their results, it is impossible to deny—and that the character and conduct of the Government has been influenced in latter years, particularly since our late war with Great Britain, by the dominant opinions of the day, that it has steadily inclined to the liberal and enlarged construction of the Constitution, is no less obvious.

To account in some measure for the prevalence of these doctrines, we must look back, however briefly, to the origin of the Constitution, and examine the state, not of parties, for no parties were distinctly formed at that day, but of public opinion.

During the Revolution, the war may be said to have been maintained almost without the operation of a Government. The people, wherever the country was invaded or assailed, defended themselves by all the means within their power. The States which were not invaded, furnished occasionally contingents of men, at the recommendation and exhortations of Congress. Money was procured either by issuing bills on the faith and

credit of the Union, or by loans made in Europe. The army, until near the close of the war, was neither efficient nor permanent. It was generally composed of new levies, and of troops whose terms of service were about to expire. It never equalled in its numbers the necessities of the service, nor the anticipations and promises of Congress, because the contingents were furnished irregularly, and some States would comply but partially, and others neglect totally, the requisitions of that body. Still the spirit of the people was sound, and undisturbed by jealousies or local interests, it bore the United States triumphantly through a war of great peril, in which fearful odds were arrayed against them.

But on the return of peace, new feelings and the necessity of new arrangements arose, even in the midst of mutual congratulations, in the very hour of national triumph. The excited enthusiasm of a popular contest terminating in victory, began to subside, and the sacrifices of the Revolution soon became known and felt. The claims of those who toiled and fought and suffered in our arduous struggle, were strongly urged, and the Government had neither resources nor power to satisfy or extinguish those claims. The federal head had no separate or exclusive fund. The members of Congress depended on the States which they respectively represented, even for their own maintenance, and money for any and every national purpose, could only be obtained by requisitions on the different members of the confederacy. On them, it became necessary immediately to call for funds to discharge the arrearages of pay due to the soldiers of the revolution, and the interest on the debt which the Government had been compelled to contract. The Legislatures of the different States received these requisitions with respect, listened to the monitory warnings of Congress with deference and silent acquiescence, but did not, in most instances could not, act.

Their own situation was full of embarrassment. The wealth of the country had been totally exhausted during the Revolution. Taxes could not be collected, because there was no money to represent the value of the little personal property which had not been, and the land which could not be destroyed. And commerce, though preparing to burst from its enthrallment, had not yet had time to restore to the annual produce of the country its exchangeable value. The States, each owed a heavy debt for local services rendered during the Revolution, for which it was bound to provide, and each had its own domestic government to support. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that each State was anxious to retain, for its own benefit, the small



but rising revenue derived from foreign commerce; and the custom-houses in each commercial city were considered as the most valuable sources of income which the States possessed.

Hence, however, new difficulties were likely to occur. There were, at that time, but a few commercial cities in the United States, and the duties on imported commodities were all paid into the coffers of a few States. Those members of the confederacy who possessed no commercial emporium, began to complain of the monopoly enjoyed by their more fortunate neighbours, and considered themselves entitled to claim some indemnity, either by drawbacks or in some other shape for the taxes they indirectly paid into the treasury of their sister States. To avoid any discord on this subject, it was at length proposed to transfer this source of revenue to Congress, for the common benefit of the Union. To this proposal, a majority of the States readily assented; but even after it was so modified as to grant to the General Government only the power of collecting five per cent, on all imported articles, some States acquiesced tardily and reluctantly, and when twelve finally assented, the measure was defeated by the pertinacious opposition of a single member, for, by the articles of the ancient confederation, unanimity was necessary to give validity to any alteration in the system. These incidents, with other difficulties occurring in our foreign relations, led to the meeting of delegates, from several States, at Annapolis, in 1786, and that meeting recommended the convocation of the Convention, which, in May, 1787, assembled at Philadelphia.

It seemed necessary to make this short recapitulation, because the occurrences of this period left a durable impression on the public mind, and exercised much influence on subsequent events. At the meeting of the Convention, those members who had been chiefly engaged in conducting the local governments, were generally found to be tenacious of the powers and privileges of the States; those who had been employed in administering the shadow of government which the old confederation assigned to Congress, or whose attention had been directed principally to our foreign relations, were anxious to transfer to our Federal Government as much authority as should be necessary for the management of our national concerns. Each party had felt the difficulties of its own position, and wished to remove them. Each party, perhaps, wished to accumulate and perpetuate power in that quarter where it would, probably, have most control, or might wish to exert most influence; and, as might be expected, in an assemblage of many, not only enlightened, but independent men, those, who, on each side, accorded in their general

views, yet differed widely as to the extent to which their views and principles should be carried.

These opinions soon became manifest when the Convention commenced its labours. Some who had seen the States, during the Revolution, hesitating to comply with the wishes and necessary demands of Congress, who had seen them, after the Revolution, refusing to accede to the most essential recommendations, began to consider the sovereignty of the States as the most formidable obstacle to a successful organization of the government. They wished, therefore, to deprive the States of the exercise of all sovereign authority, to give to Congress a negative upon every law which the local Legislatures should enact, or the right of appointing governors, for each State, who should possess this power. They seemed to fear no evil in our system but that which might arise from the privileges and ambition of the different members of the confederacy. This party, though formidable, from the talents and elevated character of its leaders, was apparently small, either because a great majority of the members of the Convention supposed that with interests so different as those of the several States, it would be unwise to subject the management of their local concerns to one central government, or were, perhaps, persuaded that the people of the United States would never assent to such an accumulation of power in the federal head.

Others wished to retain the old federative principle, assenting, at the same time, to surrender to Congress a few specific powers which it did not formerly possess, but leaving it to act, in ordinary cases, by requisitions and recommendations, addressed to the States in their separate and sovereign capacities. To this system, a majority of the convention objected, as it threatened to continue the evils under which the government then suffered, and, by enabling a single State, at any time, to impede and embarrass, if not to frustrate any measure, either of peace or war, would tend, constantly, to disturb the harmony of the Union, and continue open those sources of discord which it was the immediate object of the Convention to close.

An intermediate party, which soon acquired a majority in the Convention, determined, finally, to abandon the imperfect and inefficient system, under which the United States had hitherto acted; but, while the independence of the States should be preserved, while their action should be rendered necessary to the organization of the General Government, while the power should be reserved to them of modifying by amendment, and even of destroying this new creation of their will, (for no limitation was placed to the extent or nature of the alterations, which, in the

shape of amendments, might be introduced), it was, at the same time, resolved, that the operation of the new government should be direct on the people whenever and wheresoever it should be authorized to act.

When this principle was once settled, it only remained to organise the government which it was proposed to establish, and to determine what power and extent of jurisdiction should be intrusted to its discretion. It will be readily supposed, from our preceding remarks, that one party in the Convention continued permanently anxious to enlarge, another to abridge the authority delegated to the General Government. This was the first germ of parties in the United States—not that materials were wanting, for the dissensions of the Revolution had left behind some bitterness of spirit, and feelings that only awaited an opportunity for their disclosure. The divisions in the Convention proved the foundation of many a subsequent struggle. As that party which was desirous to extend the powers of the Constitution, had really been the most anxious for its formation, and became the most zealous advocates for its adoption, it almost naturally followed, that the administration of it was committed to their hands, and was certainly tinged and marked by their feelings and their peculiar doctrines. This party, which, during the sitting of the Convention, might, from their opinions, have been denominated nationalists, or, in a more modern phraseology, “centralists,” acquired or assumed the name of Federalists, from the ardour with which, after the Constitution was promulgated, they promoted its adoption.

It is, however, among those anomalies of the human character, which philosophy may ascribe to an innate love of power, that the views of parties have changed, materially, with their position. The Federalists made, as might have been expected, a few efforts to extend, by construction, the powers of the Constitution; but, the disposition did not cease, when the reins of government were withdrawn from their hands. Those, who, after a long struggle, acquired the ascendancy in our councils as the guardians and protectors of the rights of the States, have, in theory, made greater approaches to a consolidated government than was ever attempted by their predecessors. These have, in some measure, been silently absorbed into the great mass of the people, as there remained no distinctive opinion to mark them. Their views have all, or nearly all, been adopted by their successors.

It is not within the scope of our present inquiry to notice the discussions that arose on many questions, while arranging the different branches of the government, and distributing to each

branch its appropriate functions. Our immediate object is to ascertain, as far as our means permit, the nature and extent of the powers actually granted to the government itself, to notice, briefly, those which have been expressly limited, and those which have been absolutely withheld.

These preliminary observations have been extended beyond our expectations; yet, one or two more we must still offer.

It must, in the first place, be recollected, that at the formation of the Constitution, all power existed in the several States. No right belonged to the Federal Government but by a special grant. It possessed no prescriptive claims, no ancient privileges, no inherent authority. The members appointed to administer that government, were summoned to exercise a delegated and limited jurisdiction. The Constitution of the United States, under which they were authorized to act, and in whose might and majesty they and their successors have acquired veneration and influence and power, was, and is to them, as well as to us, a deed of trust, duly and definitively executed, liable, it is true, to alteration, but requiring that those alterations should be made in a specified manner; admitting amendments, but stipulating that every amendment and amelioration shall take place only when a great majority of the States, and of the people, shall determine that they are essentially necessary.

It must also be remembered, that as the several States had each its own government, organized and arranged, and practically understood—for the Revolution had scarcely deranged any portion of our internal systems, or of our domestic administration—a federal head was not required for the local government of any State, neither for its police, nor for the distribution of justice, nor for the performance of any of those duties, nor the preservation of any of those rights or privileges which properly appertain to the exercise of domestic sovereignty. A general power was wanted for the regulation of those affairs, which no one State could separately adjust, for the management and superintendence of our intercourse, whether in peace or war, with foreign nations, and the determination of those controversies which might, unfortunately, arise between the States themselves. These recollections ought not to escape us, when reviewing the transactions of the Convention, and the Constitution which it framed.

We have already mentioned, that the question respecting the powers, which, by construction, may or ought to be given to the General Government, has been of early date, and of long continuance. It has agitated, with more or less intensity, at different

periods, the citizens of the United States, but has never been extinguished. Like the sacred fire of the Ghebers, it threatens to be perpetual, for the source and principles of the controversy seem capable of endless application. The small claim of to-day is succeeded by a wider one to-morrow—each new decision awakens new and untried opinions—power supports power—precedent sanctifies practice, until by gradual extension, usurpation some would call it, the exercise of what was considered a limited and guarded power, will only be arrested when it shall have reached the utmost limit to which human legislation can extend.

We have prefixed to this article—1. The Constitution of the United States as the guide, and, at the same time, the final object of our investigations. 2. The letters of Publius, generally known as the “Federalist,” the earliest, and by many still considered as the most able commentary on the Constitution. 3. A series of Essays, published during the last summer in one of the gazettes of this city, and republished in consequence of the interest which they excited in many parts of the country. The author appears to us to have made a profound and extensive examination of this subject, and has presented some views which we think have escaped the notice of his precursors. His style is perspicuous and impressive, frequently animated and polished. His observations merit the most serious consideration. It is to be regretted that his language is often intemperate and harsh, and his arguments may have, generally, less influence, because they are sectional in their application; but his mind seems to have been excited by the injurious results to his own State, and to the South in general, of past experience; and his feelings awakened by the anticipated evils which may and must arise from the future and apparently unlimited extension of the powers of the government. With these anticipations, we shall not at present interfere—we shall not even attempt to embrace, in one article, the many questions he has included in his discussion. It will be our aim, with the aid of the lights which wise and prudent men have thrown on this subject, to present to the understanding of our countrymen a calm and impartial survey of the powers conceded to the Federal Government, without permitting one passion to mingle in the examination.

The Declaration of Independence published and pronounced that these United Colonies, are and of right ought to be free, sovereign, and independent States.

The articles of Confederation declare, that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

When the powers of the Confederation were found insufficient for the management of our foreign relations, or the payment of our debts, or the regulation of our commerce, and the Constitution of 1787 was formed, there was still no renunciation of sovereignty on the part of the several States. Grants of jurisdiction, and those very extensive, were, indeed, conceded; but those grants were all distinctly specified, and there is abundant testimony, some of which we shall hereafter adduce, to prove, that in the opinion of almost every man, of every party in that day, each power which was granted was particularly mentioned, and no power, no right, no claim of jurisdiction was intended to be granted which was not thus enumerated. If a few dissented from this general belief, they were considered as men whose fears or whose caution were beyond the influence of reason, and whose mental blindness time only could relieve. No concession of sovereignty was claimed on the one hand, or admitted on the other, beyond the clear and obvious phraseology of the instrument itself.

In a pamphlet which was published a few years ago,\* and which, after some interval, may be said to have awakened, on this subject, the spirit of inquiry, and to have startled from their repose, many who supposed that tranquillity was safety, the following remarks occur on this very topic.

"The independence and separate sovereignty of each State of the Union, therefore, never was, at any moment, conceded, or in any manner or degree renounced. The Confederated States consented that this sovereignty should not be exercised on the objects committed exclusively to the Federal Government by the Constitution of 1787. These objects are separately stated, defined, and limited by the Constitution: many powers and objects, proposed during the debates on the Constitution, were rejected; and finally, by the tenth article of the amendments to the Constitution, it is declared, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Demonstrating, beyond all doubt, that the Constitution of the United States was an instrument conveying specific, expressed, and limited powers, and those only: that the Federal Government was a creature of the several independent States that consented to it; and that so far from being sovereign, independent, and uncontrollable, it was originally created, is now kept in force, and may be altered, limited, controlled, or annulled, at the will of the several independent States or sovereignties, who united to give it existence."—*Consolidation*, p. 6.

As soon as the Convention undertook, on behalf of the States, to concede power, to grant portions of sovereignty to the Fede-

\* "Consolidation; an Account of Parties in the United States, from the Convention of 1787, to the Present Period." Columbia, S. C. 1824.

ral Government, it became necessary to determine the extent of the concessions which it would be expedient to make. We have already noticed the objects for which a federal head was not required, the purposes for which one had become essentially necessary.

That this distinction is not of recent origin, may be made abundantly manifest. It will be sufficient, however, to refer to one authority. The "Federalist" must be, on this point, an unexceptionable witness. It is known that these essays were principally written by two statesmen, who, whatever may have been their subsequent opinions, were, in the Convention, strenuous supporters of the powers of the new government. They appeared to sanction every proposition which could give to the federal head influence and authority; they were its chief and prominent advocates. Their coadjutor was also a man of eminent talents, one who had long filled some of the most important offices under the government. To these essays, one unquestionable advantage and authority belongs, which is, that having been written by the most able and efficient of the framers of the Constitution, having been published before its adoption, and before its functions and provisions were called into activity, before party spirit existed, or interests personal, local or national, became intermingled in the questions arising out of its claims of jurisdiction, before any extraneous bias, any pride of opinion could be engaged in its construction, their views may be considered as fair and impartial, and as exhibiting the real scope and purport of the instrument, and the intentions of those engaged in its formation. When these gentlemen published their commentaries on the Constitution, they made, on this point, the following exposition of their opinions:—

"The necessity of a Constitution, at least equally energetic with the one proposed, to the preservation of the Union, is the point, at the examination of which, we are now arrived.

"This inquiry will naturally divide itself into three branches.—The objects to be provided for by a Federal Government. The quantity of power necessary to the accomplishment of those objects. The persons upon whom that power ought to operate. Its distribution and organization will more properly claim our attention under the succeeding head.

"The principal purposes to be answered by union are these—the common defence of the members—the preservation of the public peace, as well against internal convulsions as external attacks—the regulation of commerce with other nations and between the States—the superintendence of our intercourse, political and commercial, with foreign countries".—*Federalist*, No. 23.

Again.—"The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the Federal Government, are few and defined. Those which are to remain

in the State Governments are numerous and indefinite. The former will be exercised, principally, on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation and foreign commerce; with which last, the power of taxation will, for the most part, be connected. The powers reserved to the several States will extend to *all the objects, which, in the ordinary course of affairs concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State.*—*Fed. No. 45.*

Again.—“In the first place, it is to be remembered, that the General Government is not to be charged with the whole power of making and administering laws. Its jurisdiction is limited to certain *enumerated* objects, which concern all the members of the Republic, but which are not to be attained by the separate provisions of any. The subordinate governments which can extend their care to all those other objects, which can be separately provided for, will retain their due authority and activity.”—*Fed. No. 14.*

The line of demarcation between the two Governments is thus distinctly drawn by the “Federalist.” To each has been assigned its duties, its functions and its powers. In practice, it was only requisite to allot to the Government, which was to be created, its specific objects, and its powers would follow as an almost necessary corollary—or, reversing the operation, when we examine the enumerated powers, we may from them determine the objects of the Government.

It might have been expected from the wisdom of the men who framed this Constitution, even from the circumstances connected with its creation, that wherever any jurisdiction was assigned to the new Government, adequate powers would be expressly given to accomplish the objects of the grant. The apprehensions of one part of the Convention as to the powers of the Government about to be created, the still greater apprehensions of another party, as to the power of the States, would all concur in producing this distinct expression of their will:—

“If the circumstances of our country are such, as to demand a compound instead of a simple, a confederate instead of a sole government, the essential point which will remain to be adjusted, will be to discriminate the OBJECTS, as far as it can be done, which shall appertain to the different provinces or departments of power; allowing to each the most ample authority for fulfilling those which may be committed to its charge.—Not to confer in each case a degree of power commensurate to the end, would be to violate the most obvious rules of prudence and propriety, and improvidently to trust the great interests of the nation to hands, which are disabled from managing them with vigour and success.”—*Fed. No. 23.*

These observations were made by the writers of the “Federalist,” when preparing to examine the enumerated powers of the Constitution. Let us hear the commentary of the author of the “Crisis” on this very subject.



"When, therefore, these sages were so precise in enumerating the powers they designed to confer, some of which are so plainly involved in, or incidental to others, it was—because they wished to inculcate and to have it clearly understood, that they designed that no power should be exercised for which there was not a specific grant.—Their object was to leave little or nothing to construction, and, that there should be no necessity or excuse on the part of Congress for passing the limits of power assigned to it, great and uncommon diligence seems to have been used, not to omit any thing, but to provide every power which could possibly be necessary to regulate the two great objects for which the Government was established, to wit, Commerce and Defence. Had they been less precise, they foresaw that the Government could not proceed in the exercise of some of the most necessary powers, without feeling the want of an express warrant of authority in the Constitution, and that it would be induced to resort to usurpation from necessity. To guard against its early resorting to constructive powers, which they must have dreaded, and to which, as wise men, they saw there could be no end, they judiciously conferred on Congress, an express warrant for every material power which the Government could possibly need, in all time to come, out of mind, for the happiness of the American people. And, I ask my fellow-citizens—I call upon the members of the Bar, to look at the instrument, and to designate, if they can, what power it is, that any Government can want, for the purposes of those great objects, War, Negotiation and Commerce, [and we may add, Justice, as far as national objects are concerned] which has been withheld from the Federal Government by the States. What power is there, I ask, and I ask it triumphantly, the want of which to render us an happy and an united people, is not to be found *written down* in the Constitution; or who can say, that this Government in its experience of forty years, (during which time it has been at war twice, and in peace has conducted us to the most unexampled prosperity) when it was about to use a power for objects, in which all the people are interested, to wit, Defence and Commerce, could ever point to the Constitution, and shew, that for this or that power so about to be used, it could not find an express warrant." *Crisis*, pp. 41–42.

That the Constitution was considered as limited, and its powers all enumerated, might be proven from many passages of the "Federalist"—one may suffice.

"In the first place, it is to be remembered, that the General Government is not to be charged with the whole power of making and administering laws. Its jurisdiction is limited to certain ENUMERATED OBJECTS, which concern all the members of the republic, but which are not to be attained by the separate provisions of any."—*Fed. No. 14*.

In approaching to this great question, it has been our design to shew, that the States, originally sovereign and independent, have never surrendered that sovereignty, except over a few definite and specified objects; that they assigned to the Federal

Government the dominion over a few great national subjects ; that the powers relinquished, to enable the Government to accomplish all the purposes of its creation, were full, but yet definite and specified ; that no power has yet been wanted, for any of those which are considered as the legitimate objects of the Government, which has not been found expressed—for the mere provision to carry expressed powers into execution, is subordinate, and shall be separately examined—and that the powers given to the Government are all enumerated. These points we have supported by the authority of those who were most active in forming the Constitution, whose views were, originally, all friendly to a Government even stronger than the present ; who were, therefore, not likely to diminish the powers actually granted by the Constitution ; and whose exposition was made before time and circumstances could induce them to modify any opinions on the doctrines and powers of the Constitution, from personal or party considerations.

It now remains to examine the clauses of the Constitution itself, and endeavour to ascertain their import, their actual extent, and their proper and necessary limitations.

The powers conferred on the Government of the Union, say the authors of the “Federalist,” (No. 41,) may be reduced into different classes, as they relate to the following different objects : 1st. Security against foreign danger ; 2d. Regulation of the intercourse with foreign nations ; 3d. Maintenance of harmony and proper intercourse among the States ; 4th. Certain miscellaneous objects of general utility ; 5th. Restraint of the States from certain injurious acts ; 6th. Provisions for giving due efficacy to all these powers.

To those who have considered our exposition of the purposes of the Constitution, it is obvious that, of these classes, the grants contained in the fourth and sixth, are all that can admit of dispute. The rest, appertain to those objects which are avowedly within the scope of the delegated and essential powers of Congress.

But when we perceive that the powers comprised in the fourth or miscellaneous class, are, 1st, those relating to patents—2ly, to the District of Columbia—3ly, to treason—4ly, to the admission of new States—5ly, to the vacant lands of the Union—6ly, to guarantee to each State a republican form of government—7ly, to the debts due by the United States—8thly, to amendments to the Constitution—and, 9ly, to the ratification of the Constitution (Fed. No. 43.) it becomes apparent that the powers in this class are not subjects of controversy, and that the sixth alone, according to the arrangement

of the authors of the "Federalist," would remain to be examined.

But while we have made this exhibition of the classification of these writers, as an additional illustration of their opinions as to the objects and powers of the Constitution, we think, nevertheless, that a more distinct view of the question will be obtained, by enumerating, first, those powers which are so explicit as to leave no doubt of their nature and extent, and, secondly, by examining particularly those which have been a source of embarrassment, of misconstruction and of controversy.

To obviate, however, all cavilling, we shall extract literally, the 8th section of the 1st article of the Constitution, and then make our distribution.

"Sec. viii. The Congress shall have power—

"1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

"2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

"3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

"4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

"5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

"6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

"7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

"8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

"9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

"10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

"11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

"12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

"13. To provide and maintain a navy;

"14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

"15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

"16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

"17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and,

"18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

It must be obvious, even on the most cursory review, that the clauses numbered 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, are clear and explicit. They convey powers which the Convention *intended to grant*; and, therefore, there is no vagueness in the expression, no ambiguity in the phraseology. We shall, therefore, pass them by as points not in dispute.

We shall annex the few other grants of power scattered through the instrument, which appear to us to admit of no controversy.

"The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution, shall be so construed, as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

There then only remain, the 1st, 3d, 7th, and 18th clauses and the 10th amendment to the Constitution, for our consideration. We shall begin with those which may, in this discussion, be considered of minor importance.

The seventh clause empowers Congress to ESTABLISH POST-OFFICES and POST-ROADS.

This power is pronounced by the authors of the "Federalist," (No. 42,) to be "harmless"—at first view, its meaning appears too obvious to admit of misconstruction. To determine where post-offices shall be fixed, (established, for we cannot yet find a plainer word to express the purpose); to determine by what route or road the mails shall be carried, are powers which are properly delegated to Congress. It is important that the communications of the Government, even to the extremities of the Union, shall be safe and rapid; it is essential that no State

should have the right of prohibiting or controlling this necessary transmission of the mails. So far the object was national; and the authority was, therefore, expressly given and made paramount. The Government shall determine where post-offices shall exist, and on what roads and into what districts the mail shall be transported. But that this power should be supposed to convey, tacitly, the right to construct magnificent roads in districts where roads already abound, to dig canals on which no mails will ever be transported, or even under pretence of carrying mails on canals to be dug, is to pervert language, and to destroy all confidence in written constitutions.

To those who consider it important to ascertain the *intention* of parties in *forming* any instrument or deed, it will be interesting to notice the proceedings of the Convention on this topic. We will give them in the language and with the comments of the author of the "Crisis." It may, however, be necessary to premise, that when the Convention began its labours, many propositions and various plans of government were submitted to its consideration by different members; these were all discussed, and, after some time, all the resolutions which had been agreed to, were referred to a committee of detail, to be arranged and reported in the form of a Constitution.

"In the Committee's draft of a Constitution, the word canal or military road, or manufactures, is not mentioned, though, as will be seen in due time, these words were in familiar use at the time, in the Convention. Even the word "post-roads" is omitted in this draft. It stands, "to establish post-offices," not "post-offices and post-roads" as it now reads. This is the more extraordinary, as in Mr. Pinckney's draft, referred to the Committee, there was a power "to establish Post and Military Roads," and also a power "to establish and provide for a National University at the Seat of Government of the United States." But the Committee reported against Post-Roads, Military-Roads, and against the University. How could they do otherwise. The construction of roads was a matter to which the States were respectively competent; though they were not so for a Post-Office. The establishment of an University, was for the interests of science. This formed no motive for the States to enter into Union, and to give up so much of their sovereignty."—*Crisis*, p. 49.

The power to establish post-roads was afterwards restored, by a majority of a single vote. It is probable that this was done to prevent any attempt, on the part of the States, to interfere with the transmission of the mail through their respective territories. Congress can now, by the Constitution, distinctly designate the road on which the mails shall be transported, can point out their course and their destination, and no State, but

by an open violation of the charter, can interrupt their progress. Such appears to be the real scope and object of this provision.\*

In the many discussions in Congress, on the appropriation of money for internal improvements, nothing is more remarkable than the variety of grounds on which the right has been claimed, and the discordance of the views of those who were most anxious to assert and to exercise this power. Some have claimed authority under the clause we are now considering, to establish post-offices and post-roads; some under the clause to regulate commerce; some, under the pretext of providing for the general welfare; some, under provisions still more questionable and obscure. Surely, when such uncertainty hangs over a question of so much moment, wise and prudent men might well doubt whether it had ever been intended to confer on the Government this power. And when they view the ample jurisdiction which has been unquestionably committed to its care, they might, still more strongly, doubt whether it would be judicious and discreet to pass those bounds which are so strongly marked. When so many comparatively unimportant objects have been most carefully specified, is it rational to believe, that one, almost of paramount magnitude, should be abandoned to the uncertain and precarious issue of construction and implication.

“To guard, therefore, against any species of legislation, in which all the people had not an undivided interest, was their care; and it is impossible to look at their work (the Constitution of the United States) without being struck with the circumspection with which power is dispensed from the States, and from the people, to their rulers, and without perceiving with what a free and liberal spirit they dispense every power necessary to defence and commerce, and withhold, at the same time, every thing else. And yet this Government, whose limits of power are so plainly marked, and so precisely defined, that he who runs may read them, is now in the exercise of some of the greatest powers that belong to a Sovereign unrestricted in his views, and unlimited in his will.

\* The writer of the “Crisis” remarks, that the acts of Congress themselves, shew by their phraseology, the strong distinction between constructing and establishing a road. “In the one case, the title of the act is, ‘An Act to establish certain Post-Roads;’ and the enacting clause is, ‘The following Post-Roads shall be established, viz. from Passamaquoddy, in the District of Maine, to St. Mary’s, in Georgia, by the following route,’ and then follow the names of cities, towns and villages, thus establishing the principle, that to establish a Post-Road, is to fix upon the places where the mail is to be stopped and opened. But when the national roads were ordered, the titles of the acts were different, and the words are, ‘to make and open roads,’ and money is appropriated for the work. There being no appropriation when the act passed ‘to establish certain post-roads,’ and upwards of a million of dollars when the national roads were opened, shews the substantial difference between establishing a road and constructing a road.”—*Crisis*, p. 50.

"What power, I ask, can be more *substantive*, primary, or paramount, than the power to construct national roads and canals? If to cut up the country in every direction by works of this nature, is not to claim sovereign dominion in the States, I know not what is meant by dominion. Can a power which involves jurisdiction over the territory and soil of our citizens, be claimed as incidental to, or as derivative from enumerated powers, none of which are greater than the power in question?—Can it be possible, that the same body of men, who seriously and soberly thought, that a specific grant of power was necessary to enable Congress to exercise jurisdiction over its forts, magazines and dock-yards, could intend to give them [by implication] the unlimited jurisdiction which the opening of roads and digging canals naturally confers on those who have the power to construct them?"—*Crisis*, p. 20.

There is still one further view of this question which merits consideration. When the first act to open the Cumberland road was passed, there was an express provision, that on the surveys being completed, and the expense estimated, the President should not commence the work without first obtaining the consent of the States through which the road was to pass. Mr. Madison, it is well known, objected to this principle on another occasion in 1817, on the ground that the Constitution contained no provision authorising the measure, and that the assent of a State could not confer on Congress the power. A committee of Congress, during the same session, asserted the authority, provided the jurisdictional right, in all cases, be left in the State assenting and affected.

An able writer, in one of our public Gazettes, makes the following observations on this doctrine :

"I take it as clear, that all the powers intended to be vested in Congress, are either expressed in the Constitution, or vested in Congress as necessary to effectuate the express grants. The express powers then, and those necessary to their execution are all that the framers of that instrument judged it safe, proper, or convenient, to lodge in Congress. But if a State, by its assent, can vest additional powers, then is the dangerous prerogative vested in a single State, (and that State too, in the condition of one receiving a bribe) of conferring authority on the general Government, which the whole of the States withheld, as unsafe, improper or inconvenient. This view might easily be amplified, and other instances given, where the assent of a State would be equally efficacious in giving powers to the general Government, which would be universally admitted to be dangerous in its hands.—

"How was the Constitution, by its provisions, to be adopted at first? By nine States. Can an additional article be inserted by one State? Or, view this additional power as it ought to be viewed as an amendment, can one State amend the Constitution?—

"There is no instance in the Constitution of incomplete powers, except such as are therein declared such. In all other instances,

when Congress has power, it is complete. For instance, the power of Congress to declare war, may be exercised without consulting a single State. If Congress possesses the power of making roads, it needs not the assent of a State; if it does not, that assent cannot confer it.—

“What folly to be asking the assent of a State to make a good road or canal for it, or to open its rivers. Would any State refuse it? It is a singular prerequisite which is to come from the party benefitted. It is the other States who pay the money, whose leave ought to be asked. *Col. (S. C.) Telescope, Oct. 5, 1827.*”

If, in some of these passages, we have admitted observations that apply to the general question of internal improvements rather than to the clause under consideration respecting post-roads, it is, because, in truth, this general question has been so intertwined with many clauses of the Constitution, that it seems to mingle in every discussion.

The third clause of this section empowers Congress “to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.”

This is one of the powers most clearly and fully granted to the federal Government. The necessity of a supreme authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, perhaps more than any one other cause produced the Constitution. It would be easy to multiply authorities on this head—one shall suffice, because, while it narrates the fact, it indicates also the objects and evils to which this power was intended to apply.

Speaking of the defects of the old Confederation, the authors of the “Federalist” remark:—

“The want of a power to regulate commerce is, by all parties, allowed to be of the number. It is, indeed, evident, on the most superficial view, that there is no object, either as it respects the interests of trade or finance, that more strongly demands a federal superintendence. The want of it has already operated as a bar to the formation of beneficial treaties with foreign powers; and has given occasions of dissatisfaction between the States. No nation, acquainted with the nature of our political association, would be unwise enough to enter into stipulations with the United States, conceding, on their part, privileges of importance; while they were apprised that the engagements on the part of the Union might, at any moment, be violated by its members; and while they found from experience that they might enjoy every advantage they desired in our markets, without granting us any return, but such as their momentary convenience might suggest.—

“Several States have endeavoured, by separate prohibitions, restrictions, and exclusions, to influence that kingdom (Great-Britain) in this particular; but the want of concert, arising from the want of a general authority, and from clashing and dissimilar views in the States, has,



hitherto, frustrated every experiment of the kind, and will continue to do so as long as the same obstacles to an uniformity of measures continue to exist.

"The interfering and unneighborly regulations of some States, contrary to the true spirit of the Union, have, in different instances, given just cause of umbrage and complaint to others; and it is to be feared that examples of this nature, if not restrained by a national control, would be multiplied and extended till they become not less serious sources of animosity and discord, than injurious impediments to the intercourse between the different parts of the Confederacy.—*Fed. No. 22.*

It seems scarcely possible to suppose that the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, or with the Indian tribes, can comprehend any other rights or duties than those necessary to settle the principles on which commercial intercourse shall be established. The power to meet the friendly or unfriendly conduct of other nations, to form commercial treaties, and to establish the conditions on which each nation, or all nations, shall have access to our shores—a political rather than an economical instrument—the clause under which embargo and non-intercourse laws have been enacted, a belligerent weapon, by which our rights may be enforced against foreign nations, or our intercourse made amicable and reciprocal. It was necessary that this general power should exist in the federal Government, in order that its exercise should be uniform—that foreign nations might have confidence in the permanence of our regulations.

It was also necessary that the general Government should have power to regulate commerce among the several States—a precaution wisely calculated to prevent those collisions which had already appeared in progress in the early history of our Confederacy, to obliterate forever the repetition of those unkind advantages which some States seemed disposed, from local circumstances, to take over their less fortunate neighbours. These are all causes and objects sufficient to induce statesmen to yield this power to the general Government; and the phraseology of the clause will strongly demonstrate that no other views entered into their consideration when this power was inserted in the Constitution.

Yet, under this clause, two very important powers have been asserted and partially exercised—one, the right of appropriating money for internal improvements, that right, which, as we have remarked, has been claimed under many provisions of the Constitution. The other, the power of imposing duties to an indefinite extent, even to prohibition, on foreign productions, for the purpose of promoting domestic manufactures. These two

claims, as far as they depend on this provision of the Constitution, we shall briefly examine.

On the first topic, there appears, to us, to be nothing more necessary than to point out the strong distinction between the power necessary to regulate commerce, and that necessary to facilitate its operations. These, we think, have sometimes been confounded. To determine the ports in our country to which foreign vessels shall have access; the conditions on which commodities shall be introduced; the privileges and immunities which shall be granted to the vessels and productions of particular nations in return for similar advantages conferred on us;—the principles and forms on which the maritime intercourse between the States shall be conducted, are the legitimate objects of this provision of the Constitution. But we cannot see, that under it, the power to construct roads and canals, which are only conveniences to facilitate the transportation and interchange of the articles of foreign commerce, or of domestic consumption, can any more be included, than the wagons or boats which equally render this service, or the vessels which are absolutely necessary for transmarine communication. These are the peculiar care of the individuals who engage in the adventurous pursuits of commerce; men, who, constantly occupied in exchanging the productions of all climates and of all countries, never, in their enlightened and liberal views, neglect those great improvements which forward their own arrangements, and, at the same time, so frequently promote the prosperity of their country. To their care and enterprise, or to that of the individual States, this task may safely be committed. England, now so beautifully intersected with roads and canals, although its government possesses the most unlimited jurisdiction, has left these, with many other magnificent works, for the most part, to the exertion of those who were particularly interested in their construction.

In this country, this principle is peculiarly applicable. It is wise and judicious to leave to each State the arrangement of its domestic police, its whole system of internal improvement. This is calculated to prevent the partialities which may exist, the jealousies which must arise, the constant imputation of personal objects to the leading members of the government. Each State, according to its wants, its wealth, its public spirit, could direct such a portion of its revenue to these objects, as it chose thus to apply, and could direct that fund to those improvements, which, to its *own* citizens, would be most valuable.

The powers claimed to construct roads and canals, under the clause of the Constitution, which gives to Congress the right to

regulate commerce between the several States, may draw after it the exercise of jurisdiction, as yet unsuspected, and, perhaps, with no more astuteness of construction than is employed to infer and to establish the principal claim. When the Government opens a post-road, it may doubtless exact that the mail shall go by no other route. When it shall have exercised the assumed power of intersecting the United States with roads and canals for the convenience of domestic intercourse, and to "regulate commerce," what is to restrain it from enacting, in like manner, that all goods, wares and merchandise, that all produce whatsoever, which may be carried from one State to another, shall pass or be transported by those routes alone? If the power "to regulate commerce" imply the right to make and establish the road or canal for such purpose, may it not much more strongly be considered as a correlative or incidental power, that Congress may compel domestic commerce to pursue, exclusively, those national and established paths. When the leading doctrine has been once established, corollaries and incidents, consequences and claims may be made to follow in blessed abundance. For why, it may be urged—shall the intercourse by water be placed under so many restrictions to prevent smuggling and protect the revenue, and the roads and canals by which smuggled goods can be so easily conveyed and distributed be left unguarded? Hence will arise, the propriety, if not necessity of designating such as the Government may create, to be the proper channels of domestic commerce, and decorating them with offices of inspection and supervision. Hence will spring officers in every quarter, and occasional controversies that must be carried exclusively to the Federal Courts. The soil and the jurisdiction of these roads and canals must also belong to the general Government, that it may be able to protect them from obstruction and damage, and laws must be ordained to punish every injury. Hence, therefore, the Federal laws and jurisdiction will pervade every portion of the country, and a few vague expressions of the Constitution will be found to have conveyed powers more extensive and more dangerous than all of those clauses and acknowledged concessions of jurisdiction, which alarmed so much the apprehensions of our prudent forefathers.

The right to levy duties on imported articles, for the purpose of revenue, is a power expressly granted in the Constitution. Its object is unequivocal, and for that object its application is undoubted, and may be unlimited. It is admitted also, that its exercise as a means of protection to our infant manufactures, is to be discovered in the early measures of our present Govern-

ment. But if any apprehension could have been entertained at an early day, of the direction and extent which would be given to this power, no doubt can be entertained that its indirect application would have been most carefully and cautiously examined. But such was the good feeling of the country—so willing were the people in that hour of young and warm emotion to countenance and foster every infant enterprise, that the moderate protection asked, at that time, for some manufactures, was cheerfully granted. And, in reply to those who say that these impositions will be but temporary, until our workmen acquire experience, we may here remark, that of all the protecting duties granted thirty or forty years ago, a time surely long enough for one generation to acquire experience, not one has been repealed; on the contrary, every one has been increased again and again, and all are now considered as permanently established. Still, no opposition was formed until it was clearly ascertained that systematic plans were arranged to obtain, to a most exorbitant extent, bounties, in the shape of duties, upon every manufacture—a system not only acting severely on some individuals to benefit others, but operating unequally on different portions of the country.

Whilst a tariff was solicited as a moderate and liberal boon to domestic manufactures, the people of the Southern States opposed no serious obstacle, however they may have been displeased with the continued application for new impositions. But when the question is made to bear the shape it now assumes—when duties are no longer imposed for the purposes of revenue, but avowedly as bounties on manufactures—when, in the language of one of the leaders of the Harrisburgh Convention, Pelion must be heaped on Ossa, and as many manufacturing interests as possible combined together, to bear down all opposition in Congress, we must appeal to the charter of our Government, and demand by what authority this power is claimed, under what provision of that charter it can, *constitutionally*, be exercised.

We mean not now to consider this as a question of political economy. There may be other opportunities to discuss it on that ground, and to show its impolicy in relation to our foreign commerce, its inexpediency, even with regard to those States that have most warmly espoused the system, and its injustice to all of the consuming States. At present, we shall confine ourselves to the Constitutional discussion; and, on this point, the question has not only been profoundly examined in the numbers

of the "Crisis," but has been treated with much originality, and appears almost to be exhausted. We can only make a few extracts :—

"We do not find in the proceedings of the Convention the word "manufactures," or any motion relative to the encouragement of them until the 18th of August. The Convention having, at that time, disposed of most of the clauses in the reported Constitution, as far as the end of the enumerated powers, many additional powers were, on that day, proposed to be vested in Congress. Amongst them, was a power "to establish public institutions, rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trades, and manufactures."—Another proposition was made on the 20th August, for a Council of State. The duty of the secretary of domestic affairs, was "to attend to—the state of agriculture and manufactures—and to recommend such measures and establishments as might tend to promote such objects." Both of the above propositions having failed, we might reasonably conclude that the Convention refused to give to Congress the power to promote domestic manufactures as well as internal improvements. But it is not from the mere failure to have these clauses inserted in the Constitution that we would infer a clear and unequivocal intention, that to the States alone was to be left, the regulation of the different branches of internal industry.—

"The above propositions were referred to the committee of detail, together with sundry others;—after many partial reports which did not affect this subject, on the 5th September, the committee "reported further and finally" recommending alterations and additions, in five instances. The last is to insert this clause. "To promote the progress of Science and the USEFUL ARTS, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."—The above clause "to promote the progress of science and the useful arts" was, as I conceive, a report of the grand committee against manufactures.

"I am not conscious that in any exposition of the Constitution, this clause has been relied on as restraining the power of Congress on the subject of manufactures. In my view, it is very important. It is important, if considered in the abstract, but when taken in connexion with the above proceedings of the Convention, I do regard it as conclusive.

"And first, let us consider the clause as it stands in the Constitution. What does it amount to? It is a power to promote science and the useful arts. What are the useful arts? They are those arts or occupations which are carried on with a view to profit in contradistinction to such as are pursued for pleasure, which are called the liberal or polite arts. Are manufactures to be classed among the useful arts? Throughout the civilized world, agriculture and manufactures stand at the head of the useful arts. All men must assent to this. Here then is a clear power vested in Congress by the Constitution, to promote agriculture and manufactures. But, is it a general or limited power? It is a limited power. How is it limited? It is limited inasmuch as the mode by which these arts are to be encouraged, is not left to construction, but is

expressed in words which have a clear and definite meaning. They shall promote the useful arts, "by securing to ingenious men, patents for their inventions." Now, if a power to promote a specific object, by a prescribed mode, does not exclude the power to promote it by a different or other mode, there is no truth in the law maxim "*expressio unius est exclusio alterius*."

"The grant of power in question is, what lawyers would term an affirmative pregnant, that is, an affirmance of one thing, and a denial of another; an affirmance of the power of Congress to promote the progress of science and the arts by patents and copy rights, and a negation of their authority to encourage them in any other way."—

"Three clear propositions result from what has been said. 1st. That there was an attempt made in the Convention to give Congress power to promote science, agriculture and manufactures. 2ly. That a Committee reported a specific power for that purpose, to be added to those already enumerated—which report was not agreed to. And, 3ly. That an express provision was made, to protect these objects, but only to a limited extent."—*Crisis*, pp. 54-58.

There is still another view of this question which the same writer presents with great power.

"It appears by the acts of the Convention, that though it was deemed unadvisable to entrust Congress with a power to promote any great local interest of particular States, yet, that it was considered, that there would be a manifest impropriety in depriving any one State which might choose to encourage its own manufactures, of the means of doing so. The usual mode by which domestic manufactures are encouraged, we all know, is by premiums, pecuniary bounties, and prohibitory duties; but all other modes are inexpedient and inefficient when compared with prohibition. If Congress could not lay prohibitory duties except for the general purposes of the Government, and the States could not impose them, to protect manufactures, one great motive to the Union would have been defeated, which was, that the States should not, as regarded their internal relations or their power to regulate their own industry, be in a worse situation than before. Hence, it became necessary that the States should not be deprived of the power of laying prohibitory duties for the convenience of their imports or exports, or for the purpose of protecting their own manufactures. When, therefore, that clause in the Constitution came to be considered, which restricts the States from laying duties on imports or exports, the subject of manufactures directly came into discussion."—*Crisis*, p. 58.

After many propositions and efforts to amend and alter, on the 15th September, the clause was finally agreed to, as follows:

"No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and

imposts laid by any State, on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws, shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress."

"Were an hundred men (continues our author) to read this clause in the Constitution, I would venture to say, that ninety and nine for a while would be ignorant of the true design of its introduction.—Abstractedly considered, it is inexplicable, and to me, and perhaps to others, would have remained so, had not the subject of domestic manufactures come into discussion. The design of the clause is now at once seen. A satisfactory explanation is instantly within our reach. It was inserted, for the purpose of enabling such States as were desirous of protecting their own manufactures, either by export duties on their raw materials, or by imports on foreign fabrics introduced into their limits, to do so, with the consent of Congress. No other solution is admissible. If this was not the intent of the provision, I defy the Supreme Court or any expositor to explain it. In any other view, it is an useless and a stupid clause of the Constitution.

"But let us hear Luther Martin, bitterly complaining to his own State, of the total injustice, in his view, of this clause. 'By this same section,' says he, 'every State is also prohibited from laying any imposts or duties on imports and exports, without the permission of the general Government. It was urged by us, that there might be cases, in which it would be proper, for the purpose of encouraging manufactures, to lay duties, to prohibit the exportation of raw materials; and, even in addition to the duties laid by Congress, on imports for the sake of revenue, to lay a duty, to discourage the importation of particular articles into a State, or to enable the manufacturer here, to supply us on as good terms, as they could be obtained from a foreign market. But the most we could obtain, was, that this power might be exercised by the States with, and only with the consent of Congress, and subject to its control. And so anxious were they, to seize on every shilling of our money for the general Government, that they insisted, even the little revenue that might thus arise, should not be appropriated to the use of the respective States where it was collected, but should be paid into the Treasury of the United States; and, accordingly, it is so determined.'

"Thus, we have all our doubts dissipated as to this otherwise singular provision in the instrument; and thus too, we have a fresh instance of the wisdom of the Convention. A mode has been provided, by which, at any time, the people of any one State, or number of States, may protect their manufactures, without charging the cost of such protection to the neighbouring States.—This provision of the Convention, to give the States an opportunity of protecting their own manufactures, is in exact accordance with the immutable principles of justice. To suffer Massachusetts, for instance, to promote the success of her manufacturing establishments, by means of a National Tariff, would be neither more nor less, than to give to her, greater advantages, and greater power too, than she could have had, if she had not entered into the Union.—

"If Massachusetts then, will have manufactures, Massachusetts must be content to have them upon the usual terms. Her own citizens must pay the cost, whether it be directly, by taxes for premiums or pecuniary

bounties, or indirectly, by a tax upon consumption of the home fabric." *Crisis*, pp. 58-63.

Such appears to have been the real and genuine object of this clause. After providing, in order to prevent any disputes between the States, respecting the manner or the objects in, and for which these duties might be imposed, that the proceeds should be paid into the national treasury, it permits each State, for the purpose of protecting its own manufactures, to levy, with the consent of Congress, whatever duties it may please to impose on foreign productions. The States which believe themselves likely to be aggrandized by the increase of manufactures, may tax its own citizens for their encouragement and protection; the people who may find themselves enriched by the increase of their towns and villages, and by the increased value of the productions of their soil, will pay, as is most just, the price of these beneficent establishments; and the farmer and the wool grower, and the speculating adventurer and the merchant, will all rejoice greatly to contribute to this tide of redundant prosperity. Let then, any State or States which may choose to kindle their watch-fires at this new light which has just arisen on the world—to adopt this new “American System,” which has become almost superannuated in Europe, under the practice of a thousand years; let any State, we repeat, that chooses, adopt this system for its own people and its own benefit; call it by whatever term of endearment or of admiration the imagination can suggest, laud it in strains of unqualified panegyric, but in justice, concede to every other State, the privilege of enjoying its own peculiar views, of pursuing its own domestic policy.

If some States should startle at this arrangement, and suspect that it might injure their commerce and give advantages to other States that would not pursue the same system; may it not be replied, that this is only the natural effect of their favorite measure, even when applied to the whole country in its intercourse with foreign nations. In our case, there is this equitable difference, that by the provisions of the Constitution, above, and as we believe, fairly expounded, those States only would suffer in their commerce, who think they receive a fair equivalent in their manufactures; whilst upon the liberal plans now urged upon the country with such untiring zeal, the commerce of those States would be injured, if not destroyed, on whom the manufacturing system is, in addition, a tax and an oppression.

It may not be irrelevant to remark, that if the grant to Congress of the impost of five per cent. on imported goods, which was pressed so anxiously on the States for several years, and which



might have postponed for a long time, the creation of a new form of government, had once been ratified, the position of the States as to each other, would have been exactly such as we have here represented. The national authority or protection could have extended no farther than the moderate imposition of five per cent.; every protection to manufactures beyond this point, must have been afforded, as is most equitable, by each State in proportion to the benefits it expected to receive, or the objects it proposed to encourage. Each, on this subject, without interfering with the arrangements of other States, would have been the arbiter of its own system—the master of its own scheme of political economy.

We have exhausted our limits, and we have not touched upon the abuse of power in destroying commerce, under an authority to regulate it, nor upon other topics that press on our attention. But we must pass on to other discussions.

In proceeding to the next disputed clause, the very first in the section of power, we feel that we are approaching that ground, tremulous as it may be, on which those, who endeavour to extend by construction, the powers of the Constitution, have erected their strongest bulwarks, that provision of the charter from which we have to apprehend the most dangerous encroachments.

“Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.”

Power is thus given to Congress, to impose taxes of all descriptions, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States. The two first purposes are sufficiently explicit. It remains to determine, what objects are included under the expression “general welfare;” what views were in the minds of the framers of the Constitution; what intentions can be deduced from these words by fair and liberal construction, and how an expression so vague, can be duly limited.

The first impression on the mind, on ours at least, on reading this clause is, that welfare, taken as it stands in connexion with defence, is equivalent to safety. This is one of those two great objects for which the Constitution was expressly formed. If then, we were thus to read the phrase, “to provide for the common defence and general safety,” it would imply no more than the power and duty of guarding the United States from all danger; the power to apply all the funds of the country to resist hostility from abroad, to suppress insurrection at home, to shield

the citizens of our country from foreign aggression or domestic violence.

If this interpretation should not be satisfactory, if it should be insisted that more than mere safety must have been intended by this expression, we will meet the question in its widest range, even on the wildest hypothesis, we will lay aside this explanation, however probable it may be, and reply, that the phrase must then receive one of two constructions. It must either mean that the Government shall have power, with the national funds, to provide for the national welfare, so far as the objects and powers specified in the Constitution, point out and permit; or it must mean, that it gives the Government power to do any thing and every thing which it may think conducive to the public welfare.

There is no middle ground which can be assumed. This phrase must either be limited by the specified duties and powers of the Constitution, or it must be unlimited in its application.

If unlimited, no other grant of power, scarcely any other clause in the Constitution, was necessary or required.

If unlimited, nothing would remain, but to view, in awful anticipation, the objects and purposes, undefined and unguarded, to which this Constitution may be applied.

Let us, however, first view its limited, and, as we believe, genuine construction, and see how far it will correspond with the tenor and stipulations of the Constitution.

Congress has a command which may be considered paramount over the revenue of the nation. This was granted, in the first place, to pay its debts. This measure was supposed to require no illustration or amplification, and is left in comprehensive brevity. In the next place, to provide for the common defence and general welfare. In what manner and by what means? By regulating commerce, by passing laws of naturalization and bankruptcy; by establishing post-offices and post-roads; by declaring war; by raising and supporting armies; by providing and maintaining a navy; by organizing the militia, and by the exercise of various powers specified in the Constitution.

It is impossible to imagine any cause for the many specifications contained in the Constitution—any motive to enter into so many details, if it had once been imagined that this provision, like the authority conferred in perilous moments on the Roman Consuls, "*ut darent operam, ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet*," gave ample power to provide in all cases for the public welfare.

Many facts and circumstances corroborate the opinion that this is the real construction of the Constitution—at least, if we

pay any deference to the intention and the expressed opinions of all parties at the time of its adoption.

In the first place, we may remark as extraordinary, that no discussion appears to have taken place on this phrase in the Convention—while every specific power, granted to the general Government, was most scrupulously, sometimes most zealously discussed. While every measure calculated to establish a national Government, was opposed by a vigilant and able minority, this the most essential of all powers, if an unlimited construction be given to it, was permitted to pass in silence. Again, in the exposition of the Constitution, which the celebrated Luther Martin made to his constituents, the Legislature of Maryland, while he takes an almost captious view of this instrument, and cavils and objects to nearly every arrangement and every provision of the Constitution, he too, passes this in silence. Mr. Martin, a member of the Convention, perhaps the leader of the opposition, a lawyer, and a most learned and acute one, whilst he complains of the powers of the Constitution, and enumerates, in order to censure, even the most unimportant of its provisions, omits to notice this, the most enormous, if we consider it as vesting power, of all the vested powers. Can we require stronger proof, that even to his jealous vigilance, with all the means of information before him, this phrase did not enlarge the boundaries of authority, was not considered as creating new powers or pointing to new objects, but as a declaratory expression, pointing out the final purposes to which the subsequently specified powers of Congress should be directed.

Again—we may notice, that in the debates which took place in the several State Conventions, assembled for the ratification of the Constitution, no claim for power was brought forward by its friends, under this provision. On the contrary, the members of the general Convention, who afterwards became members of the state Conventions were particularly solicitous, when they perceived apprehensions to be entertained that evil intentions were disguised under this phraseology, to remove every anxiety on this subject from the minds of their fellow-citizens. Whilst they avowed and advocated the powers which are enumerated, and strongly urged the necessity of granting, to a general Government, these extensive prerogatives; they not only denied the existence of any latent powers under the general expressions scattered through the Constitution; but were particularly active wherever amendments to the Constitution were called for, so to express them as to remove every doubt, even from the most suspicious. In the Convention of North-Carolina, the amendments, although introduced by Mr.

Iredell, afterwards one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, were sanctioned by Messrs. Davie and Spaight, two of the members of the general Convention, were brought forward under their auspices, and words seem almost to have been heaped together to strengthen this opinion.

"Each State in the Union shall respectively retain every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by the Constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the general Government, nor shall the said Congress, or any department of the said Government, exercise any act of authority over any individual in any of the said States, but such as can be justified under some power particularly given in this Constitution; but the said Constitution shall be considered, at all times, a solemn instrument, defining the extent of their authority, and the limits of which, they cannot rightfully, in any case, exceed."\* In the Convention of Massachusetts, in which Messrs. King and Gorham, the two members from that State who signed the Constitution, were present, the first amendment proposed, in order "to remove the fears, and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this Commonwealth, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the Federal Government," is in these terms. "That it be *explicitly* declared that all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised."†

In the Legislature of South-Carolina, to whom the Constitution was sent, in order to be referred to a Convention of the people, Mr. Charles Pinckney, one of her delegates in the general Convention, in explaining the views of the Convention and the objects of the Constitution, uses these expressions:—

"The distinction which has often been taken between the nature of a Federal and State Government, appeared to be conclusive. That in the former, no powers could be executed or *assumed*, but such as were expressly delegated."—*Debates in the House of Representatives in South-Carolina. Charleston, 1788.*—p. 7.

Gen. C. C. Pinckney, also a member of the General Convention, thus expresses himself:—

"It is admitted, *on all hands*, that the general Government has no powers but those which are *expressly* granted by the Constitution; and that all rights, not expressed, were reserved by the several States."—*ib.* p. 25.

And again, when replying to some one who had remarked, that the liberty of the press had not been secured, he adds:—

\* Debates of the Convention of North-Carolina. Edenton, 1789—p. 277.

† Debates of the Convention of Massachusetts. Boston, 1788—p. 211.

"The general Government has no powers but what are *expressly* granted to it; it therefore has no power to take away the liberty of the press—that invaluable blessing, which deserves all the encomiums the gentleman has justly bestowed upon it, is secured by all our State Constitutions, and to have mentioned it in our general Constitution, would perhaps, furnish an argument hereafter, that the general Government, had a right to exercise powers, not expressly delegated to it. For the same reason, we had no bill of rights inserted in our Constitution, for, as we might, perhaps, have omitted the enumeration of some of our rights, it might hereafter be said, we had delegated to the general Government a power to take away such of our rights as we had not enumerated; but, by delegating *express powers*, we certainly reserve to ourselves every power and right *not mentioned* in the Constitution."—*ib.* p. 44.

It seems scarcely necessary to multiply quotations. The stream of testimony appears on this subject undivided. All who were prominent in the transactions of that day, and whose declarations remain, appeared anxious to remove from the public mind every suspicion, that, at a future day, powers, which were not apparent on its surface, might, by construction or implication, be given to the Constitution.

One other testimony we will add, because, on this point, its bearing and its authority are most important.

The authors of the "*Federalist*," whose commentaries on the Constitution sustain so high a rank, thus express themselves on this very clause.

"Some who have not denied the necessity of the power of taxation, have grounded a very fierce attack against the Constitution, on the language in which it is defined. It has been urged and echoed, that the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excise, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," amounts to an unlimited commission to exercise every power which may be alleged to be necessary for the common defence or general welfare. No stronger proof could be given of the distress under which these writers labour for objections, than their *stooping* to such a misconstruction.——

"Had no other enumeration or definition of the powers of the Congress been found in the Constitution, than the general expression just cited, the authors of the objection might have had some colour for it; though it would have been difficult to find a reason for so awkward a form of describing an authority to legislate in all possible cases. A power to destroy the freedom of the press, the trial by jury, or even to regulate the course of descents, or the forms of conveyances, must be very singularly expressed by the terms "to raise money for the general welfare."——

"But what colour can the objection have, when a specification of the objects alluded to by those general terms, immediately follows; and is not even separated by a longer pause than a semicolon. If the different

parts of the same instrument ought to be so expounded, as to give meaning to every part which will bear it; shall one part of the same sentence be excluded altogether from a share in the meaning; and shall the more doubtful and indefinite terms be retained in their full extent, and the clear and precise expressions be denied any signification whatsoever? For what purpose could the enumeration of particular powers be inserted, if these and all others were meant to be included in the preceding general power? Nothing is more natural or common than first to use a general phrase, and then to explain and qualify it by a recital of particulars. But the idea of an enumeration of particulars, which neither explain or qualify the general meaning, and can have no other effect than to confound and mislead, is an absurdity, which, as we are reduced to the dilemma of charging, either on the authors of the objection, or on the authors of the Constitution, we must take the liberty of supposing, had not its origin with the latter."—*Fed. No. 41.*

After remarking that the same expressions are used, and repeated in the articles of the old Confederation, the writer remarks:—

"But what would have been thought of that assembly, if, attaching themselves to these general expressions, and disregarding the specifications, which ascertain and limit their import—they had exercised an unlimited power of providing for the common defence and general welfare?"—*Fed. No. 41.*

This contemporaneous exposition of this clause of the Constitution appears to us worth a thousand arguments. It shows the real objects of the expression, and to all who give authority to the intentions of those who framed and those who adopted the Constitution, it must be conclusive.

If these limitations are not valid, we may well startle at the powers which may be included under this all comprehensive phrase. Give to it the construction for which many contend, and all that the most speculative cupidity might contrive, all that the blindest fanaticism could engender, all that the most unprincipled ambition could devise, all that the most capricious tyranny could invent, might be sanctioned by this most specious pretext. Every view, in short, of every man, could be justified by the same principle; and visions, the most weak, or the most wild; projects, the most daring or the most unprincipled, might assume the garb of patriotism, and be forced on a suffering country, under the pretext of promoting the general welfare.

We have said, that between a limited and unlimited construction of this phrase, there is no middle ground. We were not, however, unmindful of the doctrines advanced by General Hamilton only three years after the publication of the "*Federalist*," and since, most ably supported by men of distinguished abilities. A doctrine, which, although it professes to limit this power,

places that limitation on a basis different from the one we have considered as its real foundation ; creates a moveable and unsubstantial line, which, in practice, must prove altogether ideal ; circumscribes the Constitution by a provisional boundary, which can, with the utmost facility, be eluded or removed altogether.

The exposition of General Hamilton is virtually, that under this clause the government has power to promote the general welfare, whenever, and wherever, and however it can be done by an appropriation of money.

That this construction was not intended by the framers of the Constitution, appears to us undoubted. It seems not credible that those who appear to have guarded the Constitution with so much precaution ; who discussed and weighed each specification of power with scrupulous exactness, should, by one incautious phrase, have undermined every barrier which they had been so carefully erecting. If any member in the Convention foresaw this possible application of this clause, his opinion was not avowed ; or, if casually mentioned, it was only to receive the reply we have already quoted from the "Federalist." It is certain, that after the publication of that work, which took place in the winter of 1787-'88, this phrase was scarcely noticed in the debates of the different Conventions which assembled for the ratification of the Constitution, while many very unimportant powers were warmly canvassed.

Can we suppose, that none of the many able men from the South, who were in the Convention, would have been aware, that many objects, involving not only the prosperity but even the peace and safety of their constituents, might be brought within the absorbing power of this clause, (objects and purposes not "dreamt of" by those who took the plain letter of the instrument for their guide and interpreter) if the appropriation of money were all that should be necessary to include any measure within the grasp of the Constitution.

Strange that the most trivial powers, if to be determined by legal regulations, should, in many cases, be denied ; while prerogatives, the most unlimited, were granted, if to be exercised by the waste of money.

Strange that the power to "establish a university," should have been brought forward three times, and pressed upon the Convention ; if it had been understood that power was already given to Congress to carry into effect any project which could be accomplished by the appropriation of money.

Strange that the power to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, powers already virtually embraced by the authority to declare war, and provide for the common

defence, should have been so cautiously reiterated, if the expenditure of money could, of itself, sanction every measure.

When the Constitution was completed and transmitted to Congress, it was recommended as a measure of deference and respect for the people, that it should be referred for consideration and for adoption to Conventions convened for this especial purpose. Not a convention of the people generally throughout the United States, but of each State in its separate and sovereign capacity. It was adopted in this manner by the States. It was considered a great covenant between the different States, and between the people of the different States, and the government; and testimony, almost to superfluity, remains to show in what manner this covenant was then understood. *Even if not construed as a contract, it must be considered as a great trust, in which general powers are at first delegated to those who are to execute the deed, while the objects enumerated in the deed, the specific powers detailed in the instrument, designate the precise trusts for which these general powers must be exercised.*

Let us hear upon this subject, the able writer of the "Crisis." Speaking of the doctrine, that an unlimited power to raise money for the general welfare is honestly executed, if the money be applied to the *purposes* of the government, and not to local or State purposes, he adds:—

"The only answer to this argument which I have met with, is that given by Mr. Legaré, in his speech on Mr. Prioleau's resolutions, in our State Legislature, in 1825. Mr. Legaré demonstrates, that a government of limited powers, has no greater right to divert the funds of the government, beyond the enumerated objects, because it has an unlimited power to appropriate for the general welfare, than a trustee who has an unlimited power by deed, to raise money on the trust estate, can divert those funds to any other purposes of the estate, than are expressed in the different trusts. Every lawyer knows, that a trustee may, under a general power, in a trust deed for that purpose, sell part of the trust estate, and he may apply the proceeds to purposes which he may deem generally beneficial to the estate. In such a case, though the legality of the sale, and the appropriations could not be disturbed, yet, in equity, the trustee would be adjudged to have departed from his duty, as having abused the trust, and would be compelled to refund. So is it with the government of the United States. It is a government of sovereign, but of limited powers. These powers are conferred on it, to enable it to perform certain trusts. These trusts are defined with the utmost precision, in an instrument called the Constitution, but which is neither more nor less than the great Trust Deed between the States and the United States. The general Government then, is a trustee, and the power which it receives from the States, is a power coupled with a trust."—*Crisis*, p. 72.



We shall only quote one more memorable passage on this subject. It is from that report to the Legislature of Virginia, made by Mr. Madison in 1798, of which, the leading principles, we hope, will eventually become the permanent, practical and salutary doctrine of the country.

“Whether the phrases in question be construed to authorise every measure relating to the common defence or general welfare, as contended by some, or every measure only, in which there might be an application of money, as suggested by others, the effect must substantially be the same, in destroying the import and force of the phrases in the Constitution. For it is evident, that there is not a single power whatever, which may not have some reference to the common defence and general welfare; nor a power of any magnitude, which in its exercise, does not invoke or admit an application of money. The Government, therefore, which possesses power, in either one or the other of these extents, is a Government without the limitations formed by a particular enumeration of powers, and, consequently, the meaning and effect of this particular enumeration is destroyed by the exposition given to these general phrases.—The true and fair construction of this expression, both in the original and existing federal compacts, appears to the committee too obvious to be mistaken. In both, the Congress is authorised to provide money for the common defence and general welfare. In both, is subjoined to this authority, an enumeration of the cases to which their power shall extend. Money cannot be applied to the general welfare, otherwise than by an application of it, to some particular measure conducive to the general welfare. Whenever, therefore, money has been applied to a particular measure, a question arises, whether the particular measure be within the enumerated authorities vested in Congress. If it be, the money requisite for it, may be applied to it. If it be not, no such application can be made. This fair and obvious interpretation coincides with, and is enforced by the clause in the Constitution, which declares ‘that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations by law.’ An appropriation of money to the general welfare, would be deemed rather a mockery, than an observance of this constitutional injunction.”

The next clause we have to examine, is, that which gives to Congress power “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.”

We readily agree with the writers of the “Federalist,” that “no important power can be executed by Congress, without recurring more or less to the doctrine of construction or implication.” The power granted must be carried into effect by means subordinate, and calculated to carry the granted power into effect.

“Had the Convention attempted a positive enumeration of the powers necessary and proper, for carrying their other powers into effect, the attempt would have involved a complete digest of laws on every subject to which the Constitution relates; accommodated too, not only to the existing state of things, but to all the possible changes which futurity may produce.”——

“Had they attempted to enumerate the particular power or means, not necessary or proper for carrying the general powers into execution, the task would have been no less chimerical; and would have been liable to this further objection, that every defect in the enumeration would have been equivalent to a positive grant of authority.”—*Fed. No. 44.*

What course then remained for cautious and enlightened statesmen to pursue, where some discretion must be granted, where some indefinite choice of means must follow each vested power. None, but to limit this discretion as carefully as discretionary power can be limited. It was accordingly declared, that the laws for carrying the “foregoing powers” into effect, must be both *necessary and proper*.

We scarcely know how this power could be more strictly guarded. The laws to carry each power into effect must be not only appropriate, directly adapted to this end, but they must also be necessary for the accomplishment of each object. If canals, for instance, are *necessary* for the regulation of commerce, canals can be constructed for that purpose; if new and magnificent roads are *necessary* for the establishment of post-offices and post-roads, they also can be constructed under that power. But to suppose that canals which may be used once in a thousand years in the transportation of munitions of war, were, therefore, intended as means of common defence, or that roads, which scarcely lessen the distance, and do not increase the security of the mail, can be embraced under the power to *establish* post-offices and roads; would be, in our view, to render so indefinite the provisions of the Constitution, as to make it altogether useless to inquire what that instrument grants, enjoins or prohibits.

But so cautious, on this very point, was the Convention, that although the power to fix a standard of weights and measures, to regulate the value of money, and to establish uniform laws of bankruptcy, might well be considered as appertaining to the power to regulate commerce, yet they are all specifically mentioned, as if the members of that body had been solicitously careful to leave as little to construction as the imperfection of language would permit.

Among the doctrines advanced in favour of the constructive powers of the Government, the one which to us appears most

extraordinary, and the more extraordinary from the high source from which it has emanated; is, that which considers this clause as enlarging the powers of government, because included in the section granting power, not in that imposing limitations; and because its terms purport to enlarge, not to diminish the powers of the Government. It surely, however, is no unusual case, to insert, in grants of any description, words and effectual words, or clauses of limitation. We will admit, that if the power "to pass all laws for carrying the foregoing powers into effect," had been left without qualification or modification, though even then there would exist a moral limit, capable of being defined, yet scope would have been left to a vague discretion. But the words by which the power is qualified, appear to us to narrow the authority to the strictest limit consistent with the exercise of each specified power. Whenever, therefore, it can be said, that without this road we cannot establish post-offices, without this canal we cannot regulate commerce, without this system of internal improvements, we cannot provide for those objects of general welfare specified in the Constitution, then may these measures be fairly brought within the purview of the Government, appropriately claimed as means "necessary and proper" to the accomplishment of constitutional ends.

This question has been so ably and fully discussed in the "Crisis," that, even at the risk of some repetition, we shall add some extracts from that publication:—

"The words necessary and proper, in the Constitution, have a peculiar force. Ingenious men may amuse us with their nice and their subtle distinctions. Philologists may puzzle us with their varied criticisms, but there is no need of skilful critics or refined reasoning, in a matter of this kind. The words necessary and proper, are in constant use among men. They have a plain and obvious import, and a popular signification. They are no sooner pronounced, than they strike us like a sensation, and that sensation instantly excludes from the mind, the idea of an unlimited choice of means. The means to be adopted by Congress, must not be simply appropriate, or fit, or adapted to the end, but they must be necessary as well as proper. The words are not necessary or proper, but necessary and proper. Had it been the intention of the Convention to have given Congress unlimited discretion, to have selected from the vast mass of incidental powers, any and whatever means it may decide to be proper, such an intention to confer a choice might have been better expressed, and would have been expressed in other words. They would have said, and "to use and exercise all other powers incidental to the foregoing powers." But the clause as it stands, is clearly a limitation on the implied powers of Congress. The Chief Justice, however, thinks not. He decides that the clause is sufficiently explicit, and gives the National Legislature the most ample powers to accomplish the ends of the Government, by any means which have a

relation to the objects entrusted to its management. In fact, he is of opinion, that this power, "to make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper, to carry into execution" their other powers, was designed to enlarge, and not to abridge, the discretion of the Legislature. His reasons are—

"First—That it is placed amongst the powers, and not the limitations of the powers of Congress: and, secondly—That its terms purport to enlarge, not to diminish the powers of the Government. "No reason," adds he, "has been, or can be assigned, for thus concealing an intention to narrow the discretion of the Legislature, under words which purport to enlarge." These are the words of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Now let us see how far this opinion is supported by the proceedings of the Convention.—

"The first notice we have of it is in "a proposed draft of a Federal Government," submitted to the Convention as soon as it was ready to proceed to business, by Mr. Charles Pinckney, on the 29th May. The clause, as it stands, at the end of the enumerated powers, in Mr. Pinckney's draft, reads thus:—"And to make all laws for carrying the foregoing powers into execution."

"The committee of detail, to whom this draft was referred, on reporting "a draft of a Constitution," agreeably to the resolutions as amended on the 6th of August, altered this clause so as to read—"And to make all laws, that shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution, in the Government of the United States, or in any department, or officer thereof." Now, if the addition of the words, "necessary and proper" to Mr. Pinckney's clause, did not abridge the discretion of Congress, there certainly is no meaning in the English language, or in the acts of the Convention. Mr. Pinckney's proposition was as unqualified as words could make it. It was a power to make all laws whatever. The amendment of the committee, is to make "all laws that shall be necessary and proper." Does not every man perceive at a glance, that the words "necessary and proper," here introduced, control the general sentence; that they are altogether used in a restrictive, and not an enlarged sense; and, that the plain, unequivocal intention of the Convention, by their alteration of the clause, was to narrow the discretion of Congress, as to the selection of its means in exercising its enumerated powers."

"It seems to be admitted on all sides, that were this clause entirely struck out of the Constitution, that the power to pass all the laws which might be requisite to carry into execution powers conferred on the Legislative body, would have resulted to that body by unavoidable implication. It would have been absurd to create a government with legislative, executive and judicial powers, if the Legislature could not make laws to execute the powers of the government.—The insertion, therefore, of Mr. Pinckney's clause, to "make all laws," &c. was not an act which either enlarged or diminished the powers which preceded it; it was simply a declaratory clause. It was declaratory of that authority

which, in the absence of such a provision, Congress would have possessed.—Mr Pinckney's clause then, being declaratory, stood in its proper position in the Constitution.”—*Crisis*, pp. 27–30.

And the words, inserted during its passage through the Convention, can only be considered as qualifying and limiting its application.

The only clause of all those that have been brought into discussion, which remains for our consideration, is the 12th article of the amendment to the Constitution.

“The articles, not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

The statesmen, who formed the Constitution, supposed that they had accomplished their purpose, that they had specified the objects of the Federal Government so distinctly, that no room was left for cavil, no cause for suspicion. While they were aware, that the powers actually and intentionally given would excite some opposition, they seem to have been almost unprepared for the objections which were made to some of the clauses we have been considering, and to the apprehensions so frequently expressed, that under cover of these indefinite expressions, the powers of the government would be extended to an indeterminate boundary, and the peace and prosperity of the Union endangered. They were unprepared to hear, that the construction, which might be given to these clauses, would prove ruinous, whether it became resistless, or whether it was successfully opposed; because in the one case it was foreseen, that a country so great, and possessing such distinct interests, could not be governed by one consolidated government, unless that Government was absolutely despotic; or because in the other, that issue would inevitably lead to a dissolution of the Union. They, therefore, exerted themselves to remove these apprehensions; they united in every effort, to obtain amendments on this particular point, and procured that amendment to be adopted, which we are now discussing, and which they considered abundantly sufficient. It seems almost wonderful to read the debates in the Virginia Convention, and hear some of the prophetic denunciations of Patrick Henry, and to perceive that the Constitution was finally adopted by that great State, because it was deemed almost absurd to suppose that the construction of that instrument, now actually established, could ever be contended for.—“If they can use implication for us, exclaimed that celebrated orator, they can also use implication against us. We are giving power, they are getting power; judge then on which side the implication will be

used. When we once put it in their power to assume constructive power, danger will follow. Implication is dangerous, because it is unbounded; if it be admitted at all, and no limits be prescribed, it admits of the utmost extension. They say that every thing not given is retained; the reverse of the proposition is true by implication.\* Such were some of his remarks, but his predictions, like the warnings of Cassandra, were disregarded, because, until the events actually occurred, they were considered impossible.

This amendment to the Constitution, like the clause we have last examined, can only be considered as declaratory. It states what the advocates of the Constitution considered as almost self-evident, that the powers not granted are retained—yet, as the word “expressly,” which had been used in a somewhat similar sentence in the articles of the old Confederation, was omitted, it has been said, that the use of implied powers is not prohibited.

The history of human opinions is often as remarkable as that of human actions. We believe it can be proved, that this word was omitted, in part, because it was deemed entirely superfluous, in part, because it was apprehended that its insertion might cause some embarrassment to the Government, and, that the means required or employed to carry its powers into execution might be disputed, although “necessary and proper,” because they were not expressly granted—and this concession, made to the apprehensions of the friends of the Constitution, as too often happens in cases of parental indulgence, is now employed to destroy that very authority by which it was made.

To us, the omission of this word appears altogether unimportant. The powers intended to be given to the Government are all expressed in the clauses granting jurisdiction, for we have no idea of any grant of power which is not expressed, and this amendment provides, that the powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. It seems as if intended pointedly to guard against the very abuse predicted by Patrick Henry, that a day might arrive when it should be maintained, that every power not expressly retained by the States has been actually conceded. No question of implied power can arise out of it stronger than, or indeed distinct from that we have already considered as means necessary and proper for accomplishing the specified purposes of the Constitution. No implication can be raised of substantive power, none but of incidental means which we have already so fully discussed.

\* Debates of the Virginia Convention, p. 114.

We will add, on this point, one or two extracts from the "Crisis:"—

"The Supreme Court, in contending for its extended construction of the Constitution, would draw a distinction between that instrument and the old confederation, which certainly cannot be maintained on the grounds it assumes. It would impress upon us, that the exclusion of the word "expressly," in the one compact, and the insertion of it in the other, included or excluded in either, the idea of implied powers. The words of the 10th amendment to the Constitution are, "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." In the confederation it is thus expressed: "each State retains every power, jurisdiction and right, not expressly delegated to the United States."

"Let me here premise the distinction, which must forever exist between the case of a people emerging from a state of revolution, without any government, and assembled to form one; and a case, where the people already are associated, in so many independent political communities, each having its own regular Government. In the one case, it is intended, *ex necessitate rei*, that all powers should be vested in their new rulers with certain limitations. What is not here reserved as a bill of rights to the people, is clearly designed to be given. But, in the other case, where the people are governed in so many distinct sovereignties, and are willing to divide the sovereignty, with a common head to direct the whole, it becomes necessary to state, not what powers are withheld, but what powers are given. In the first case, the powers given are general, with certain exceptions—in the second case, the powers are altogether special. In the one case, every thing that is not retained is actually surrendered—in the other, nothing can be claimed that is not *clearly* given. The 10th amendment, therefore, to the present Constitution, and the second article in the confederation, already quoted, were only declaratory clauses. To the States, or to the people, were reserved, as a matter of course, all powers which were not surrendered. There is no need to distinguish here between express and implied powers. Where any power is surrendered to a legislative body, the power to make the laws necessary to execute that power, is also surrendered. To these positions all men must give their unqualified assent."—*Crisis*, p. 33.

Again—"I have said that the word is insignificant. It is a word, in my view, so harmless, that whether it be inserted or excluded from the 10th amendment, no possible alteration can be produced in the rights of either party. For A. to say to B. "the power I do not give you is retained by me," is certainly as strong and as expressive for all purposes, as if he had said, what I do not expressly give you, I retain.—The first phrase is the better of the two—it is more simple and expresses as much." *Crisis*, p. 36.

In reviewing these questions, we have thought it our duty to revert constantly to the origin and apparent object of every power. It may be the business of a technical lawyer to consider the words as the words merely of a written instrument; a

statesman must take wider views, and consider carefully the intention of the instrument as well as its expressions. In explaining doubtful passages or phrases in a deed, the preamble is often permitted to manifest the intention of the framer, to explain and control the powers and trusts. In examining the Constitution, we have not only the preamble to the instrument itself, but still stronger evidence of the purport of every clause, of the intended effect of almost every expression. We have the testimony of the framers of the Constitution; the declarations of those most prominent in its establishment; the journal of the body by whom it was created, disclosing their express objects, shewing not only the history and origin of those powers which it was deemed expedient to grant, but also the claims of jurisdiction which were intentionally omitted, and those which were expressly rejected. Surely evidence like this might be admitted, and should be maturely considered by all who are called upon to construe the doubtful or conflicting clauses of such an instrument.

Who can examine the mass of testimony on this subject, and hesitate to acknowledge, either, that the framers of the Constitution did not understand their own work, did not comprehend the instrument they were fashioning, the language in which they were clothing their intentions? or that no power is delegated by this charter which is not enumerated.

There is one argument which has been so often advanced, urged with so much earnestness and apparent sincerity, that we cannot avoid offering a brief reply. The assumption of these powers, it is said, has been found absolutely necessary to accomplish the great objects of the Government, to secure the benefits of the Union, to render perfect the system which has been ordained for our guidance. To suppose them denied by the Constitution, would be to suppose that instrument imperfect, its authors unwise, and the means they devised, insufficient to secure and perpetuate the prosperity of the country. To these remarks we have heretofore occasionally alluded—we will now more distinctly respond.

That the powers actually and indisputably contained in the Constitution are neither few, nor unimportant; that our Government is no loose and uncompacted system, no feeble embryo, we may ask almost in the very words we have already quoted from the "Crisis," what power is there which can be required for the management of our foreign relations, either in peace or in war, for the regulation of our commerce or for the preservation of harmony, and the distribution of justice among the States, which has been denied? What has been withheld, except the privilege of intermeddling with the domestic arrangements and



police of the respective States, and it is this barrier, greatly important to them, insignificant to the general Government, which the restless spirit of our politicians, and of party, now wishes to break down.

We will not admit, even if these powers which are claimed by construction, should be withheld, that any imputation would lay against the wisdom of those who arranged the Constitution. Their sagacity, their foresight has received from an admiring country unqualified praise, and no praise, which they have received, is beyond their merits. Yet, no where, perhaps, has their wisdom been more manifest than on this very point on which they have been indirectly subjected to censure and reproach. They never imagined that they could construct a Government calculated to answer all times, all events, all changes of manners or of society ; that they could look through the revolutions of ages, and adapt the structure of to-day to the fluctuations and vicissitudes of a long futurity. They did all that wise men could do. They suited the Government to the present generation, to the age and the circumstances which they had studied and understood—they delegated, and expressly delegated to it all power that was necessary for its present and prosperous existence ; and to guard against all unforeseen contingencies, to prepare it for the dangers and difficulties that might, in other times, arise, they incorporated in the system the principle of perpetual amelioration. So that every alteration, which new circumstances might require, could be effected, not by irregular assumptions, not by forced constructions, but by amendments made under the express stipulations, according to the legitimate provisions of the Constitution itself.

Hence, the great impropriety, we may say danger, in assuming, without the express warrant of the Constitution, new jurisdiction. Who will believe that any power, which, in the course of time, should be found essential to the successful administration of the Government, would be refused by a happy and enlightened people ? Who will believe that a people, regulating its own affairs, should deny to its own Government any authority necessary to secure to the country safety or prosperity ? If any such incident should hereafter occur, it may justly be ascribed to that grasping cupidity which has sought for power in the most unexpected sources—which has awakened the apprehensions of the prudent, and may lead the people to imagine that no amendment of the Constitution, hereafter, can be safely adventured, lest every word added or employed in amending, may be tortured into new forms, may be found pregnant with unexpected consequences, may prove a word of power, a mystery, an en-

chantment, a consuming fire absorbing and drying up the very source from whence it was derived.

It should also be remembered that the benefits we have derived from this Constitution, the blessings we have enjoyed under its benign and successful administration, have all flowed from the exercise of those powers which it unquestionably possesses. The constructive claims of the Government have only partially, and in a very few unimportant instances been yet exerted. They exist, at present, rather in theory than in practice. We therefore raise, while it is yet time, a warning voice against their extension, because we feel persuaded that whenever these doctrines shall be fully developed, whenever they shall be made to press in their undefined extent on the different portions of this country, instead of connecting them more closely together, instead of cementing the Union of our great confederacy, they will prove only sources of dissatisfaction and of discord, and, like the cords wound around the sleeping Sampson, will be broken as a thread, and become like flax that is burnt with fire, before the energy of an awakened and irritated people.

The union of the States has been from the first assemblage of delegates in 1774, to the present hour, the wish, the hope, the ardent aspiration of every patriot of America. It has grown with our growth, it has strengthened with our strength. It has become a feeling rather than a principle. It is mingled with every calculation of our future greatness or felicity, with every anticipation of permanent prosperity or of national glory. It has been cherished in no portion of our country with more devotion than in the South; it has been supported no where with more unanimity and disinterestedness. In all the questions which have agitated our country, one only excepted, this section of the union has been, if not passive, at least defensive in its position. The only measure engendering acrimonious feelings, which has ever been brought forward by the people of the Southern States, was our late war with Great-Britain; and that war, if we except those sentiments of national honor, which we know are common to every portion of our country, was undertaken altogether for Northern interests, for the protection of commerce and navigation, not of agriculture. The South suffered by it most severely, but it has never repented of its sacrifices; and our citizens are still prepared to make great concessions to friendship and to peace. In every event that may occur, they will have the proud boast of having done nothing to disturb the harmony of the Union. No discordant note will originate with them. If ever a separation of the States shall take place, it will only occur when some portion of the confederation shall find the Government no longer

one of equal rights or equal benefits; when it shall discover that the Constitution will no longer afford to all, protection for their property, nor security for their lives.

If ever that evil day should arrive, when the Constitution of our country shall offer no barrier to the projects of designing or ambitious men, no limits to the speculations of any one who shall proclaim the general welfare to be his sole end and aim, his guide and his exclusive principle, the rights of confiding members of this confederacy may indeed be violated—but not with impunity—and from the errors of misguided, even if honest statesmen, posterity may have to mourn over the fragments of that mighty Republic, which, in its dawn, offered to the world so bright an example, and promised to itself so proud a destiny.

ART. II.—1. *Roemische Geschichte* Von B. G. Niebuhr, 1ste und 2te Theile. Berlin, 1811, 1812.

2. *Roman History*, by B. G. Niebuhr, translated from the German, by F. A. Walter, Esq. F. R. S. L. One of the Librarians of the British Museum. 2 Vols. London, 1827.

HISTORY is to morals and politics precisely what experiment and observation are to physics. In either case, without well ascertained facts, it is vain to marshal our inductions and to make a parade of propositions; our systems, conceived only in the brain, will never admit of application to any thing out of it. It is because past authentic history furnishes the only means by which we may predict the future, that it becomes indispensable for regulating the conduct of mankind upon important occasions.

These observations may serve as an apology for the labours of those authors whose chief delight appears to be derived from the detection of error, and whose excursions on the sea of history appear to be designed rather for sport than for use.

Mr. Niebuhr, the author of the work on "Roman History" now before us, is certainly not at all behind others in a wary scepticism, though this fault, (if it is one) is, in a great degree, redeemed by the masterly manner in which he endeavours, upon all occasions, to divine and explain the true nature of ancient institutions. His doubts are not all new, for many of them had

occurred to the ancients, and, in modern times, M. De Beaufort has pushed this matter to the utmost, by denying the authenticity and credibility of the whole of the first five centuries in the history of the eternal City. Ingenious as his book is, it at least leaves us as much in suspense as it at first found us. That we have the history, in its present form, is indubitable; but at what age was it at first palmed upon the world for a true narration of facts? To practise such deception upon the credulity of mankind is plainly impossible. Too many were acquainted with the truth to suffer the fraud to remain long undetected, nor can we readily conceive whose interest it would be to practise it. A single treatise on a particular subject may be, as is proved by several remarkable examples, composed for the paradoxical purpose of building up a reputation upon the success of a spurious work, while the secrecy necessary to that success would seem to be incompatible with all reputation. But we hazard nothing in asserting, that the annals of a whole nation were never yet forged or corrupted. It is a difficult labour, from which no one could derive any pleasure, the result of which he could never hope would be believed, and from which, therefore, he could not possibly reap any share of admiration and applause.\*

Whoever expects to find, in Mr. Niebuhr's book, a regular "Roman History," will be greatly disappointed. It is, strictly speaking, a series of dissertations on the most important subjects of early Roman History, chronologically arranged. The plan is evidently formed upon Gibbon, but the work is not near so much subjected to historical models as the latter. It begins with the settlements made in Italy, anterior to the foundation of the city. Upon that almost hopeless part of the history of the Roman soil, Mr. Niebuhr labours with great diligence and some success. He cannot, of course, make new authorities, while those which existed have been so often handled as to be quite exhausted. He does what most readers will consider a more acceptable service; he enables them to understand, with some clearness, the origin, the state, and the wanderings of the nations, whether Greek or Barbarian, who first possessed the country.

\* "—Attamen a tam multis traditam (historiam) et a pluribus creditam probatamque, in qua non unius civitatis, sed plurium populorum res gestæ, regumque distincta series exponitur, omnino falsam esse atque fabulosam vix mihi persuadere possum, præsertim quum nec a temporum ratione sive Chronologia discrepet atque dissentiat."—*Nardini. Rom. Vet. lib. i.*

The objections, since urged by Sir I. Newton, to the great length of the reigns of the kings, may, in part, be obviated, by recollecting that the old Roman year consisted of ten months, or three hundred and four days. (See Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 208.) It is true, Numa reformed the Calendar, but the popular computation would, in all probability, prevail for a considerable time.

Mr. Niebuhr's chief merits consist, in the skill and ability he has shewn in discerning and pointing out a foundation for true history amidst the traditions by which it is obscured; in the diligence with which he has gleaned authorities, neither trite nor obvious; and, most of all, in the judgment he has displayed in selecting for discussion and elucidation those passages which have the strongest bearings upon politics and manners. Before we proceed, however, to exhibit instances of his merits in these particulars, we deem it necessary, for the satisfaction of our readers, to advert to several subjects, which have excited much controversy, and without which, *Roman History* itself must be very crudely apprehended.

These subjects may be reduced to three points of discussion:—

1. On the date of the invention of Letters.

2. On the originals of Roman History.

3. Concerning the effects produced upon these by the devastation of the Gauls.

Writing, like many other arts, has, in all probability, been discovered by more nations than one. Necessity begets invention, and there is a period in the march of society, when writing becomes an absolute want; an instrument, without which, the business of life must stand still. The wampum of the Indian, the pictures of the Mexican, the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian, are only so many steps in the progress of the same great art. We cannot suppose that either of these nations borrowed from the other, nor is there any reason to doubt, that, in more improved forms of society, more expeditious methods would have been discovered, exactly as, in our common writing, we abridge the words or have resource to tachygraphic symbols, according to the measure of celerity which we find it expedient to adopt. If we may believe *Cæsar*,\* merchants are the great civilizers of mankind. They not only supply wants which actually exist, but create new ones, that they may have the pleasure or the profit of supplying them. Their delight is in the discovery of new markets, and in the prosecution of gain; time and space are to them nearly annihilated. The regularity and rapidity with which their concerns must be despatched, induces the necessity of discovering correct and easy forms of recording them. It is not too much to assert, that no commerce, to the amount of fifty tons, could ever be carried on without the aid of some species of writing. We hazard nothing, therefore, in affirming that merchants were the first inventors of that kind of writing which

\* ——— à cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ longissimè absumt; minimèque ad eos mercatores sæpe comitant, atque ea, quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important.—*Cæs. de Bel. Gal. lib. I.*

has been called epistolographic, or popular. The hierarchy too of every country, probably had its recording symbols; but they were rather intended for the purpose of remembering than of communicating thoughts or facts. Accordingly, the earliest merchants, the Phœnicians, by the universal consent of antiquity in the West, have been handed down to us as the inventors of this invaluable art. Their colonies, on both sides of the Mediterranean, at Carthage, Gades, Sicily and Malta, and, in all probability, in Etruria, supposed a very ample commerce, and it is certain that the vestiges of their language are to be traced throughout all those regions to the present day; the basis of that of Malta being a pure Phœnician, and bearing a strong affinity to the ancient Etruscan.\* The Phœnicians were, for a long period, settled on the Red Sea, antecedent to their migration to the coast of Canaan. Their writing might probably have had its origin in the remotest East, and in their migrations, they may have borne it along with them as the most precious of their treasures. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the Greeks† and Romans traced up their knowledge of the art to the Phœnicians.

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.  
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos  
Noverat: et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque  
Sculptuque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Phœn. III. 220 &c.

Instead, therefore, of inquiring into the period at which the art was first invented, the more proper mode would be, to fix upon some æra of chronology, and examine whether or not the practice of writing was known at or about that time.

We are no further concerned with this question, at present, than to shew, that about the time when Rome is reported to have been founded, letters were so far diffused, as to render it

\* Il chiarissimo Prevosto Gori, che più d'ogni altro con felice riuscimento s'affaticò a dilucidare l'Etrusca favella, confessa come li due candelabri da me accennati, furongli di lume alla lingua Etrusca, tratto dalle scrizioni Puniche che vi si leggono incise col carattere Punico o sia Cartaginese, giacche questa e l'Etrusca sono gemelle, figlie d'una Madre, qual' è la lingua di Fenici.—*Agius de Soldanis della Lingua Punica*, p. 47.

† Οι δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ οὐδὲν Καννίον ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἴσων αἱ Γεφουραῖαι, ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλὰ, διαφραγνύοντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἐκμάχον διδασκαλία ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οὐ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἴσους πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ἀς ἰμοὶ δοκίμω. Herod. V. 58, et seq. The tradition seems to have been express and circumstantial. The epithet "Phœnician," attached to the letters, and the fact, attested by Herodotus himself, that the Cadmean letters were the same with the Ionian, (Lib. V. 59) are strong presumptions in favour of the Phœnician claims to the immortal discovery.

exceedingly probable, that there existed early and sufficient records of that State—records, such as still exist in our own ancient historical chronicles, containing nothing more than a brief statement of dates and facts, without note or comment. It is astonishing to what a small compass our modern histories may be reduced, if the embellishments and reflections of the writer be rejected. In short, the fact and the date are all that, in strictness, can be called history. Perhaps, in this view of the subject, there never has existed a nation, whose records have been so perfectly kept as those of the Romans. Cicero and Quintilian\* both agree that the annals of the Pontiffs dated from the earliest times of the State. Moreover, the books of the Censors were of very early date, and furnished the very best materials upon all questions connected with the public economy. Add to these the diurnal acts of the Senate and People, another most powerful auxiliary in the composition of history. If the funeral orations on distinguished men, first instituted in honor of Brutus the Avenger, in process of time, corrupted the pure stream of history by their excessive adulation, there can be no doubt but that they contained a valuable mass of particulars, which a writer of judgment might easily separate from the rubbish that adhered to them. To say the least of these family legends, they were fully entitled to as much credit as the generality of the “*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire*” of the French. Who will say, that from these latter, a great deal of valuable information is not to be gleaned?

There seems to be good reason for believing, that the art of writing was known in the days of Homer. That it was not very widely diffused, is almost demonstratively proved by the fact, that his own poems were not preserved in writing, but by recitation. We cannot give up the passage Hom. Il. ζ. 168, et seq.

Πίμπι δὲ μιν Λυκίηδι, πᾶσι δ' ὄγε σήματα λυγρὰ  
Γράψας ἐν πίμπι πτυκτῶ θυμοφθόρα πολλὰ,

The criticisms of Wolff on the original meaning of *σήμα* and *γράφω* cannot reconcile our minds to the belief that the “long injurious story,” the *θυμοφθόρα πολλὰ* of Proetus could have been conveyed in the brief space of a tablet “single folded” without the aid of writing. If the *Batrachomyomachia* be really Homer's, of which, however, there seems to be great

\* Nihil in historiis supra Pontificum Annales haberemus.—Quinct. Inst. Orator. lib. x. 2.

reason to doubt, the fact of his having been acquainted with writing is established beyond dispute :\*

ἰθὺς αὐδῆς  
 Ην ἴσον ἐν δίλτοις ἐν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκα.

The subject here forbids the supposition of any thing else than writing in the epistolographic form.

The difficulty, however, is not so much in believing the art of writing to have been sufficiently known about the era of the foundation of Rome, as in discovering the materials upon which they wrote, and the extent to which they were able to obtain them.†

Pliny enumerates the materials used for writing; lib. xiii. c. 21. He mentions—1. The leaves of the Palm. 2. The bark of trees. 3. Sheet lead for public Monuments. 4. Books of linen. 5. Waxed tablets for private records. 6. Papyrus. 7. Parchment—besides Tablets of citron wood, of bone and of ivory. It is curious that he should have omitted the mention of pillars of stone, of brass, and even of silver, as well as blocks of wood. On this latter material, the laws of Solon were preserved. The wisdom of Egypt, and all the learning of the first Hermes, is said to have been recorded on pillars of stone. At Rome, brass is known to have been in great plenty, and, accordingly, we find it in very early use there, so early as the first Consulate, to record the treaties with Carthage, and Livy expressly informs us, that the Laws of the Twelve Tables were engraved on brass, and placed in the Forum. Hence the “monumentum ære perennius” of Horace. Indeed, from its softness and durability, brass seems to have been well calculated to answer the purpose. We have seen then, that the art of writing was perfectly well understood from the earliest ages of the Roman Republic, and, that there could be no want of the materials for perpetuating their records.

Let us next consider whether they were as careful with regard to their history as they were capable. Their laws were, from the earliest date, committed to writing, and the legislation

\* Vide Herculaneusia by Sir W. Drummond, p. 101. Wolf admits that writing was known in Ionia and Magna Græcia, though not commonly, as early as the eighth century before Christ.—*Prolegomena*, p. lxx.

† Eumenes, King of Pergamus, appears to have done little more than improve the preparation of parchment. It seems to have been invented many ages before the time of this Prince. Herodotus is clear on this subject. He says, v. 58, *Καὶ τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας καλῶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιῦ αἰ Ἰωνίς, ὅτι κατὰ ἐν σπάνῃ βιβλῶν ἐχρίωντο διφθέρησι αἰγίνῃσι τε καὶ αἰγῇσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ' ἡμῶν πολλοὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ταύτας διφθέρας γράφουσιν.* It appears from the latter part of this sentence, that the knowledge of writing must have been very generally diffused.



of their first kings actually existed in force for fifty years after the expulsion of the last of them, when it became incorporated with the labours of the Decemviri. We have still one law of Romulus\* remaining, and several of Numa.† Moreover, Cicero asserts the annals of the Pontiffs to have existed from the very earliest period of the State. These documents are even occasionally quoted at a much earlier period, in the course of discussion between the Patricians and Plebeians, "Obsecro vos, (says Canuleius) si non ad Fastos, non ad *commentarios pontificum* admittimur; ne ea quidem scimus quæ omnes peregrini etiam sciunt? Consules in locum regum successisse? nec aut juris, aut majestatis quicquam habere quod non in regibus ante fuerit?"—*Liv. Hist.* lib. iv. 3. Whether this speech was delivered by Canuleius or not, we shall not pretend to determine. It is sufficient, that if these annals had not commenced or been generally believed to have commenced at that early date, Livy could not, with any propriety, have put such language into the mouth of that popular leader. The testimony of Cicero concerning these memorials is very express and satisfactory. His words are, "Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio; cujus rei, memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causâ, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium, pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis pontifex maximus, efferebatque in album; et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi; *ique etiam nunc annales* maximi nominantur.—*De Orat.* lib. ii. 12. We can scarcely imagine greater or more judicious precautions for preserving the truth of history. *Tabula* in this passage, and we believe the remark to be new, is equivalent in modern times, to the term column or pillar, it being invariably translated in Dio by the word *στήλη*. We shall quote another passage of Cicero to shew that these annals were not so utterly jejune and destitute of interest, as is generally supposed—"sine ullis ornamentis, monumenta solum *temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum* reliquerunt—dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem—non exornatores rerum,

\* Vide Festum in voce *Plorare*.

† Festus in voce—*panici questores; occisum; Pellices; opima spolia*. Vide etiam Funccium de Orig. et Puerit.

‡ The rendering *tabula* *στήλη* instead of *πύλαξ*, &c. may, however be accounted for by the fact that the tablets of the laws, &c. were generally affixed to pillars, &c. Thus, Servius in his commentary on the line—"fixit leges pretio atque refixit," (*Æn.* vi. 622) says, "Fixit ideo quia incisæ in æreis tabulis affigebantur parietibus."—*Ed.*

sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.”—*De Orat.* lib. ii. 12. We have here surely the solid substance of history. The ornaments might be added at any time. We have what would satisfy the readers of the “accurate Tillemont,” but what would scarcely excite the attention of those who are accustomed to the laboured and decorated periods of Gibbon.

Besides these annals, there were the records of the various sacred Colleges, the tables of the Censors, and the acts of the Magistrates and Senate, all, from their very nature, furnishing the most ample and valuable materials for history. We find the Censors’ Books quoted as evidence of the state of population. Dionysius must, at any rate, be allowed to be good authority for what he himself saw. In settling the year of the first Consuls, and reducing it to the computation of Olympiads, he has the following remarkable language, as translated by Spelman:—“This appears by many monuments; but particularly by the records of the Censors, which the son receives in succession from the father, and takes great care to transmit to his posterity like family rites. And there are several illustrious men of Censorian families, who preserve these records; in which I find, that the year before the taking of the city, there was a census of the Roman people, to which, as to the rest of them, there is affixed the date, which is this—“In the Consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, the hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of the Kings.”\* We find then, that in every census, the date and the names of the Consuls were affixed, and these records were preserved with the utmost care.

With so many obvious sources of evidence, it must appear not a little astonishing, that the vouchers for the Roman story have been more strenuously attacked than those of any other nation.

The source of most of the scepticism which exists on the subject of the early history of Rome, is an unfortunate passage of Livy, which has been greatly misunderstood. Speaking of the early accounts to the time of the capture of the city by the Gauls, he makes the following observations:—“res cum vetustate nimis obscuras, velut quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur; tum quod parvæ et raræ per eadem tempora literæ fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriæ rerum gestarum; et quod, etiamsi quæ in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatis

\* Δηλοῦται δι' ἐξ ἄλλων τι πολλῶν, καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Τριητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἃ διαδίδχεται πᾶς παρὰ πατρὸς καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιῆται τοὺς μισθούτους ἐτοιμίους ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς πατρὸς, παραδιδόναι κ. τ. λ. Dion. Hal. l. c. 74. Ed. Reiske.

que erant monumentis, incensâ urbe pleræque interiøre.”—*Lib.* vi. c. 1. We have here an apology for not saying more, and not a denial of what has been already propounded, yet this passage is generally understood as being equivalent to a declaration that all the materials of authentic history had perished. No term can be more indefinite than “pleræque,” which is here used. It means a “great many,” a “large number,” but is never used as a substitute for “*omnes*” or “*universi*.” It is used in a similar manner by *Livy*, xliv. c. 41.—“Nam sicut pleraque nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent, experiendo, quum agi, non, quemadmodum agantur, edisseri, oportet, sine ullo effectu evanescent.”\* It is surely not intended to insinuate that *all* new opinions are false, but that, in a great many cases, they prove so, when applied to practice. What an absurdity for *Livy* to exhaust all the powers of his eloquence in adorning with a splendour, almost unequalled, a series of events, and immediately to confess that they did not rest upon any authentic basis! There is much good sense in the following remarks of Spelman, the admirable translator of *Dionysius*—“I am very glad that *Livy*, in speaking of the public and private monuments, that perished at that time, says,—“pleræque interiøre:” For if he had said “*omnia*,” I am afraid it would have been of little service to me to have shewn the impossibility of it. If all, or so many of the public and private monuments perished at that time, as to leave no traces behind them; how came *Livy* to know the number of the kings who reigned at Rome, the remarkable incidents of each reign, all the particulars relating to their expulsion, the creation of the tribunes of the people, and all the circumstances relative to that great event; the appointment and dissolution of the decemvirs; the laws enacted by them before and observed after the taking of Rome; and every other transaction he relates in his first five books? It may be said that he took all these facts from the historians who wrote before him. But where had these old historians those facts? From none who wrote before the taking of Rome, because there were none—so that these old historians must either have had them from the monuments and annals that were then preserved, or they must have invented them: but this no man will say; therefore I think the other must be granted.”

We know certainly that the records were kept in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, and also that the Capitol was never taken. Whence then all this doubt concerning their entire de-

\* So *Nepos*. *Pref.* Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturæ leve, et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis judicent, &c.

struction. Much information, no doubt, perished in the other quarters of Rome. If, however, the Capitol was safe and intact, we may take it for granted that the most valuable records would be preserved.

It has been, somehow, invariably assumed as a fact, that the whole city was burnt to the ground. We doubt whether any good evidence can be adduced for this belief. It was not until the fourth day after the defeat of the Romans, according to Diodorus,\* that the Gauls entered the city, and the interval was employed in transporting their most valuable effects into the Capitol. He also expressly states, that in addition to the Capitol, some houses on the Palatine Hill were also saved. In describing the conduct of the Gauls, he uses the word "ἰλυμαίνοντο," which denoted every kind of violation offered to the city, and not burning exclusively. It was necessary to the comfort of the Gauls themselves to preserve the city, and they were as little likely to destroy it as their descendants the French were to have set fire to the capital of the modern Sarmatians. Florus expressly asserts, that whatever was held in greatest veneration was rescued by the care of the Pontiffs and Flamins.—"Pontifices et Flamines quidquid religiosissimum in templis erat, partim in dolis defossa terræ recondunt, partim imposita planstris secum auferunt."—*Lib. i. c. 13*. To the same effect and even more express are the words of Livy.—*Lib. v. c. 40*. He insists upon the care with which this inhumation took place, after accurate consultation. What is even more remarkable, Livy, in relating what passed immediately after the departure of the Gauls, states, that the Dictator ordered the 'Books' to be consulted by the Decemviri, for the purpose of ascertaining the rites of expiation. "Senatus-consultum facit, "Fana omnia, quod ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur, terminarentur, expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaereretur."—*Lib. v. c. 50*. The following remarkable passage from Suetonius, in his life of Vespasian, incontestibly demonstrates, that what is asserted concerning the absolute destruction of the ancient records is wholly unfounded. "Ipse (Vespasianus) restitutionem Capitoli aggressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quædam extulit: ærearumque tabularum tria milia, quæ simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit. Undique investigatis exemplaribus instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum

\* ----- ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἓνα τόπον τῶν ἀγαθῶν συσθρομισμένων  
----- ἀναθεσθῇ, ἔχοντες τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ----- καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰλυμαίνοντο,  
χωρὶς ὀλέγειν οἰκίαν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ.—*Diod. Sic. Lib. xiv. Ed. Wesseling.*

ac vetustissimum confecit : quo continebantur pœne ab exordio urbis Senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et fœdere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis."—*T. Fl. Vespas.* Nor are these records wholly without mention, even at a much earlier date. Livy affords us a glimpse of them in a particular instance, so early as the year 313 of the city, when the consuls proposed to send a colony to Ardea. "ut, quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni eo præsidii causâ adversus Volscos scriberentur. Hoc palam relatum in tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret judicii rescindendi consilium initum."—*Lib.* iv. c. 11. Another remarkable fact mentioned by Livy, in his third book, throws great light upon this subject. It seems that the Consuls had been in the habit of suppressing, and even occasionally varying the decrees of the Senate, and, to obviate this, a custom was introduced by Valerius and Horatius, of delivering them to the Ædiles, to be deposited in the temple of Ceres. "Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ut senatus consulta in ædem Cereris ad Ædiles plebis deferrentur : quæ antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque."—*Lib.* iii. c. 55.

Although our subject is insensibly enlarging under our hands, we must quote a passage from Dio Cassius, in the hope of illustrating this matter. He gives an account of a speech of Cicero's, delivered in the Senate shortly after the death of Cæsar, which is as follows:—"ἐνθρόνισθι, μηδὲμίαι ἐγὼ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον, ὅς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ το διδομένοι τι ἔχουσιν, ἤναι." Cicero, alluding to the same transactions, and to the excesses of Antony, says, "inspectantibus vobis, toto Capitolio tabulæ figebantur."—*Philipp* i. In the next chapter, we find "decretum in Capitolio fixum." Dio observes elsewhere—"ἰς γὰρ ἡγλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιγράφου." (*Dio Cassius. Reimari. A. U. C.* 710,) "all such matters were inscribed upon pillars of brass." We are not far then, we think, from the truth, in asserting unequivocally, that from the earliest periods, the most valuable materials for Roman History existed, although from the rarity of letters, no professed history seems to have been written previously to the capture of the city. Might not the very excellence and the extreme publicity of the annals deter from such an undertaking, and might not the disasters which fell upon the State under the Gauls, have afforded the first opportunity for critical research and elegant narration? Lord Bolingbroke denounces as pedants those who would impose upon our belief all the traditions of the four first ages of Rome for authentic history. As we do not contend for *all* the traditions, as we have them detailed to us, we hope we shall not fall under the weight of his lordship's cen-

sure. With all his critical intrepidity, and even supported by his precursors, Bouilly and Beaufort, his Lordship refrains from denouncing the annals as supposititious. We are persuaded that no man who has taken the trouble to collate the various passages of classical authors which have a bearing on the question, would venture on such an assertion; whereas this brilliant scholar condescends to quote only a single one.\* Beaufort, however, vastly outstrips the English philosopher, and, though sensible of the absurdity of sitting in judgment on this question, which had been already settled two thousand years ago by such grave authorities as Polybius, Cicero and Livy, he assures us, that all his doubts are derived from them.—“Ce n'est que sur leur témoignage expris que je me fonde, et c'est ce qui doit plutôt former un préjugé en ma faveur.” It would exceed our allotted limits to pursue this writer through all the labyrinths of his ingenious criticism. We have already, we trust, adduced proofs to shew, that the Roman History of the first five centuries, rests upon evidence sufficient to establish its authenticity in all its great and leading facts. If we farther shew, that the boldest and most sweeping assertions of this writer may be rebutted by the most express testimony of Cicero, to whom he more particularly appeals, we shall have gone far in removing any remaining doubts with which the subject may be perplexed. M. De Beaufort allows that the Pontifical Annals are once described by Cicero, but replies that no other author alludes to the custom of publishing these annual registers of remarkable transactions, and, that Cicero never quotes them for a single fact which preceded the Gallic capture. His words are, “Il n'est pas plus vrai que Cicéron cite souvent ces annales—on verra dans le corps de l'ouvrage qu'il ne les cite pas sur un seul fait antérieur à la prise de Rome.” We are then to shew, that these annals are quoted for this purpose by Cicero. If this can be determined, it will indicate what interpretation should be given to the expressions of other writers.—From the arrangement of the following sentence, it is evident that Cicero alludes to Pontifical Annals older than the laws of the XII. Tables, and that he refers to them as genuine sources of information concerning the forms of actions illustrative of ancient modes of life. “Nam sive quem aliena studia delectant: plurima est, et in omni jure civili et in pontificum libris, et in XII. tabulis, *antiquitatis effigies*; quod et verborum prisca vetustas cognoscitur et actionum genera quædam majorum consuetudinem vitamque declarant.”—*De Orat.* 43. If the annals

\* On the Study of History, Letter V.

had been re-written after the departure of the Gauls, would Cicero have thus quoted them as authority for obsolete words without a syllable of preceding or subsequent explanation? In the second book of the same work, in a passage quoted by M. De Beaufort, he not only describes the custom of annually writing the Pontifical Reports, but he says that the historians who followed, were mere imitators of these annals. *De Orat.* ii. 12. If Cato and Pictor and Piso had restored, not imitated these annals, would any writer of ordinary accuracy, have expressed himself in such a way, as to lead to the belief, that he passed his judgment from actual inspection of the annals? So in the Oration for Rabirius, c. v. he couples the evidence of the annals with the commentaries of the kings. Would he have done this, if they had not been of nearly equal antiquity? If the antiquity of the records alluded to was so remote, could he possibly refer to those drawn up by subsequent chroniclers? His words are, "Cum iste (Labienus) omnes et suppliciorum et verborum acerbitates, non ex memoria vestra, et patrum vestrorum sed ex annalium monumentis, atque ex regum commentariis conquisierit." The fragments of Cicero's treatise on Government, [*de Republica*] which the diligence of May has rescued from oblivion and final destruction, furnish the strongest proofs of the entire faith and high veneration with which the Roman orator was accustomed to regard the early annals of his country. The object of that treatise is to shew, from a review of Roman History, the manner in which the Constitution was built up, and to demonstrate the happy medium between authority and liberty, which had been established by the wisdom of the early Kings, the ambition of the annual Consuls, and by the constant struggles of the people in favour of popular rights. The references to the reign of every King are ample and minute, and except in the instance of the miraculous lactation of the twin founders of the State, he breathes not a single whisper of the fabulous or doubtful nature of his accounts. He dilates upon the fortunate era in which Rome was founded, and characterizes the period as enjoying the lights of science and of letters, and as comprehended in the range of authentic history, when the establishment of the Olympiads had led to an exact computation of time. Fortunately for our argument, he notices the vulgar mistake, that Numa and Pythagoras were contemporaries, and expressly refutes it from the silence of the public annals. His language too is such as must necessarily lead to the inference that the annals of those times still existed. Perhaps had he anticipated a controversy in which all the early renown of his country was to be put in jeopardy, he could not

have expressed himself more forcibly than by the word "videmus" which he employs "vere ne, inquit Manlius, hoc memoriæ proditum est, Africane, regem istum Numam Pythagoræ ipsius discipulum, an certe pythagoreum fuisse? sæpe enim hoc de majoribus natu audivimus et ita intelligimus vulgo existimari; neque vero satis id *annalium publicorum* auctoritate declaratum videmus." *Lib. ii. c. 15.*

Speaking of the Valerian law concerning appeals, he uses this language—"Provocationem autem etiam a regibus fuisse, declarant pontifici libri, significant nostri etiam augurales." *Lib. ii. c. 31.* We have here an accurate balancing of proofs: the one declares, the other implies: the one is full and express, the other somewhat obscure. Does not this lead to the inference that these books were extant, and that Cicero had examined and collated them in regard to this fact? Both the elder Pliny and Quintilian make mention of the Pontifical Annals. The former quotes them as authority for the use of a word, and to shew the origin of a custom used in the settlement of festivals, and the latter mentions their style. Pliny says, "Gloriam denique ipsam a farris honore adorem appellabant. Equidem etiam verba priscae significationis admiror. Ita enim est in *commentariis Pontificum*."—*Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 3.* Quintilian says, "Turpe etiam illud est, contentum esse id consequi, quod imiteris. Nam rursus quid erat futurum, si nemo plus effecisset eo, quem sequebatur? Nihil in poetis supra Livium Andronicum; nihil in historiis supra *Pontificum Annales* habemus," &c.—*Quinct. Inst. Orat. lib. x. c. 2.* Agellius adduces their authority for a very ancient fact, and cites the eleventh Book. Servius describes them much in the same way as Cicero, and states that they amounted to eighty volumes.\* His expression is very remarkable, "*per singulos dies*," and leads us to infer that they were a kind of diary. In a record of transactions so minute as this, there is no absurdity in supposing that a great deal might be deranged or even lost, and yet enough remain for all the purposes of history. This seems the most rational sense in which the words of Livy, "*pleræque interiøre*," can be taken, since we cannot discover the slightest ground to assume as a fact, the destruction of the records whilst the Capitol remained, notoriously, unviolated and uninjured by the attacks of the Gauls.

\* "Ita autem annales conficiebantur: tabulam dealbatam quotannis Pontifex Maximus habuit, in qua præscriptis Consulum nominibus et aliorum magistratuum, digna memoratu notare consueverat, domi militiæque, terra marique gesta per singulos dies. Cujus diligentie annuos commentarios in octaginta libros veteres retulerunt, eosque a Pontificibus maximis, a quibus fiebant, *annales maximos* appellarunt."—*Servius ad Æneid, i. 373. Vide Functium de Or. et Puer. p. 248.*



No doubt the alarm and hurry of such an event would produce some confusion and lead to slight losses and trifling inaccuracies, but very far indeed from any thing like a complete oblivion of the previous exploits of the nation.

We fear that we have too long trespassed upon the patience of our readers. Less, however, could not be urged on so important an argument. We have no disposition to assert that the early Roman History is free from all alloy of fable—we do not believe that Romulus and Remus were suckled by some “sylvan beast,” and doubt whether the one of these names is any thing more than a diminutive form of the other, but we cannot bring ourselves to deny that the Roman State was founded much in the manner and at the time which is generally believed, and that the Kings succeeded each other in the order they are arranged, and established those institutions, and performed those acts for which they have been celebrated. Some confusion and some anachronisms and panachronisms must be tolerated in an account of things so far removed into antiquity. There never was a history more inspiring than that of early Rome, nor better calculated to direct ambition to whatever is exalted in action or estimable in character. We cannot view with complacency, the loss which the world would sustain by the disappearance of

———“ all the sons of ancient fame  
Those starry lights of virtue that diffuse  
Through the dark depth of time their vivid flame.”

We have, accordingly, not declined the task of defending this citadel of human virtue, so far as the fissures caused by time, could be filled up with the disjointed materials which lie scattered around it.

Having thus prepared the ground and ascertained its firmness, we shall, without farther preface, proceed to the examination of Mr. Niebuhr's masterly performance.

Mr. Niebuhr is of opinion that the early dawn of authentic Roman History commences with the reign of Servius. He regards the institutions of that monarch as having left traces in the Constitution of the State too indelible to be effaced. The chapter devoted to this subject, we regard as a master-piece of historical criticism, pursued with a minute diligence and a happy sagacity, which shew the extent to which the author has sounded the depths of ancient history. The following extract will, if we mistake not, happily illustrate our criticism. Comparing the designs of Servius, with those of Clisthenes the Athenian, our author observes—

"But Servius did not contemplate the introduction of despotism under the mask of equality, nor of the latter by the number of heads; neither did he compel citizens of the first class to renounce forms, which were hereditarily and peculiarly their own. This plebeian Prince, exasperated by the Patricians, was no legislator like the high born Clis-thenes, who, detesting his fellow nobles, established an equality which terminated in a furious democracy, while some inconceivable good fortune averted tyranny from Athens. The object of Servius was to form that multitude, which had been adopted into the community, and which, morally and individually considered, was equally free with the Patricians, into an order in the State similar to the Patriciate, to constitute, like them, a free power. \* \* \* \* Servius adopted the model, which he found in the Constitution of the *Curiae*, for that of the Plebeians; even to its number. It was no arbitrary system, but the application of a form, transmitted by ancient usage, to a novel case. It is no injury to the creature already in existence if another awakens into life; it was none to the Patricians that Servius formed the freemen into an order; as little as the elevation of the cities into corporate bodies affected the rights of the barons towards the latter part of the middle ages; in both cases it engendered a secure and uniform liberty. Rome is indebted for her greatness to the formation of a Plebeian order and the union of both orders in centuries; retarded indeed by the unworthy spirit which induced the Senate to struggle for the abolition of the laws of Servius, or check their developement. \* \* \* \* It may be counted amongst the highest favours of that fortune which presided over Rome, that at the critical moment when the internal state of society began to mature and unfold itself into new forms, external circumstances, so far from counteracting, favoured that evolution; while other nations, by the same causes, were partly held in eternal infancy, partly sunk into premature decrepitude and decay. Had not Servius Tullius terminated the insecurity of the Plebeians by imparting freedom and a Constitution, the Patricians would probably have depressed them to a state of Clientela. The infantry, which constituted the strength of Rome, could not have been formed, no more than in Etruria, because, especially after the abolition of the monarchy, arms would not have been trusted to the people. The wars would have been nothing more than hasty incursions of cavalry and a half-armed mob of plunderers, the necessary war system in every oligarchy of ancient times; while the power of the Samnites founded on their excellent infantry, would have continually encroached upon Rome, and overpowered her before she could join battle. In the interior, despotism would have fortified itself, and the people in their wrath would have favoured the oppression of the nobles, or the Patricians would have abolished the monarchy and governed the commonwealth by the *Curiae*. The intermediate State, in that case, could never have arisen under any circumstances, which required to be experienced for the formation of a polity such as Rome alone enjoyed. By this unnatural compression, the appropriate and innate forms would have been crushed and destroyed in the germ. Rome would have experienced revolutions, whose only tendency is ruin; from which as from a fermentation, a new and foreign product only can arise. It was equally fortunate and wise, that the

Constitution of Servius was, in some respects, already too powerful for his tyrannical successor to venture on its abolition—in others, too favorable to the general objects of the State, its might and grandeur, for an able prince, as Tarquinius unquestionably was, to wish to exchange it for feebler institutions.”

Great ability is exhibited by our author in reconciling the contending accounts of writers concerning the number of the tribes. The brief extract, which we can indulge ourselves in making, will, when separated from its connexion, be slightly obscure. If it produces the effect of turning the attention of our readers to the interesting contents of the work itself, our end will be answered. A comparison, of the masterly lucubrations of M. Niebuhr on the reign of Servius, with the jejune, the uncertain and the confused accounts of other historians, even of the philosophical cast, will sufficiently evince his diligence as well as his ability, in raising the choicest fruits of instruction in fields, which had hitherto exhibited nothing but barrenness:—

“The tribes (says he) was a geographical division like the *Phylæ* of Clisthenes. Those who received an assignment of lands in a certain district, originally formed each a separate tribe; afterwards their descendants, and such as had been admitted into their community. The district was at first called “*Regio*” in the country as well as in the city, but the *Regio* itself was also called “*Tribus*.” Though this mode of speaking was not introduced until a later period, yet it is evident, that as the assignment and conveyance of land in a determinate district originally founded a *Tribus*—as it was the essence and principle of the assemblies that they voted according to regions—it followed that whenever the State was compelled to give up a *Regio*, one *Tribus* must have been reduced, the inhabitants of that *Regio* having lost all property in the land. It is confessed even by the Roman historians themselves, that Rome, in the peace with Porsenna, was forced to cede all the territory on the Etruscan bank of the Tiber. I purpose to shew how extremely to be suspected is the assertion that this territory was restored by extraordinary magnanimity; how highly probable, that even much later, Rome had not retrieved her hopes. But it frequently occurs in Roman history that an unfortunate peace deprives the vanquished of the third part, nay, even the half or two thirds of their territory: and this, I think, explains with great probability the disappearance of exactly one third of the original tribes.”

The whole of this important subject is dismissed by Montesquieu, with the following succinct observation, which affords no information, and what is worse, represses curiosity—“*Comme Henri VII. Roi d'Angleterre, augmenta le pouvoir des Communes pour avilir les Grands; Servius Tullius avant lui, avoit étendu les privilèges du peuple\* pour abaisser le Sénat. Mais le peuple devenu d'abord plus hardi, renversa l'une et l'autre Monarchie.*”

\* Voyez Zonare, et Denys d' Halicarnasse, lib. iv.

The style of history is greatly changed for the better within the last fifty or sixty years. It is doubtful, we think, whether upon the old footing, it could pass for any thing more than entertaining. It certainly did not abound in parallels applicable to the government of modern States. Nor could it well be otherwise. Those "*leges legum*," as Lord Bacon styles them, and which political economy alone has developed, were almost wholly wanting, and consequently history remained without aim or object; a romance that had been enacted, and, in truth, not much superior to other romances. The style of the following extract, if we mistake not, is very favourably distinguished from that of the usual stamp of histories:—

"That the precious metals were not very scarce in Rome, from the earliest times, is proved, not indeed by the story of the forty thousand pounds expended by the last Tarquinius on the building of the capitol, but certainly by the fact, that to ransom Rome from the Gauls, one thousand pounds of gold was collected, partly indeed from the temples, but also in ornaments and utensils; and it seems that some more remained, because the amount produced was only that rescued from plunder. I do not mean by this observation to maintain the correctness of the proportion between copper and silver, adopted by the Romans when they commenced a silver coinage; and when the two metals in a determinate ratio to each other were concurrently in circulation. The same results followed, which invariably attend the effort to establish a ratio between gold and silver coin. The metal which is rated below its value disappears, and its place is supplied by the other. The coinage of silver denarii was undoubtedly a financial measure, and ten pounds were already of more value than a silver drachma. The earth is comparatively more productive of silver than of copper, the value therefore of the latter must rise. The Carthaginians, though not absolute masters of the silver mines of Spain, already commenced that commerce which brought back the produce of those mines, and encouraged their working. Rome had acquired the sovereignty of southern Italy, where a silver currency prevailed of old, and the taxes were certainly paid from thence in silver. It is also probable that the Punic war checked the introduction of copper from Cyprus into Italy and Sicily, as well as the Punic commerce in general. Now, if the copper money was too weighty, it must have been bought up with silver, exported, and silver became prevalent. This we see actually took place, and light copper was introduced as small coin.\* It was clearly an act of national bank-

\* That commerce in money and speculation in coins were not unknown to the ancients, appears from a remarkable passage in Xenophon [*πείρη προόδου*. 3. 2.] The attic drachmæ are of refined silver, and Xenophon knew well that a State derived great advantage from the coinage of good money, let men say what they will.

ruptcy as concerned the creditors; yet the Senate (as Pliny observes) may have been impelled by the scarcity of money arising from a defective currency, during the war, to reduce the weight of the copper coin to one sixth, without altering its value; a measure which was subsequently extended to a reduction to one-twenty-fourth of its original weight. From this time, copper was the small coin, and in the inventories of booty, is given by weight as silver is in sums."

Nor is M. Niebuhr less masterly in his reflections upon human nature, and the degree in which the passions may be expected to influence the conduct in departing from the established standards, as the following extract will show:—

"But however general may be the story of Tullia's numerous transgressions, and though we already draw nearer to the historical times, yet I believe it is permitted us to doubt whether those sins, which entailed on her the merited destiny, that every offence of which she is accused appears to be credible, may not have been further punished in that she is branded with still blacker crimes than ever she actually committed. Truth and justice appear no longer a duty towards an offender of deep enormity, and a story which began with conscious exaggeration, is believed in the following age, if it be but generally circulated. That she formed a conspiracy against Tullius, is very credible; that he lost his life in an insurrection, appears certain: but tale against tale we may as well believe, that the last honors were paid to his remains, as that they were suffered to lie unburied: and how is the former to be reconciled with the story of her horrible misconduct? He who, in a civil war, so dreadfully forgets himself in his rage against a fallen enemy, will not inter the body with funeral honors; he dares not venture it, because it must expose him to new dangers: least of all, would the husband of so unnatural a daughter."

It has often struck us with surprise, that amidst the violent contests which existed between the Senate and people, the Roman State could have been held together. The following observations of M. Niebuhr seem to throw much light upon this subject:—

"The Romans [our author is contrasting them with the Greeks] who lived contentedly in the occupations and cares of civil and domestic pursuits, needed those legal restrictions for the same reasons, which severed them from the arts of eloquence and composition. A cold people, when they degenerate into democracy, sink much deeper than the impassioned and the lively; they plunder and waste, and irrecoverably destroy, while the latter awaken from their lethargy, and can seize a commanding position with equal energy. The Roman people, at least in the good old days, contained only land-owners; and we have already remarked, that according to the original code, the right of suffrage must have been connected with residence on, and possession of the estate. Certainly, men of small property had a greater share of the sovereignty

in the tribes than in the centuries; but it is a calumnious statement that the rabble predominated in those meetings; on the contrary, they were excluded. Nay, even the confusion to which other democratic assemblies were subject, had no place here, because, while at Athens, any citizen who wished was at liberty to speak, at Rome, none but the President could address the people; and in the comitia of the tribes, none but the tribunes and the senators, who, by this privilege of haranguing the assembly, possessed advantages incomparably more important than the right of suffrage, of which they were deprived. Individuals in the assembly of the people obtained this permission, but in few instances, and as a great favour. Hence, and because oratory had no influence, demagogues, strictly so called, could never arise in ancient Rome. And hence was maintained that unexampled tranquillity and attachment to law, from which the people never deviated, not even to avenge themselves upon the Patricians."

In his second volume, our author is led, whilst treating of the census, to some speculations concerning the laws which regulate the increase and diminution of population. Malthusians as we are, we shall not suffer ourselves to be drawn into any discussion of this question at present. We shall just state that he attributes every thing to two circumstances. 1st, to the race. 2d, to situation, within which he supposes there is a tendency to a maximum. We believe that there is an ultimate term, beyond which, in any country, with all our care and management, population cannot be carried, but we equally believe that the approaches to this maximum depend upon the means of subsistence, and that if these be transcended, the numbers of mankind will begin to diminish long before they reach their farthest limit. It is not enough to say, with our author, that an effort to increase the number is certainly identical with the effort to maintain it. Will the resources of an exhausted and penurious soil second our efforts?

Speaking of the plague which devastated Rome in the year of the City 291, the author observes:—

"Its ravages seem to have ruined the power of Carthage, and almost exterminated the Punic nation."

"Now, if this pestilence was kindled from the expiring embers of that which had devastated Italy and Greece, then it resembled, in its ebb and flow and its periods of more than sixty years interval, that plague in the sixth century of our æra, which more effectually depopulated the old world, than the Barbarians themselves. These long periods, at the close of which they cease or become altered in character, are common to the most destructive epidemics; when they abate in virulence, it seems as if the art of medicine had discovered remedies against them; and the generation, which exists in ages free from their attacks, instead of thanking their destiny that countries are not devoted to the angel of

destruction in their days, consider their protection as owing to the police and the perfection of science."

"Such plagues are the times in which death domineers as the positive principle of the annihilation of the human species; in the same manner as he appears in regions where, owing to luxuriant vegetation, whole districts are either fatal to man or only habitable by the incessant renovation of the expiring occupants, and extend their limits nearly every year. In other districts the vegetation also perishes for ever, owing to increasing barrenness, saline impregnation of the soil, extension of the region of frost, accumulation of sands from the desert, and denudations of the heights and plains."

Our author throughout his work, evinces himself to be the friend of popular rights and temperate liberty. The subjects of the Licinian rogations and the Agrarian laws, are carefully discussed, and a verdict given in favour of the Plebeians. We have only room left for one short extract.

"The Plebeians were not desirous to abolish the Patrician order, as at Athens, still less to deprive them of their civic rights as was done at Florence and in the Italian Republics; they only wished, that the two orders in conjunction, invested with equal authority, should have the sovereignty and administer the government. That the Patrician order long afterwards became almost extinct and lost its political separation, was not less the consequence of absolute limitation of the number of its families and incapability of maintaining that number by the admission of other families therein, than the prevailing and much vainer claims of the Plebeian nobility, and the unfortunate introduction of a nobility acquired by money; but the Licinian law is not responsible for this evil. The equal partition of the government had been conceded with respect to the Decemvirs, and, originally, of the military tribuneship; but not only were the places of the Plebeians not filled for many years, contrary to the law, but before they attained a free election, it seems to have been enacted, that all places should be supplied without distinction either from the two orders, or alternately. The former might appear to be a more important right, but nothing, except an urgent necessity, procured them its enjoyment, and the consulate was unquestionably a far better constitution than a numerous college of supreme governors. The first Licinian law decreed that thenceforth no more military tribunes should be chosen, but consuls from the Patricians and people; one of the two necessarily to be denominated from the latter."

We have been highly gratified and instructed by the perusal of these volumes, though we confess that we think some of the author's views are more ingenious than solid. In particular, we can discover no proof of a magnificent *Epopée*, reaching from the time of the former Tarquin to the battle of Regillus. The chief ground for this suspicion seems to be the rythmical texture of the language which Livy puts into the mouth of the vio-

lator of Lucretia. If the accidental formation of verse should be allowed as evidence of a poetical origin, we should discover abundant traces of it in every prose writer, whose style was at all of an elevated structure.\* In fact, Livy's style, like that of his abbreviator Florus, is a measured prose, but little removed from the dignity of neglected Iambics. Moreover, to adopt the words of a late excellent writer on Roman literature—"Any period of history may be thus exhibited in the form of an epic cycle; and though there can be little doubt of the existence of ancient Saturnian ballads at Rome, I do not think that Niebuhr has adduced sufficient proof or authority for his magnificent epopée, commencing with the accession of Tarquin, and ending with the battle of Regillus."

We are sorry that we cannot congratulate our readers on the possession of a translation of the masterly work which we have now noticed, in any degree proportioned to its merits, or even adapted to convey any just notion of the writer's meaning. If our author, from the desire of combining great brevity with very accurate learning, has become obscure, the translator has been far from successful in elucidating his meaning. He sometimes leaves his sentences nearly unintelligible. We shall cite but one instance, which occurs in vol. i. p. 437, and is thus "done into English." "A cold people, when they degenerate into democracy, sink much deeper than the impassioned and lively; they plunder and waste and irrecoverably destroy, while the latter awakens from their lethargy, and can seize a commanding position with equal energy." It should read thus—"A cold people, when it gives way to the excesses of democracy, sinks far deeper than one that is lively and impassioned; it robs and rages and destroys beyond recall, whilst the latter can awake from its delirium, and with equal passion, grasp an honorable object." In general, the order of the sentences in the translation is rather German than English.

We look with great expectation for the sequel of this History, and rejoice that the entire work is likely to be presented to the denizens of the English language, in an idiom a little further removed from that of their Saxon ancestors. Of this, the public have the best possible pledge in the encouragement which the author has bestowed upon the undertaking of the new translators.

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\* Sallust. de Bello. Catalin. "Cnelli Pompei fidos veteresque clientes"—a perfect hexameter.



ART. III.—*Traité de Therapeutique, redigé d'apres les principes de la nouvelle doctrine Medicale.* Par L. J. BEGIN. 2 tomes. Paris. 1825. 875 pages.

IT may seem somewhat out of place to occupy the pages of a general review, with a notice of works relating to the practice of Medicine. On the present occasion, however, the question is concerning a theory that aims at overturning every former medical system, changing the routine of medical practice, and forming a new era in the science itself. Such an attempt belongs rather to the history of medical literature, than to the more technical part of the profession; and the book, now under review, is the first arrangement of Therapeutics, which has conformed entirely to the views of health and disease, which Dr. Broussais has so successfully adopted. It is still, even in Paris, considered as "the new doctrine;" and, therefore, a fair object of literary inquiry here or any where.

Indeed, our literary men are, for the most part, deplorably ignorant of every thing relating to physiological and medical science. They learn nothing of it at school or college; and unless they be intended as practising physicians, one of the most important branches of knowledge is to them as a forbidden treasure. We have long been persuaded, that the elements of Physiology, Anatomy and Medicine, ought to be forced, if possible, upon the trustees of every collegiate institution: nor should a young man be considered as well educated, who enters into life without being able to exhibit to himself, however necessary, the most simple medicine. The good sense of Mr. Jefferson saw this deficiency and provided against it; but the University of Virginia is the only institution among us, where that provision is made.

It may be useful on the present occasion, to run over, not the history, but the list or catalogue of the different theories and systems by which the science of Medicine has been principally characterized, at various epochs, from Hippocrates to the present day. A brief review of the fallacies and failures of men, by no means inferior in natural talent or laborious acquirement, to their successors who now figure in the schools of Medicine, may inspire us with some portion of that necessary diffidence, without which no improvement can be successfully urged; and with some regard to that necessary caution which should attend the adoption of new proposals, however respectable the quarter from whence they are recommended.

We may safely omit all notice of the fabulous history of Medicine, and regard *Hippocrates* as the first author on the subject worthy our attention.

He considered the body as composed of blood, bile, phlegm, and atrabile, each striving for the mastery over the rest. To regulate these disputes, he introduced nature, *pueris*, and subordinate powers or faculties; *decompens*, not unlike the modern notion of a vis medicatrix naturæ. In this, it is the duty of the physician to lend his aid; but not by any other mode of interference than by assisting what appear to be the efforts of nature to expel disease.\* For this purpose, it is necessary to reduce the predominant humour by the specific medicines that will act upon it, and to counteract all congestion and repletion by evacuations. To effect this, he employed purgatives, injections, diuretics, sudorifics, the lancet, scarifications and cupping, and issues. His practice appears to have been successful. No wonder: three-fourths of our disorders arise from repletion, and evacnants are the obvious remedy. The pathology of Hippocrates appears to have been humoral.

This humoral pathology was carried to a still greater extent by *Galen*, and continued to be the favourite doctrine of medical orthodoxy for 1300 years. All disease was located in the fluids of the body. Then came on the chemical notions of *Paracelsus*, who conceived that all the living matter of an animal body, was subjected to the same chemical laws, as matter unorganised and extraneous. With him, every thing depended on salt, sulphur and mercury, their proportions and combinations; regulated in the human body by an intelligent, sidereal, spiritual director, whom Van Helmont afterwards styled *Archæus*, and five subordinate astral spirits. These wild notions soon went out of fashion; though it must be allowed that Paracelsus first led the way to the employment of chemical medicines.

The humoral pathology still prevailed, with the chemical addition of ferments and fermentations.

By and by, mathematics and mechanical philosophy became greatly in fashion. Then all health and disease, and all the operation of medicine were explained by the laws of magnitude and motion. The body was considered as an hydraulic engine. This system of physiology and pathology came into vogue with Borelli, Bellini, Mead, Keith, and Sir Clifton Wintringham. Pitcairn's "Physico-mathematical Elements of Medicine" took the lead of all other theories in England. Students of medicine read with wonder, the calculated forces of the heart and arte-

\* Hence, la Medecine expectante, of the French.

ries, and were not a little confused by the discordant results of the calculations. At this time too, the diseases of the body and the operation of drastics, were referred to the morbid stimulations of spiculæ, either pathologically inducing disease, or therapeutically as medicines introduced in the circulating fluids.

This theory ran its course. That of Dr. *Stahl*, of Germany, succeeded: who clearly perceiving that neither chemical nor mechanical philosophy would suffice to explain either the vital functions, or the phenomena of disease, recalled under the name of the Soul, [*Anima*,] the *ovvris* of Hippocrates, and the Archæus of Paracelsus and Van Helmont. He may fairly be considered as the supporter of those modifications termed the *vis medicatrix nature*, the *vis insita* of Haller, the vital principle of John Hunter and the physiologists and physicians of Great-Britain about half a century ago: of whom Abernethy is still a disciple.

It is not worth the while to enter into detail concerning the changes and modifications with which the respective inventors of this superadded agent or being, introduced their hypotheses. It was manifest, that neither chemistry nor mechanical philosophy were competent to explain either the normal or the morbid functions of the animal body; and the hypothesis in question may be considered as forced upon the medical world in the imperfect state of physiological and pathological knowledge at the time. At present, these phenomena are accounted for more satisfactorily by the known properties of the several tissues, and the necessary effects of stimulants upon them. *Stahl*, however, did not fail to be a good prescriber in consequence of his notion that the system had a constant tendency to plethora, from the redundancy of nutriment afforded by the food taken into the stomach. Hence, he attended particularly to the various evacuations necessary to counteract this tendency. In civilized society, his theory of plethora puts on the form of matter of fact so frequently, that if erroneous, it was an error on the safe side. *Stahl*'s theory was taken up and explained by the Englishman *Nichols*, in a treatise *De Anima Medica*, and was adopted with some limitations by *Whytt*, *Gaubius*, *Sauvages*, *Ferriar*, and others. The chemical doctrine of *Phlogiston*, now renounced, originated with *Stahl*; and though it has no defenders among modern chemists, the modern language of medicine, founded upon that exploded hypothesis, still adopts phlogistic regimen and phlogistic diathesis: expressions relating to *Stahl*'s discarded theory. *Descartes* rejected all these notions of *Stahl*'s, and first resorted to the theory of animal spirits and a nervous fluid. *Baglivi*, of Rome, appears to have been the first who suggested that disease consisted in abnormal affections of the solid moving

fibres of the body, producing irregular action inconsistent with health; and in their turn acting upon the fluids in manner dependant on the regular or irregular actions of these solids. This theory was adopted by Hoffman, and formed the basis of Dr. Cullen's system, who has done more than any other person to give it currency. But the peculiar doctrines of this great man, spasm on the extreme vessels, and excitement and collapse, have not maintained their ground in modern times.

Preserving the theory of solidism, John Brown, (Johannes Bruno, as he was usually called) attempted to simplify the doctrines of physiology and pathology, and the theory of medicine and therapeutics, by a few plain laws which were applied by him to all the phenomena of health and disease. The living fibre of the animal body is excitable, irritable, on the application of those substances which are found by experience to call this property into action. These substances are stimulants. Life itself, the aggregate of the functions of the organized animal, consists in the actions excited in the living fibre by the natural stimuli of air, heat, food, necessary to the healthy and moderate state of the several functions which the living fibre is destined to perform. Excitability, by the long continued application of stimuli, becomes exhausted, and a state of rest or collapse ensues in all the parts subject to the will, during which it is renewed; or excitability may, from various circumstances, be accumulated in excess. Stimulants also may act too feebly or too violently. When excitability is in defect, asthenic diseases, or diseases of debility, requiring stimulants, appear: when in excess, sthenic disease occurs, and sedatives and depletion are indicated. So by the over action, or too long continued action of stimuli, a state of collapse, asthenia, or as he calls it, indirect debility is produced. Hence the theory of medicine, and its practice only requires that the physician should determine by the symptoms or indications, whether the living and solid fibre be in a sthenic or asthenic state; whether stimulation has been in excess or defect; whether asthenia or debility be idiopathic or consequent; and prescribe accordingly. This very ingenious but far too compendious system, was found not so useful in practice, as beautiful in theory; and experience has banished from practice his theory as he applied it.

Brown was not aware how frequently debility, both real and apparent, was owing to inflammation, and inflammation to debility. Nor did he pay due regard to the numerous inflammatory complaints arising from causes that he would have termed debilitating, such as rheumatism and pleurisy from cold and

damp; increased febrile circulation from terror, &c. Intermittent fevers, dysenteries, and bilious fevers from the miasmata of swampy places. Nor does he seem to have been aware of the danger of mistaking local irritations and their consequences of debility, for asthenic affections of the whole system.

*Darwin*, in his *Zoonomia*, has constructed a far more complicated system, founded manifestly, but without acknowledgment, on the Hartleyan doctrine of the association and catenation of sensations with sensations, sensations with ideas, sensations with motions, ideas with motions, and motions with motions, conjoined with the leading principles of John Brown's doctrine; for his sensorial power hardly differs from Brown's excitability. Nothing can exceed the elaborate ingenuity and extent of illustration which Darwin has applied from medical facts, from metaphysical reasonings, and philosophical analogies and allusions. His practice also, founded upon long experience, deserves great attention. But the fanciful character and complication of his theory has been a constant bar to its adoption; and it seems to have gone completely out of vogue, although the facts of Hartley, and those that constitute the basis of Brown's theory cannot, as we think, be successfully disputed. The *Zoonomia*, however, seems in modern days to be considered as hors de combat among contending theories.

*John Hunter*, originally a carpenter, excited to the study of medicine by his brother, Dr. W. Hunter, was an excellent surgeon, and a laborious, matter-of-fact physiologist. His want of early education is manifest in his confounding of physics, metaphysics, physical causes and final causes. He boasted of his unacquaintance with the works and theories of preceding physiologists. He was in fact a man of strong mind, a laborious experimenter, and a forcible thinker. The modern doctrine of a vital principle, (whether arising from organization or communicated does not distinctly appear) appertaining not only to the living solids but to the blood itself, he chiefly contributed to bring into medical notice. This last notion was not new: *Sennertus*, in his *Instit. Medec.* (p. 338) suggests it. *Willis*, in his treatise *De motu musculari* (p. 71) says, *sanguinis animationem, non solum placita philosophorum, sed etiam indubitata sacre scripturae testimonia, planè asserunt*. Indeed "the blood thereof which is the life thereof thou shalt not eat," looks very like it. *John Hunter*, however, first established the doctrine by what we deem satisfactory facts and arguments; a doctrine which gives an importance to the fluids of the body, which the exclusive solidists of the present day must confute before their disciples are convinced.

That all organized matter possesses the property of life, a property neither chemical nor mechanical, is a position of which there can be no doubt whatever. That the blood possesses it, seems to us clear, inasmuch as it unites living parts—inasmuch as a coagulum throws out vessels from its centre—inasmuch as its temperature continues the same in the extremes of temperature to which the body can bear to be exposed—inasmuch as it is excited by stimuli, as appears by its coagulation from exposure, by the effect of injected fluids, even the most bland—inasmuch also as it coagulates more tardily when in an inflamed state, or with superabundant vitality—inasmuch as it is sufficient for the nourishment of limbs that are paralytic—inasmuch as it is, when decarbonized, the specific stimulus to the left ventricle of the heart. All these facts are just as real as the existence of the vital principle in a muscle recently separated that contracts upon being stimulated. We have not seen enough of the dispute between Abernethy and Lawrence, to be able to decide whether the former of these disputants carries the theory of John Hunter into the limits of Stahl's doctrine. The modern prevailing opinion on the continent of Europe seems to be, that all the properties that we see permanently accompanying and belonging to the organized system of animals and vegetables, and their several parts and tissues, arise from and depend on the organization, since they are manifestly developed gradually, and decline with the growth and decline of organization. On a question so difficult, we abstain from any theory, hypothesis, or explanation, acknowledging without scruple our ignorance and inability.

We are not blind to the errors of the humoural pathology, so long exclusively adopted; nor are we ignorant of the great importance of irritability or excitability, as the character of a living fibre or a living tissue; nor do we feel less alive than others of the profession to the experiments of Glisson, De Gorter, Haller, Hunter, Girtanner, &c. on irritability, or to the uses so well made of them by Hoffman, Cullen, Brown, Rush, and the modern advocates of solidism. But we do not rank among the ultras in any doctrine: we do not hold to the patent orthodoxy and exclusive merit of any medical theory; and we think that far less attention has been paid of late days to the fluids of the body than they deserve.

1st. All the solids are formed, and are constantly renewed out of the fluids. Such as the fluids are, such in great measure are the solids. You cannot form the dermoid gelatin out of water, or the azote of a muscle out of hydrogen, oxygen, or carbon, however combined, or however acted upon.

2ly. Is not this humoural pathology acknowledged by the universal attention here and in Europe of the phrase, *antiphlogistic regimen*? Are not the fluids the produce of regimen?

3ly. The fluids act as stimuli on the solids. Thus the blood acts upon all the glands; the urine upon the bladder; the decarbonized blood on the left ventricle, and so on. Suppose (as in Godwin's experiments on hanging, drowning, &c. or in morbid pulmonary secretions) the fluid blood to remain venous and undecarbonized, will it stimulate the brain or the contractions of the heart?

4ly. The solids, (membranes, muscles, vascular system, and glands) are stimulated by the fluids. They are essential to irritability; but the stimulating power of the fluids depends much on diet, which alters their composition. Thus saline substances stimulate the solids; but the fluids may contain these saline matters or not, according to phlogistic or antiphlogistic regimen. Is the stimulating power of the blood the same in plethora and colliquation? Is not scrophulous inflammation owing to poverty of the blood?

5ly. All the glandular and galvanic processes of the system act by decompositions and recompositions, out of the power and reach of common chemistry; but the nature of the results will be modified by the composition of the fluid acted on.

6ly. The stimulating power of the fluids depends on their contents; it may be in excess or deficiency: the action of the solids will be modified accordingly.

7ly. Foreign substances may be taken into the blood, as sulphate of iron; the urine and the perspiration, usually slightly acid may be rendered alkaline by the test of litmus paper. Begin acknowledges the ascertained fact, that medicaments may be taken up by absorption into the blood. Poisons sometimes act by entering into the circulation. These facts are well known to medical men. But these are fluid stimulants.

8ly. In fact, it is in vain to argue that the solids and fluids which are in perpetual contact, do not act on each other. The solidists do not deny the action of the solids on the fluids; but action and reaction accompany each other, and the fluids act equally on the solids. The metals of a galvanic battery and the interposed fluid act on each other.

The recent and prevailing doctrines of the modern French school of physiological medicine, which are making great headway throughout Europe, and (by the exertions of Dr. Samuel Jackson) in Philadelphia, consist of the theory of *Broussais*, based on the anatomical views of that most extraordinary young

man *Bichat*, who, to the loss of the world, died at the age of thirty-one.

Bichat paid particular attention to the structure, the characters, the properties, the physiology and pathology of the several tissues, or principal parts of which the animal body is composed—as the osseous, the fibrous, the nervous, the dermoid, the vascular, the glandular, and the membranous; as the mucous tissue, the serous, the cellular.

Hitherto, a kind of vague notion had prevailed indistinctly indeed, and confusedly, that diseases were distinct and separate things—a kind of malevolent beings that seized upon, disordered and destroyed the living body, if not prevented by remedies that experience had pointed out as proper to counteract their deleterious action. These remedies were considered as antagonist powers to disease, with slight reference to their physiological action on the living tissue. Hence, the greater part of medical practice was *empirical*; founded on the supposed property of certain substances to counteract certain diseases, sometimes acting specifically, and sometimes on the system generally.—This notion has, more or less, pervaded most of our nosological classifications, as well as those of the *materia medica*. Hence also, the too common mistake of confounding the symptoms of disease with their causes, and forming the classes of nosology too much from superficial appearances.

The outline of Dr. Broussais'\* doctrine seems to be as follows:—The body is composed of several tissues, differing greatly in their composition, their structure, their properties, their functions; all of them, in a greater or less degree, possessing vitality, and, in consequence, excitability on the application of stimuli. The more vascular and nervous they are, the greater the excitability. These stimuli and their excitement, may be normal, or what is proper to a healthy condition of the vital functions—or abnormal, producing disease, or in Dr. Rush's language, morbid action. Sometimes the vital power and excitability may be weak and defective, from want of nutritious food, from want of warmth, of good air, from exposure to cold and moisture, or other debilitating causes, in which case a deficiency of action equally abnormal will ensue.† All these cases are at first local affections of particular tissues, which, if neglected, long continued, or improperly treated, may extend

\* Professor at the Val de place.

† Begin, and the disciples of Broussais, speak somewhat obscurely, and to us, unintelligibly, of debility (not indirect but primary) being the direct effect of irritation. The want of the general stimulants, or any of them, to which life itself is owing, (moderately nutritious food, good air, warmth and exercise) certainly induces debility; as we know in cold, damp and marshy countries, in crowded and



either by contiguity of position, by gradual propagation in the same tissue, by sympathy depending on nervous influence, or other modes of communication. We are to collect from the history of the case and the symptoms, what tissue is affected, in what part, and under what circumstances, and knowing, physiologically, the normal action of the part, we are enabled to ascertain the aberration in many or in most cases, and to apply the proper remedies. The rule to guide us, being our previous physiological knowledge of the tissue, its chemical composition, its structure, its relative degree of excitability, its more immediate connexions, its healthy or normal functions—and of the effects producible by abstinence approaching to starvation, by the application of medicinal substances, or by other methods, either to excite or reduce to a healthy state, the morbid action of the part.

Hence it appears, that widely as they differ in their application, the *basis* of the theory of Rush and Broussais, does not greatly differ from that of Brown. Sthenic and asthenic diathesis, is pretty much the same as increase and diminution of vital action. Begin and others who follow Broussais, employ *irritation* to express the immediate cause of augmented action, connecting it with the name of the part affected, as sanguineous, lymphatic, mucous, nervous irritation. Begin. *Principes généraux*, &c.

Broussais considers fevers not as idiopathic or general diseases of the system, but in their origin, as local inflammations which have spread, or are liable to spread, by continuance or improper treatment, over the greater part of the system. They most frequently commence and occur in the mucous membrane of glandular secretion, that lines the stomach and intestines; which having been from any cause too strongly excited, (irritated) puts on the character of inflammation, gastric, enteritic, or gastro-enteritic. The common practice in acute fevers, has been to bleed largely from the arm, to give repeated cathartics, emetics, and diaphoretics, and evacuate by stimulant medicines, till a state of debility is produced: and this, on the supposition that the disorder is a general affection of the whole system—a distinct disease, that must be attacked and subdued by all the means of efficacious depletion.

filthy prisons and manufactories, inducing scrofula and typhoid disorders. But these are not so much abnormal irritations, but the absence of the normal. When the languor and debility produced by hunger is felt, the pain in the stomach is, by these gentlemen, termed irritation; and the languor and debility are ascribed to this irritation. To us, this sounds very like an abuse of language. Carried a little further, this irritation would extinguish life.

All this practice he thinks wrong; and calculated, even in cases of cure, to injure the constitution of the patient. He prescribes not general but local bleedings by leeches or by cupping. He refuses to stimulate, if he can possibly avoid it, by any class of stimulating medicines, a surface already too much excited and diseased by inflammation. He applies cold mucilaginous drinks, rigid abstinence from food, and enematus evacuations, instead of cathartics. If the exhibition of enemata do not suffice to empty the bowels, he gives gentle and mild cathartics, abstaining, as far as possible, from every form of excitation and stimulation where the derangement of function is owing to inflammation, whether acute or chronic. Upon the same principle, he recurs to the old doctrine of revulsion; exciting active irritation and increased action in a distant part to lessen it in the diseased locality. *Ubi irritatio ibi fluxus*. Hence, in Broussais' practice, drastics and active cathartics, (particularly the resinous and mercurial purges) are banished; and in gastritis and gastro-enteritis topical bleeding externally, with the frequent internal use of cold water and mucilages, are adopted. In phrenitis, (mania, epilepsy, &c.) the external use of cold and iced water, with warm baths to the feet, constitute the chief part of his materia medica; which may be divided into sedatives, *direct stimulants* and *revulsive stimulants*.

This is indeed a great change in practice, and seems so reasonable in its theory, that it is not possible for us to regard it otherwise than as worthy of full trial. It has been the practice of Dr. M'Neven at New-York: and at the Alms-house in Philadelphia, we understand, cases out of number, under the direction of Dr. S. Jackson, attest its practical success. We have some doubt, whether it be sufficiently active for the rapid course of our southern fevers. But, undoubtedly, it well merits a full and deliberate trial.

Broussais also has infinite merit in explaining all the anomalous tribe of irregular disorders called dyspeptic, nervous, bilious, weakness of the stomach, &c. by shewing their connexion with chronic inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach and bowels; and by suggesting this undoubted origin of very many diseases not hitherto suspected as arising from this cause. He has great merit also in substituting (a necessary result of his theory of disease) topical bleedings and applications in lieu of general ones, where the latter are not imperiously called for by the urgency of the case; and of delaying the exhibition of stimulating medicines internally, till inflammation is reduced; rules sufficiently obvious in theory, but not sufficiently attended to in practice. These few outline traces of Broussais' doctrines

and practice, are all we can venture to state in these preliminary remarks, but they will suffice to shew that he has greatly contributed to form an era of rational practice, founded upon principles that will bear examination.

The book, before us, is a treatise on Therapeutics, founded on the physiological views of Broussais; and furnishes, by the character of the medicines exhibited, and the curative processes recommended, a fair specimen of the pretensions and probabilities of this new train of medical theory. For a detailed account and application of Broussais' physiological system of medicine, we must refer to his "*Examen des Doctrines Medicales*," and his "*Histoire de Phlegmasies Chroniques*," 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, second or third edition. The papers of Dr. S. Jackson, on the vital forces, and on irritation, in the new series of Chapman's "*Medical Journal*," and his expected work on the American System of Medicine, will, probably, make the medical views of Broussais, more familiar to the medical reader. To these may be added the physiology of Broussais lately published among us, and the former work of M. L. J. Begin, entitled "*Principes generaux de Physiologie-pathologique, coordonnees d'apres la doctrine de M. Broussais*," Paris, 8vo. 1821. pp. 360, and Goupel's "*Exposition de la nouvelle doctrine Medicale*."

The general character of the present work, may be collected from the manner in which the subjects are treated; which, therefore, we shall describe in detail after the author's divisions.

He commences with general principles: he then treats of those remedies that are of a sedative or antiphlogistic character; then of the stimulants that may be usefully applied to the tissues actually disordered: next and lastly, of the revulsive stimulants employed to draw off an excess of irritation from a part where it is dangerous, by exciting it in another and distant part where it is under the control of the prescriber. At the head of each chapter, he notices the physiological considerations that apply specially to the subject of each chapter.

Chap. 1. On the connexion of Therapeutics with the other branches of medicine. General principles.

Chap. 2. On the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. On the active system of prescription compared with the *medecine expectante*.

Chap. 3. On the ground-work of curative indications. On the views taken by the humoural pathologists, the mechanical, the chemical physicians; by the partisans of Brownism; and of the *vis vitæ*; on the errors of those who consider diseases as constituted by an uniform collection of symptoms. That The-

rapeutics ought to be founded on a knowledge of the healthy state, and the diseased state of the several organs.

Chap. 4. Circumstances which modify the indications in the treatment of diseases : wherein—

Of the modifications resulting from age, from temperament, from sex ; from strength or weakness of the general system ; from profession ; from habits ; from peculiarities of the appetite ; from the causes whence the disorder arose ; from the seat of the disease ; from climate ; from other peculiar circumstances.

Chap. 5. Of medicines : wherein—

General considerations : action of medicines : immediate and local effect of medicines : secondary and general effects : state of the organization after the exhibition of medicines : therapeutic effects of medicines : the manner of administering medicines.

Chap. 6. Of the organs and functions which are susceptible of being modified by medicines.

7. Classification of therapeutic actions.

Therapeutic actions may take place : either 1st, by the immediate action of pharmaceutical substances on the living tissue : or 2ly, by continuity of parts : or 3ly, by contiguity of organs : or 4ly, by (nervous) sympathy : or 5ly, by absorption of the medicinal molecules. But in their ultimate result, they act by debilitation, by direct stimulation, or by revulsion.

*Debilitation\** may be limited to the surfaces whereon the medicines act ; which are the teguments, the organs of sense, the genital and urinary organs, the organs of respiration and the voice, the digestive organs, the serous membranes, or any part accidentally exposed.

Debilitating medicines may also act on the sanguineous, the nervous, or the lymphatic system : or, generally, on all the parts of the vital economy.

Medicines that are employed as *direct stimulants* may act according to the preceding arrangement of debilitations.

Medicines employed as *indirect or revulsive stimulants*, are always employed locally ; as on the skin, the secreting organs, the cellular tissue, the locomotive apparatus, the digestive organs, the encephalon, or any part exposed by solution of continuity.

Second section. *On Debilitating Medicines.*

Chap. 1. General considerations.—These methods of debilitation may consist of abstracting or diminishing the ordinary

\* The effect of what are usually termed sedatives.

stimulants, general or local bleedings, the exhibition of emollient, relaxing, softening substances, such as mucilaginous and acidulated drinks, compression, and tepid, cold, or iced water internally or externally employed. Considerations on the manner of acting of each of these sedative methods.

Chap. 2. Local debilitants applied to external surfaces and maladies, wherein of the application of leeches and of cupping, with the precautions necessary to be observed. Leeches and local bleeding are great favourites with the French physicians.

The French gros is very nearly but not quite a dram troy weight. The French leech abstracts from half a gros to a gros of blood. It is sometimes difficult to stop the bleeding in young children. Leeches are coming greatly into use in Philadelphia. Southward they are seldom employed, because they have hitherto been scarce with us. The orifices may be kept open, and the bleeding prolonged by cupping glasses. We should value the effect of topical bleeding in our Southern practice more, if the means of producing it were more accessible to us, and in particular if leeches were provided in sufficient plenty, and at a moderate rate.

Leeches are employed locally to empty the capillary vessels, not only in acute and chronic inflammation of the mucous membrane, but in phlegmons, in phlegmonous erisipelas, and in the cutaneous eruptions of small pox, measles, and scarlatina; "for daily experience demonstrates that the secondary febrile movement of gastro-enteritis, attended by eruptions, is always proportionate to the external inflammation that accompanies it."

The very successful application of leeches to parts where gangrene is about to take place, or is reasonably apprehended, which, among us, we owe to the enlightened practice of Dr. Physic, seems, from the following passage (vol. i. p. 186) to have been in use for a long time at the Hotel Dieu.

Speaking of external phlegmasiæ, Begin observes, that "the antiphlogistic method is the only one which a sound view of physiology can justify; and if a vesicatory applied to the centre of the morbid part sometimes succeeds, it is by concentrating the irritation on a particular spot in which the patient suffers much, and is exposed to the consequences of a considerable aggravation of the disease. This method is rarely admissible, unless in weak and lymphatic maladies where the phlogosis proceeds slowly, exhibiting a livid tint, and threatening a speedy gangrenous termination. It is in these particular cases that vesicatories succeed so well at the Hotel Dieu, where M. Dupuytren has long been in the habit of using them."

In more moderate cases of cutaneous eruption, Begin recommends emollient lotions frequently repeated. In the early stage of furunculi, he applies leeches to their base, with the happiest effect; abating that violence of inflammation which produces so much pain, and which tends to make them assume a gangrenous character.

A similar treatment of other erosive cutaneous affections at their commencement, and which, if neglected or ill treated, are liable to put on the character of ulcers, or cancers, is recommended on the authority of M. M. Fallot, Pons, Lallement, Marchal, Treille, and Tetu.

Chap. 3. Debilitating applications to the organs of sense.

Emollient fumigations recommended for lachrymal tumours.

For the ear-ache (and we may add the tooth-ache) cathartics and low diet.

Inflammatory affections of the nasal cavities call for leeches and emollient fumigations.

Chap. 4. Debilitating applications to the genital-urinary apparatus.

Nymphomania: leeches applied to the malleoli, to the hypogastric, or lumbar region, warm baths, frequently repeated; sedative injections of marsh mallow infusions, with gentle opiates. Sometimes cold external applications to the hypogastric and lumbar region, and the parts more immediately near the seat of the disorder.

Chap. 5. Debilitating applications to the organs of respiration.

General considerations: acute inflammation of the organs of respiration; in speaking of croup, he seems to us not to insist enough on the utility of emetics early applied. On chronic inflammation of the respiratory organs.

Chap. 6. On debilitating applications to the digestive apparatus.

We shall give the heads of his sections at length, referring to the book for his observations included under them.

General considerations: importance of the digestive organs: their relations: various effects of gastro-intestinal irritations: their study indispensable to therapeutics: manner of acting of debilitating medicines, when applied to the intestinal canal: manner of acting of abstinence from food: necessity of observing the effects of ingesta, so as to ascertain when abstinence may be insisted on, or relaxed: of the manner of acting of emollient drinks: acidulated drinks generally useful: their temperature should be moderate: in too great quantity they may do harm: on the manner of acting of capillary bleedings

from the abdomen: manner of acting of cold, which may be of great importance in dangerous cases.

*On the employment of debilitants in acute irritations of the digestive organs:* gastro-enteritis presents two general aspects, according as reaction is excited, or a prostration of the vital forces produced: on typhus: on the treatment of indigestion: on slight cases of gastro-enteritis: of more violent irritations: of gastro-enteritis complicated with symptoms of general debility: with mucous symptoms: treatment of the cholic of Madrid: of cholera morbus: it is sometimes necessary to recur to external revulsives, and even to diffusible stimuli exhibited internally: treatment of the cholic occasioned by lead: of poisoning: of the use of the stomach-pump: of worms: adynamia may be the result of all kinds of gastro-enteritis: in such cases it will be necessary to moderate sanguineous evacuations, and to employ emollients internally: meteorism and tympanitis yield to this treatment: gastro-enteritis with ataxy, may be usually referred to gastro-encephalitis: treatment of gastro-enteritis produced by infection: treatment when complicated with hemorrhage: perforation and softening of the coats of the stomach and intestines, are the effects of inflammation, and can only be prevented by methods that reduce inflammation: treatment of hepatitis: jaundice only an effect of hepatitis: treatment of inflammation of the spleen, and pancreas, and mesentery: treatment of slight and intense colitis: and of peritonitis.

*Treatment of chronic irritations of the digestive canal.*—The phenomena of chronic gastritis are very variable: the difficulty consists more in ascertaining them than in applying the proper remedies: they require strict regimen, also, local bleedings, fomentations, warm bath, &c.: treatment of hypochondria: use of cold in the treatment of chronic gastritis: many cases of this description remain stationary for a long time: injurious effects of stimulants employed against supposed weakness of the stomach: chronic enteritis: du carreau (an enteritic inflammation to which young children are subject): of chronic diarrhœa: chronic hepatitis.

Chap. 7. Debilitating medicines applied to the lymphatics.

Chap. 8. The same applied to the nervous system: elaborately treated in four sections.

Chap. 9. Debilitating medicines applied to the sanguineous system. Treated in six sections.

Chap. 10. Debilitants applied to the living organized system generally.

*Of medicaments directly stimulant.*

Chap. 1. General considerations.

Chap. 2. Stimulants applied to the external organs.

Chap. 3. Stimulants applied to the organs of sense.

Chap. 4. Stimulants applied to the genito-urinary organs.

Chap. 5. Stimulants applied to the organs of respiration.

Chap. 6. Stimulants applied to the digestive canal.

Chap. 7. Stimulants applied to the lymphatic system.

Chap. 8. Stimulants applied to the nervous system.

Chap. 9. Stimulants applied to the sanguineous system.

Chap. 10. Stimulants applied to the organic system generally.

*Of revulsive medication.*

Chap. 1. General considerations.

Chap. 2. Revulsions applied to the skin and cellular tissue.

Chap. 3. Revulsions applied to the locomotive apparatus and the nervous system.

Chap. 4. Revulsions directed to the organs of digestion and of secretion.

Chap. 5. Treatment of intermittent irritations.

Chap. 6. Combination of different medications with each other.

The inconvenience of complicated prescription. Method to be pursued for the improvement of therapeutics, and the more successful treatment of diseases.

It is manifest that this work comprehends a view of therapeutics very different from what we usually meet with in Great-Britain, or in this country; and that it therefore deserves to be better known among us than it is. It has fair pretensions to be considered the best elementary work on the subject with which we are acquainted; the different heads are treated reasonably, intelligibly, and without pretension. In our Southern States, it will probably be deemed not of a character sufficiently energetic and decisive in the modes of treatment recommended. On the other hand, the free use our medical men are apt to make of calomel, and the other Herculean remedies, seems to have been carried much further than occasion always requires: and many symptoms usually ascribed to the disease, appear to us more fairly ascribable to the medicines employed, and the bold, not to say rash manner in which they are sometimes exhibited. At any rate, we are well persuaded that no one can attentively read this work without being the wiser for the perusal, and therefore we recommend it without scruple or hesitation.\*

\* We subjoin to this article the following extract of a letter, received from Philadelphia, dated February 7, 1828.—“It is strange what a disposition there is in the United States to suffer the productions of native genius to fall into oblivion. Dr. Rush's works are no longer to be had in the country, and they will not bear the



ART. IV.—*History of Roman Literature, from its earliest period to the Augustan Age.* By JOHN DUNLOP, Author of the *History of Fiction*. 2 Vols. From the last London Edition. E. Littell. Philadelphia. 1827.

MR. DUNLOP is already known to many of our readers by his interesting and popular *History of Fiction*. By the accomplishment of the present undertaking he will have greatly added to the obligations which he has already imposed upon the public. He is supplying a very important desideratum in English literature. The execution of the work thus far, is, upon the whole, worthy of the design, and few books can be mentioned in which so much useful knowledge is conveyed in so agreeable a style. There is, however, very little novelty either in the views of our author, or in the learning with which he illustrates and enforces them. The numerous subjects that fall within his comprehensive plan, have been long ago 'bolted to the bran' by many erudite men, and nothing remained for the historian but to collect and arrange the abundant materials that had been prepared for him, and to embellish them with the graces of an elegant and attractive style. If we may be allowed moreover to speak our minds with perfect freedom, we will confess that there is something wanting, after all, in Mr. Dunlop's manner of treating his subject. He does not appear to us to write altogether *con amore*. At least, there is not that hearty zeal, that captivating and *contagious* enthusiasm which breathes through the pages of Schlegel and Sismondi, and imparts to them so lively an interest and such a warm, delightful colouring. In a word, the history of Roman literature, however great an acquisition to the general reader, partakes too much of the character of *mere* compilation, and though, as compilation, uniformly satisfactory, exact and elegant, is occasionally, withal, rather cold and spiritless.

expense of republishing. The name of Dr. Miller, formerly Professor of the practice of physic in New-York, has never been heard of by the majority of the profession, and seems almost forgotten by the few who have.

"The last number of the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal* contains a review of his works, in which it will be seen that he has anticipated the fundamental principles of Broussais, and laid them down with great clearness and precision. He wanted nothing to make his system perfect but a knowledge of the doctrine of tissues. Had Bichat's book fallen in his way, it is probable that he would have left little for Broussais to do. Broussais met with Dr. Miller's paper on yellow fever some years ago, (probably at Antwerp) he was much pleased with it, and complimented him in some of his late writings. Dr. Jackson inclines to think that Miller's paper might have set Broussais' mind to work on the subject. Dr. Jackson's practical exposition of Broussais' doctrines in this city is meeting with continued and increasing success among the profession here."

Perhaps, however, we are imputing to the workman what ought to be considered as, in some degree at least, the defects of his materials. Roman literature, especially the earlier Roman literature, which occupies so large a space in the work before us, is far less calculated to inspire enthusiasm, than that of the Greeks, or even that of the South of Europe, especially about the period of the revival of letters. The reason may be given in a single word—it is altogether exotic and imitative. Greek literature, on the contrary, was perfectly original. That wonderful people was, in this respect, at least a primitive race—a nation of *αὐτοχθόνες*. There is no trace in their poetry and eloquence of any foreign influence or heterogeneous admixture. With them every thing was barbarous that was not Greek. Their genius drew its inspiration from the living fountains of nature—from the scenes in which it actually moved—from events which immediately affected its own destinies—from opinions that had laid a strong hold on the popular belief—from the exaggerated traditions of an heroic ancestry—from everything, in short, that is most fitted to excite the imagination, and to come home to the heart, and all its deep and devoted affections. The theme of their matchless Epic was the war which first united them in a great national object, and proved that they were formed to conquer and to subjugate barbarians.\* The calamities of the Labdacidæ and the Pelopidæ, furnished the scenes of their “gorgeous tragedy.” The animated interest of their Olympic contests inspired the muse of Pindar, and the valour of Haimodius and Aristogiton was celebrated in many a festal hymn, and by many a tuneful lyre. Their elegant and poetical mythology peopled all nature with animated and beautiful forms, and consecrated, ennobled, and adorned the most ordinary objects. A local habitation, a temple, a grove, a grotto—was assigned amidst the scenes of daily toil and the resorts of busy life, to every divinity in their endless calendar. Their Parnassus was no unmeaning common-place—no empty name as it is in our modern poetry. It was “haunted, holy ground”—breathing inspiration from its caves, and covered all over with religious awe.† Attica, says Strabo, was a creation and a monument of gods and godlike ancestors. Not a part of it but is signalized and celebrated by history or fiction.‡ Is it any wonder that objects like these, that scenes so full of religion and poetry should have awakened all the enthusiasm of genius, which, in its turn, was to reflect back on them its own glory, and to hallow them

\* Isocrates, *Ἐλευθὲς γυμνασιον*.

† *Ἰερόπεριπλος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁ Παριανὸς ἔχον αἰτέρα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία, τιμωμένα τὴ καὶ ἀγίστατορμένα.*—Strabo, B. ix. c. 3.

‡ Ibid c. 1.

with associations still more awful and affecting? The *Ædipus Coloneus* and the *Eumenides*, both of them written professedly to honor Athens and the Athenians, are memorable examples of a poetry which seems to have been inspired by the event and the place, and to have made both more interesting and impressive.

There is reality in all this. The literature of such a people is an essential part of their history as a nation. Its character stands in intimate relation, both of cause and effect to *their* character. Springing out of their most touching interests and associations—out of what would be called by German critics, their “inward life”—it deserves to be classed among their most important social institutions. Instead of being, as classical learning once was all over Europe, the business of mere pedants and book-worms, producing no effect whatever upon the mass of mankind—the mighty multitude who feel and act—it is inwoven into the very frame and constitution of society—pervades, informs, warms, quickens it throughout. Men of genius, indeed, experience its first and its strongest impulses; but the people too, and even the populace are very much under its influence. They partake of the enthusiasm that is abroad—they feel, though in a less degree, the same passionate love for that ideal beauty which is the object of the arts, and with somewhat of the same aspirations after excellence, they acquire an instinctive perception, or feeling rather, which enables them to discern and to enjoy it with all the delicacy and the sensibility of refined taste. These are the causes and the characteristics of a *national* literature; and there is no example in this kind that will bear to be mentioned in comparison with that of Greece.

The early literature of the South of Europe, to which we alluded above, though not so perfectly spontaneous and unmixed is still distinguished by a striking air of originality. It bears the stamp of the times and the manners. The lay of the Troubadour, full of gallantry and sentimental love, was indebted for none of its charms to the lyrical poetry of antiquity. These simple effusions, the first language, perhaps the first lessons of chivalry, breathed a spirit which had never animated the numbers of Anacreon and Tibullus. It was evident, even from them, that a new order of ages was beginning from a new era. The *Divina Commedia*, the *Decamerone*, and the *Canzoni* of Petrarch, although the productions of men who had read more, and who rank among the most renowned votaries and restorers of classical learning, are certainly not formed upon the ancient models. They exhibit all the freedom, the freshness and originality of a primitive literature. Dante, indeed, avows himself

a follower, an humble follower of Virgil, but no two things can be more unlike than the original and the supposed copy. The antique grandeur and simplicity of the *Æneid*, and the perfect regularity of its proportions are not more strikingly contrasted with the wildness and eccentricities of his fable, than its whole spirit and character with the dark, dismal, and dreadful imaginings of the *Inferno*, or those dazzling visions of glory and beatitude, which are revealed by Beatrice in the *Paradiso*. The same thing may be said of Ariosto, and, with all his classic elegance and accuracy, of Tasso too. Their subjects alone are full of poetry. They are such as address themselves most powerfully to the feelings of a modern reader. They are connected with all that we have been taught to consider as most venerable and captivating and imposing in the history of modern society: with the Holy Land and the Holy Cross, with the knight and the priest, with palmers and pilgrims, and paladins and peers, with "the fierce wars and the faithful loves," and the thousand other incidents, consequences and associations, direct or remote, of chivalry and the crusades. There is something like enchantment in the very names of those who are supposed to have figured in this heroic age of the modern world—the heroes and heroines of *Turpin's Chronicle*. Nor is this altogether due, as some may think, to the elegant fictions into which these rude materials have been wrought up in later times. The simplest old romaunt or fabliau, has, we confess a secret charm for us as an image, however imperfect, of that interesting state of society, the *gentis cunabula nostræ*. Imagine Dante and Ariosto to have confined themselves to a bare translation of the celebrated poems of antiquity, or to have attempted the same subjects in a close and studied imitation. With what different feelings would they have been regarded by us! and how much less interest would have been excited by the literary history of that period!

Roman literature, especially in its earliest stages, had, of all others, the least originality. It was five whole centuries after the building of the city, before that nation of sages and warriors could boast of a single author. During this long period, there is no vestige of any thing that can be supposed to have been a regular composition in verse, except a sort of Pythagorean poem of Appius Claudius Cæcus, mentioned by Cicero.\* The only history which can be given of their literature during all that interval, as Mr. Dunlop forcibly remarks, consists in the progress and improvement of the Latin language. When, at length, it

\* Tuscul. Quæst.—lib. iv. c. 2.

arose, it was not only not indigenous like that of the Greeks, but it bore the stamp of inferiority, and even of servility upon its brow. Livius Andronicus, who first attempted a regular dramatic fable, was a native of Magna Græcia, where he was taken prisoner, according to Tiraboschi, and became the slave and afterwards the freedman of Livius Salinator. Terence was a slave, and what is still more extraordinary, a Carthaginian. Cæcilius also was a slave, and Plautus, if not in the same degraded condition, was yet in such humble circumstances as to be compelled to labour at a mill for his daily bread. These were among the fathers, (if we do not abuse the word) of Roman literature. Their works were servile copies. It is curious to collate the lists which Mr. Dunlop furnishes of the lost tragedies of Ennius, Attius, Pacuvius, &c. They are all—to judge from their names and the fragments—upon subjects that had been treated by the Greek tragedians, and were no doubt very coarse and imperfect imitations of those beautiful works. The Paulus of Pacuvius is the first, and one of exceedingly few instances of the *Tragedia Prætextata*, or tragedy turning upon a domestic story. All the comedies of Plautus and Terence, are professed translations of Menander, Philemon, and other Greek writers—how free or literal, need not be mentioned here. In a word, if those heroic ballads or metrical chronicles, in which Niebuhr supposes the principal events of Roman story for the first four centuries to have been versified, ever existed at all, they had not the effect of giving rise to any thing like a *national* poetry at a more advanced period of letters.

The phenomenon which the early Literary History of Rome thus presents, is easily explained. The nation was essentially *practical*. Sallust, speaking of the Athenian wits who had extolled the glory of their country to the skies in their writings, expresses himself as follows :—“The Roman people never possessed the same advantage, because, with us, the ambition of men of talents was to excel in the conduct of affairs. No one addicted himself to speculative pursuits. The best men chose rather to act than to speak well—to have their own deeds recorded by others, than to relate what others had done. So that both at home and abroad, in peace and in war, good morals were the great object of their attention and discipline.” These good morals could not exist according to the true Roman standard, without mortifying and subduing those feelings which are the very soul of poetry and eloquence. Their language, as might have been expected, bore the impress of their opinions upon these subjects. The highest and favourite epithets of praise are *vir fortis*—*vir gravis*: courage and constancy, with a sort of Stoical

gravity and austerity, were, it seems, essential to their idea of virtue. They were predestined to the conquest of the world and the government of mankind, and they seem to have pursued these great objects from the very first, with a single eye and a systematic and inflexible ambition. Almost all political power, notwithstanding the veto of the Tribune, and the occasional disorders of the Comitia Tributa, was practically vested in the Patrician order. These haughty and martial descendants of Censors and Consuls—of the Furii, the Junii, the Cornelii,—would have thought themselves degraded by literary pursuits. It would have been considered as a proof of a degenerate sloth—a despicable effeminacy and poorness of spirit in a young man to exchange the hopes of a triumph, and the glory of adding to the images and honors of his family, even for the highest possible distinction in the studies of Greeks and slaves. Their military training and service were alone sufficient to preclude these studies in the earlier and severer ages of the Commonwealth—*Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat*. This aversion from literary pursuits was not the effect of mere ignorance or rudeness, but of system and policy. These ancient Romans were an eminently enlightened people. Their scheme of conquest had been organized with profound wisdom, all the departments of their government were filled with consummate skill and ability, and, in every sense of the word, “there was nothing barbarous in the discipline of these barbarians.” It ought not to surprise us, therefore, to find the prejudices we are speaking of so deeply rooted and inveterate at Rome. It is plain, from the pains which Cicero takes, in so many parts of his philosophical writings, to apologise for the composing of them, that he felt the studies of Plato to be somewhat unworthy of himself; Virgil characterises his own pursuits as “*studia ignobilis otii*,” and there is a remarkable passage in the life of Agricola, which shews, that even in his time, the dignity or the duties of “a Roman and a Senator” did not permit him to be very profoundly versed in philosophy and learning.\* At Athens, on the contrary, and, indeed, throughout all Greece, the enthusiasm of the people for works of genius and taste, showed itself on all occasions, in the liveliest demonstrations of admiration and homage for those who excelled in them. Sophocles held the rank of General along with Thucydides and Pericles—a matchless combination! We are assured by Aristophanes, the grammarian, in his “Argument” to the Antigone, that the success of that tragedy got its

\* *Memoria tenes solitum ipsum (Agricolam) narrare se, in prima juventute, studium philosophiæ et juris ultra quam concessum romano et senatori, hausisse, &c. c. 4.*

author the command in the Samian expedition, while the verses of Euripides softened even the bitterness of hatred and hostility, and saved from butchery, in a war of extermination, all who were fortunate enough to be able to repeat them.

Certainly nothing could be more unfavourable to literature, especially to its more refined productions, than the state of public opinion at Rome, and the whole spirit and character of her institutions as they are pourtrayed in the preceding observations. Not to speak of the more direct and obvious discouragements that have been alluded to, there was something essentially tame and prosaical in such a condition of society. "Ce n'est pas aux lois les plus sages, says M. de Sismondi, aux temps d'ordre et de prospérité, qu' est réservé le plus grand développement del' imagination chez un peuple." This position is strikingly exemplified by the history of France, from the 11th to the 15th century. In the first half of this period, the nation was exclusively under the influence, and received all its impulses from the character and pursuits of the *seigneurs de chateaux*. In the second, the commercial spirit of the towns predominated. The lawless Baron, who held only of his sword, and submitting to no sovereign, scarcely deigned to acknowledge a superior—

Che libito fe' licito in sua legge—

and whose castle was an emblem and epitome of the existence which it protected, with its moat and drawbridge for retreat and seclusion, its turretted battlements for defence, its donjon keep where the captive pined in darkness and chains, its hall resounding with revelry and merriment, with the minstrel's song and the dance of the gay and the fair—if not himself a Troubadour, like Cœur de Lion, or Alfonso I., was at least the natural friend of the Troubadour. This simple, but pleasing and peculiar poetry, accordingly flourished under their favour and cultivation. Under the influence of the commercial spirit, on the contrary, it died away—men at arms yielded to men of business—the useful supplanted the agreeable, and the *arugo et cura peculi*, of which Horace speaks, produced the same effect in France as at Rome.

The following remarks of Mr. Dunlop deserve to be cited in this connexion:—

"Literary history is, *secondly*, of importance, as being the index of the character and condition of a people—as holding up a mirror, which reflects the manners and customs of remote or ancient nations. The less influence, however, which literature exercises, the less valuable will be its picture of life and manners. It must also be admitted, that from a separate cause, the early periods, at least, of Roman literature, pos-

ness not in this point of view any peculiar attractions. When literature is indigenous, as it was in Greece, where authors were guided by no antecedent system, and their compositions were shaped on no other model than the objects themselves which they were occupied in delineating, or the living passions they portrayed, an accurate estimate of the general state of manners and feeling may be drawn from works written at various epochs of the national history. But, at Rome, the pursuit of literature was neither a native nor predominant taste among the people. The Roman territory was always a foreign soil for letters, which were not the produce of national genius, but were naturalized by the assiduous culture of a few individuals reared in the schools of Greece. Indeed, the early Roman authors, particularly the dramatic, who, of all others, best illustrate the prevalent ideas and sentiments of a nation, were mere translators from the Greek. Hence, those delineations, which at first view might appear to be characteristic national sketches, are in fact the draught of foreign manners, and the mirror of customs which no Roman adopted, or of sentiments in which, perhaps, no Roman participated.

"Since, then, the literature of Rome exercised but a limited influence on the conduct of its citizens, and as it reciprocally reflects but a partial light on their manners and institutions, its history must, in a great measure, consist of biographical sketches of *authors*—of critical accounts of their *works*—and an examination of the *influence* which these works have exercised on modern literature. The *authors* of Rome were, in their characters, and the events of their lives, more interesting than the writers of any ancient or modern land. The authors who flourished during the existence of the Roman Republic, were Cato the Censor, Cicero and Cæsar; men who (independently of their literary claims to celebrity) were unrivalled in their own age and country, and have scarcely been surpassed in any other. I need not here anticipate those observations which the *works* of the Roman authors will suggest in the following pages. Though formed on a model which has been shaped by the Greeks, we shall perceive through that spirit of imitation which marks all their literary productions, a tone of practical utility, derived from the familiar acquaintance which their writers exercised with the business and affairs of life; and also that air of nationality, which was acquired from the greatness and unity of the Roman Republic, and could not be expected in literary works, produced where there was a subdivision of states in the same country, as in Greece, modern Italy, Germany and Britain. We shall remark a characteristic authority of expression, a gravity, circumspection, solidity of understanding, and dignity of sentiment, produced partly by the moral firmness that distinguished the character of the Romans, their austerity of manners, and tranquillity of temper, but chiefly by their national pride, and the exalted name of Roman citizen, which their authors bore. And, finally, we shall recognise that love of rural retirement, which originated in the mode of life of the ancient Italians, and was augmented by the pleasing contrast which the undisturbed repose and simple enjoyments of rural existence presented to the bustle of an immense and agitated capital. In the last point of view that has been alluded to—the *influence* which these works have exercised on modern letters—it cannot be denied that



the literary history of Rome is peculiarly interesting. If the Greeks gave the first impulse to literature, the Romans engraved the traces of its progress deeper on the world."—*Pref.* ix-xi.

Mr. Dunlop remarks, that "there are three great ages in the literary history of Rome—that which precedes the era of Augustus—the epoch which is stamped with the name of that Emperor, and the interval which commenced immediately after his death, and may be considered as extending to the destruction of Rome." In the present volumes, he has brought down his work only to Cicero, inclusive. Whether he shall extend his researches to the other two periods, will depend, he assures us, on the reception which his first effort may obtain from the public. We are happy to learn that a third volume has recently issued from the press, the contents of which, together with the multifarious remains of the great Roman orator, and the remarks of our author concerning Sallust, and the older historians, may furnish the materials of a future article. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to the following heads: 1. Etruria and the Latin Language. 2. The Drama, including the Attellane Fables and the Mimes. 3. Miscellaneous Literature.

1. The origin of the first inhabitants of those Italian States which were finally merged in the Roman Republic, is hidden in the mist of ages—nor are the antiquities of India or of Egypt more impenetrable than those of Etruria. Discouraging, however, as a subject wrapped up in so much obscurity, might be expected to prove, it has attracted the most persevering researches, and excited endless controversy both among the ancients and the moderns. The situation of Italy—accessible on all sides but one by sea—afforded facilities, while the fertility of its soil and the softness of its delicious climate, were a strong temptation to those wandering tribes whose adventurous emigrations so frequently occur in the early history of all nations. It is very probable, therefore, that this rich and beautiful peninsula received colonies, in a remote age, from many different points in the extensive coast of the Mediterranean, the *Ægean* and the *Adriatic*; nor ought it to surprise us that Egyptian, Phœnician and Greek customs, and even names, may be recognised in various parts of it. Nothing, it is evident therefore, can be more unsafe than to build up a theory on such facts and appearances as these, with a view to explain the *first peopling* of the country. What greatly confirms this view of the subject is, that "there is scarcely an ancient history or document entitled to credit, and recording the arrival of a colony

in Italy, which does not mention that the new comers found prior tribes, with whom they waged war or intermixed."

Judging from our own distaste for antiquarian researches, we suppose our readers to be as little inclined to receive, as we are to furnish, a detailed account of the various hypotheses or rather wild guessing to which this puzzling question has given rise. We will content ourselves, therefore, with stating in a very summary manner, some of the more prominent opinions that have been entertained in relation to it, as they are set forth by our author. The earliest is that of Herodotus,\* who represents the Etruscans as a colony of Lydians, who were themselves a tribe of wandering Pelasgi. In the reign of Atys, son of Menes, a sore famine made it necessary that half of the Lydian nation should go abroad in quest of food, under Tyrrhenus, a son of that monarch. It was not, however, before they had tried for eighteen years together, the singular expedient of fasting every other day, and inventing all the common games and pastimes, to forget, if possible, their hunger in their amusement, that they repaired to Smyrna, where they built vessels and committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and the fates. After touching upon various shores, they at length settled in Umbria, which they called Tyrrhenia, after the name of their leader. This account of Herodotus is said to be corroborated by certain resemblances in the religion, language and pastimes of the Lydians and the Etrurians; and as some of the sailors *may* have been Phœnicians, Egyptians or Greeks, a mixture of this sort *may* account for those appearances which have led antiquarians to consider the Etruscans as descendants of these latter nations. Herodotus was followed (with some slight variations) by the majority of ancient writers, Cicero, Strabo, V. Paterculus, Seneca, Pliny, Plutarch and Servius, to whom we may add, Catullus and Horace. The Etruscans themselves, seem to have been of the same opinion.† Hellanicus of Lesbos,‡ who was almost contemporary with the father of history, believed that people to be a colony of Pelasgi, direct from Greece. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is dissatisfied with both the foregoing opinions, and pronounces them a race of Aborigines. He admits, however, that a tribe of Pelasgi passed from Thessaly to the mouth of the Po many years before the Trojan war, and spreading themselves over Italy, ultimately mingled with the native race.

The opinion of Dionysius has been adopted by several learned men, and among them Gibbon, who affirms that the story of

\* Clio, c. 94. † Tacitus Ann. lib. iv. c. 55.

‡ Apud Dionys. Halicar. lib. i.

Herodotus *ne peut convenir qu' aux poëtes*.<sup>\*</sup> Some recent Italian writers are for a race of Aborigines, tracing their pedigree to an Adam and Eve of their own.<sup>†</sup> Gori and Lord Monboddo derive both the Etruscans and the Pelasgi from Egypt and Phœnicia. Mazzochi adopts, in general, the oriental theory, which he endeavours to help out by some fanciful etymologies. Our readers may be glad to have a specimen of these. They may be justly commended as belonging to that perfection of logic, of which the boast is to deduce *quidlibet ex quolibet*. Padus (the Po) is clearly derived from Paddan, the plain of Mesopotamia. The author is, however, aware of the objection, that the more ancient name of that river was Eridanus, but this difficulty is easily and satisfactorily disposed of as follows: Eraz, it seems, signifies in Hebrew, a cedar or any resinous tree, and *z* is convertible with *d*. Now the banks of the Po abound with that species of trees—nothing can be more evident, therefore, than that Eraz is the etymon of Eridanus, and the Hebrews, or some other oriental people, the origin of the Italian races. If the reader is satisfied with this account of the matter, it will not diminish his gratification to be informed, that Mr. Mazzochi himself most heartily participates in it. “Confesso ingenuamente, (says he) che questa etimologia della voce Eridano mi é sempre piaciuta assai.” The reasonings of Maffei are scarcely less cogent. He supposes these Etruscans to be the race expelled from Canaan by the Moabites or children of Lot. Nothing is more probable, as will appear from the following circumstances. The river Arnon (whence obviously Arno) flowed not far from that part of Canaan where Abram and Lot first sojourned, and one of its districts also was called Etroth, which is very nearly Etruria. Moreover, they erected their places of worship on hills or high places—they formed corporeal images of their Gods—and what is most conclusive of all, were much addicted to divination and augury. If any one is so very a Pyrrhonist as to withhold his assent from a theory supported by such arguments, we recommend to his consideration the opinion of Guarnacci, who brings the race directly from the East, and represents them as originally a set of stragglers dispersed by the flood, or at furthest, by the confusion of Babel. The Umbri, the Aborigines of the Etrurians, he supposes to have been the same people, who, from their wandering habits, got the name of Pelasgi, and at length emigrated to Greece and to Lydia. So that Signor Guarnacci turns the tables completely upon the last mentioned nations, and accounts for any resemblance in

<sup>\*</sup> Miscell. W. vol. iv. p. 184.      <sup>†</sup> Micali, Bossi.

language, religion, manners or arts between them and the Etruscans, by tracing their origin up to this people.

In general; the oriental theory has been supported chiefly upon the ground that the Etruscans wrote from right to left, and frequently marked only the consonants, leaving the vowels, as in the Hebrew, to be supplied by the reader. But this system in all its modifications and varieties, has been opposed by other antiquarians, who have declared for a Celtic origin, and who have supported their opinions by reasonings as refined, and analogies as remote and fanciful. The chief of these are Bardetti, Pelloutier, Adelung and Heyne. After all, the most learned and judicious writer upon this subject is Lanzi, who does not pretend formally to discuss and determine the origin of the Etruscans, although he is inclined to think them descendants of the Lydians. But he maintains, that all that they are remarkable for—their religion, learning, language and arts—is to be traced up to Greece as their source. Those beautiful urns and vases so much celebrated in modern times, he maintains, were executed after the reduction of Etruria by the Romans, and when there subsisted a thorough intercourse between Italy and Greece.

But whatever may have been the origin of the Etruscans, they became at one period a powerful and victorious people. They conquered Liguria, made the Latins their tributaries or allies, expelled the Osci from Campania, and founded the famous city of Capua. Their name almost superseded the general denomination of Italians. They enjoyed all the prosperity which good laws, a flourishing commerce, and the successful cultivation of the arts confer. The league or confederacy, however, by which their different states were united, became, in the end, discordant and feeble—their enemies multiplied upon them, and they successively lost all that they had ever acquired. The Samnites expelled them from Campania—the Gauls from the region between the Alps and the Apennines—the Umbrians recovered some of the territories which they had conquered on that side—they were driven from the sea by the Syracusans and Carthaginians—and, at length, a city arose upon the banks of the Tiber, of which the foundations had been laid, in obscurity, by a colony from Alba, or by a band of outlaws from the towns of the Equi, the Volsci, the Marsi, &c. and which was destined not only to assume the entire dominion of Italy, but to “veil earth in her haughty shadow.” There appears to have subsisted from the building of the city, a constant and very intimate intercourse in peace and in war,

between the Romans and these their politer neighbours. Traces of such an intercourse were visible in many forms and usages at Rome. For instance, it was from the Etruscans that they borrowed the purple vest, the sceptre surmounted by an eagle, the curule chair, the lictor and the fasces—and in common with the same people, and, probably, in imitation of them, they celebrated the triumph and the oration, the gladiatorial combat and the circensian game. There was a still more important particular, in which we have the best evidence, that they long continued to acknowledge their dependence upon their first instructors. This was divination, which seems to have been taught in Etruria as a regular system or science—a sort of art for the interpretation of natural signs—and of which, the mysteries or occult doctrines and ceremonies were confided only to some privileged families. Their prognostics were taken, according to Bentley, from three things—*exta*, *fulgura* and *ostenta*—the entrails of cattle, thunders and monstrous births. This branch of knowledge was reckoned so important at Rome, that some of the Patrician youth used, in more ancient times, to be sent into Etruria, for the purpose of being regularly instructed in its principles.\*

It is worthy of remark, that the religion of the Etruscans and Latins was very unlike the elegant and voluptuous mythology of Greece. Their divinities were more simple and rustic, but as it generally happens, less licentious than the refined society of Olympus, with whom, however, some of them were, in progress of time, confounded by the Romans. This difference is pointed out by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in a passage which is thus translated by Mr. Dunlop.† “The Romans did not admit into their creed those impious stories told by the Greeks of the castration of their gods, or of destroying their own children, of their wars, wounds, bonds and slavery, and such like things as are not only altogether unworthy of the divine nature, but disgrace even the human. They had no wailing and lamentations for the sufferings of their gods, nor, like the Greeks, any Bacchic orgies or visits of men and women together in the temple. And if, at any time, they admitted such foreign pollutions, as they did with regard to the rites of Cybele and the Idæan Goddess, the ceremonies were performed under the grave inspection of Roman magistrates: nor even now does any Roman disguise himself to act the mummeries performed by the Priests of Cybele.” Dionysius thinks, however, that this difference was altogether owing to the reforms introduced by their first law-

\* Val. Max. lib. i. c. 1. Cic. de Divin. lib. i. c. 4

† Antiq. Roman —lib. ii. c. 15.

giver into the national religion, which he supposes to have been originally the same with that of the Greeks. It seems, upon the whole, to be a better account of the matter, that the religion of the Romans had its origin among a graver and severer people, and this difference, in so important an element of society, (whether it be considered as a cause or an effect) may throw great light upon other important phenomena in the character and history of the **POPULUS REX**.

Of the Etruscan and Latin languages, the origin is traced by different authors agreeably to their theories concerning the first peopling of the country. Lord Monboddo, for example, deduces them from the Pelasgic, which, he affirms, was introduced into Italy by a colony of Arcadians, *only* seventeen generations before the siege of Troy. The Latin he considers as the most ancient dialect of the Greek, and as it came off the parent stock before any other now known to us, we are not to wonder at its retaining more of the roughness of the Hebrew, from which he believes the Pelasgic to be derived. Lanzi is also of opinion that both the Latin and the Etruscan sprang from the Greek, and accounts for the resemblance between them, by this fact of a common origin. Horne Tooke thinks, that "the bulk and foundation of the Latin language is Greek; but that great part of the Latin is the language of our Northern ancestors, grafted upon the Greek." It is the opinion of Mr. Dunlop that both these propositions are too broadly stated by that distinguished philologist. For, in the first place, he does not believe that any Northern tongue was grafted *immediately* upon the Greek, after the latter had been introduced into Italy, though he admits that the Celtic or the Slavonic, or both, may originally have contributed to form the primitive Italian language, which, from the oldest monumental inscriptions, appears, at one time, to have prevailed over the whole peninsula, from the Alps to Calabria. He considers it, however, as a still greater error, to suppose that the Greek language is the basis of the Latin. That much of the Augustan Latin is derived from that source, he does not dispute; but he maintains that this copious admixture of Greek may be distinctly traced to a period not more remote than the close of the sixth century of the Roman era, i. e. to the taking of Tarentum, A. U. C. 482. It seems difficult to resist this conclusion, but we think from the specimens by which we shall presently exemplify this change, that our readers will agree with us in pronouncing it one of the most extraordinary revolutions of the kind that have ever taken place in any country. There are many instances, indeed, of nations that have been subjugated and overrun by barbarians, learning, by degrees, to speak the

language of their conquerors, or mingling their own with it, so as to form, in process of time, a new one altogether different in structure and pronunciation from either of the primitive tongues. The history of the Teutonic irruptions of the fifth and subsequent centuries is full of these. But the example before us is that of a decided revolution, brought about in an incredibly short space of time, in the language of an ambitious, triumphant, and governing nation, by what would seem to be, after all, a distant and comparatively slight intercourse with a conquered people. There is, to be sure, some weight in the considerations by which it is attempted to explain the phenomenon. Foreigners were admitted, without much difficulty, to the freedom of the city, and all languages not fixed and ascertained by literary composition, are liable to great fluctuation. The authority of Polybius\* too, is express, that a treaty concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians, in the 245th year of the City, was written in a dialect so perfectly obsolete as to be, at his time, scarcely intelligible, even to the most learned men at Rome. Making every allowance, however, for the operation of such causes, it is still difficult to conceive that we are in possession of all the facts connected with the subject, so as to repose entire confidence in any conclusions to which we may come in relation to it.

Magna Græcia, to the conquest of which this sudden revolution in language and literature is ascribed, was, at the period alluded to above, in a very advanced state of improvement in all the arts of civilized life. The Greek colonies, in that part of Italy, had preserved, unimpaired, the manners and institutions of the mother country, with which, indeed, they continued to keep up a constant intercourse, both social and political. "Herodotus, the father of history, says Mr. Dunlop, and Lysias, whose orations are the purest models of the simple attic eloquence, were, in early youth, among the original founders of the colony of Thurium, and the latter held a share in its government until an advanced period of life. The Eleatic school of philosophy was founded in Magna Græcia, and the impulse which the wisdom of Pythagoras had given to the mind, promoted also the studies of literature. Plato visited Tarentum during the consulship of Lucius Camillus and Appius Claudius, which was in the 408th year of Rome, and Zeuxis was invited from Greece to paint at Crotona the magnificent temple of Juno, which had been erected in that city. History and poetry were cultivated with a success that did not dishonor the Grecian

\* Antiq. Roman.—lib. ii. c. 3.

name. Lycus of Rhegium was the civil, and Glaucus of the same city was the literary historian of Magna Græcia. Orpheus of Crotona was the author of a poem on the expedition of the Argonauts, attributed to an elder Orpheus. The lyric productions of Ibcus of Rhegium rivalled those of Anacreon and Alcæus. Two hundred and fifty-five comedies, written by Alexis of Thurium, the titles of which have been collected by Meursius, and a few fragments of them by Stephens, are said to have been composed in the happiest vein of the middle comedy of the Greeks, which possessed much of the comic force of Aristophanes and Cratinus, without their malignity, &c." And to all this it may be added, that the legislation of Zaleucus and Charondas had laid the foundations of social improvement deep in a system of wise and salutary laws.

Some very curious specimens of the primitive Latin language are come down to us. The hymn of the Fratres Arvales is supposed to be as ancient as the time of Romulus. It was inscribed, during the reign of Heliogabalus, on a stone which was discovered in opening the foundations of the Sacristy of St. Peter's, in 1778. It is as follows:—

"Enos Lases juvate,  
Neve luerve Marmar sinis incurrer in pleoris.  
Satur fufere Mars; limen sali sta berber:  
Semones alternei advocapit cunctos.  
Enos Marmor juvate,  
Triumphe! triumphe!"

These lines have been variously interpreted by learned men. Mr. Dunlop adopts Herman's version, which is as follows:—"Nos Lares juvate, neve luem Mamurisinis incurrere in plures [fortasse, flores] Satur fueris Mars: limen [i. e. postremum] sali sta vervex: Semones [semibomines] alterni jam duo capit cunctos. Nos Mamuri juvato—Triumphe! Triumphe!" We do not pretend to see, very clearly, the meaning of *limen sali sta vervex*, or of *Semones alterni jam duo capit cunctos*, and feel quite sure that these words have not been correctly interpreted by Herman. But, be that as it may, every reader will perceive, at once, the peculiarities of this old language, when compared with that of the Augustan age.

The following is the fragment of an old law of Numa, as restored by Festus—which, in this age of codification and reform, deserves no less the attention of legislators for its brevity, and the *simplicitas legibus amica*, as Justinian expresses it, than that of the philologist for the strangeness of the language in which it is written. "Sei cuius hemonem lobsum dolo sciens mortei duit



pariceidad estod. sei im imprudens se dolo maled occisit pro capite oceisei et nateis eijs endo concionem arietem subcited,"—which, being interpreted, is as follows:—"Si quis hominem liberum dolo sciens morti dederit, parricida esto: Si eum imprudens, sine dolo malo, occiderit, pro capite occisi et natis ejus in concionem arietem subjicito."

The next specimen of the Latin language which we shall exhibit, and the earliest that is extant after the *Leges Regiæ*, are the laws of the XII Tables, adopted at the beginning of the fourth century of Rome. Those who have studied the civil law are, of course, aware of Terrasson's laboured and rather ingenious attempt to restore the purity of the old Oscan text,\* in which he supposes them to have been originally written. They are, however, even in the shape in which they have been handed down to us, quite curious, and puzzling enough. But as they do not seem to have been perfectly understood, even by the ancient writers themselves, and great liberties, as Terrasson observes, were probably taken with them, by the authors to whom we are indebted for the fragments we possess, to accommodate them to the language of their own times, they can scarcely be regarded as fair specimens of what the Latin was at the period of their promulgation. We will mention here, by the way, that we think the evidence derived from all such sources far less conclusive in a philological point of view, than it appears to be considered by Mr. Dunlop, and other writers. The language of law, says Voltaire, is every where barbarous, and we may add, that many circumstances may account for a monumental inscription or two, being written in a quaint, affected style, very little approaching to that of ordinary conversation, or even in a dialect comparatively obsolete.

During the next two centuries, there is scarcely any vestige remaining of the Latin language. At the end of that long interval, we have the inscription of the celebrated *columna rostrata*, erected in honor of the naval victory of Duillius over the

\* Histoire de la Jurisprud. Romaine. p. 64, where we have an account of his system and means of conjectural emendation, as far as regards the *Jus Papyrianum*, and a much fuller development of the subject in the text than Mr. Dunlop's book affords. His history of the XII Tab. begins at page 74 cf. 88. As specimens of his labour, we cite the following passages:—L. 1<sup>o</sup> C'est Cicéron dans son second livre de *legibus* qui nous a transmis le texte de cette loi en ces termes: S'IN. JUS. VOCAT. ATQUE-EAT. Mais ce texte, tel que Cicéron le présente, n'est que le sens de l'ancien texte, qui doit être exprimé ainsi dans l'ancienne langue Oscan: SIN. JOVS. VOC. ATQUEEAT. - - - p. 94.

Loi troisième. Voici l'ancien texte. SEI. CALVITUR. PEDEMVE. STRVIT. MANUM ENDO. JACITO. Pour rétablir absolument ce texte dans son ancien langage, je crois qu'il suffirait d'ôter l'M qui est à la fin du mot PEDEM. de mettre par abréviation MAN'ENDO au lieu de MANUM ENDO et de mettre un D à la fin de jacito. &c. p. 96.

Carthaginians, A. U. C. 492. This column was dug up in the vicinity of the Capitol, in the year 1565. There are also extant the epitaphs of L. Scipio Barbatus and of his son Lucius Scipio, of which the one is somewhat more ancient, the other a year later than the abovementioned inscription. We shall present our readers with the latter, which certainly forms a very striking contrast with the language of Livius Andronicus, whose earliest dramas were published only twenty years after. It is worthy of remark too, that the epitaph of the son, though the later of the two by a good many years, is written in a more antiquated style than that of the father. As we cannot bring ourselves to believe that a corresponding change had taken place in the spoken language of that period, we must ascribe this difference, as we hinted just now, to some accidental and peculiar cause. The inscription is as follows:—

“Hunc oino plourime consentiunt duonoro optumo fuisse viro Lucium Scipione. Filios Barbati Consol Censor Ædilis hec fuit. Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe: dedit tempestatibus aide merito;” which is thus modernised, “Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ bonorum optimum fuisse virum Lucium Scipionem. Filius Barbati, Consul, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit. Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem: dedit tempestatibus ædem merito.”

The following observations of Mr. Dunlop are a very good commentary upon the preceding specimens, if we admit with him the conclusiveness of the evidence derived from inscriptions and the like, as to the general state of a language.

“On comparing the fragments of the *Leges Regiæ* with the Duillian and Scipian inscriptions, it does not appear that the Roman language, however greatly it may have varied, had either improved or approached much nearer to modern Latin in the fifth century than in the time of the kings. Short and mutilated as these laws and inscriptions are, they still enable us to draw many important conclusions with regard to the general state of the language during the existence of the monarchy, and the first ages of the republic. It has already been mentioned that the diphthong *ai* was employed where *æ* came to be afterwards substituted, as *aide* for *æde*; *ei* instead of *i*, as *castreis* for *castris*; and *oi* in place of *œ*, as *coilum* for *cœlum*. The vowel *e* is often introduced instead of *o*, as *hemo* for *homo*, while, on the other hand, *o* is sometimes used instead of *e*, as *vostrum* for *vestrum*; and Scipio Africanus is said to have been the first who always wrote the *e* in such words. *U* is frequently changed into *o*, as *hunc* for *hunc*, sometimes into *ou*, as *abdoucit* for *abducit*, and sometimes to *oi*, as *oino* for *uno*. On the whole, it appears that the vowels were in a great measure used indiscriminately, and often, especially in inscriptions, they were altogether omitted, as *bne* for *bene*, though sometimes, again, an *e* final was added, as *face* for *fac*, *dice* for *dic*. As to the consonants,—*b* at the beginning of a word was *dw*, as

duonorum for bonorum, and it was *p* at the middle or end, as *opsides* for *obsides*. The letter *g* certainly does not appear in those earliest specimens of the Latin language—the hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*, and *Leges Regiæ*, where *c* is used in its place. Plutarch says, that this letter was utterly unknown at Rome during the space of five centuries, and was first introduced by the grammarian Spurius Carvilius in the year 540. It occurs, however, in the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus, which was written at least half a century before that date; and, what is remarkable, it is there placed in a word where *c* was previously and subsequently employed, Gnaivo being written for Cnæo. The letter *r* was not, as has been asserted, unknown to the ancient Romans, but it was chiefly used in the beginning and end of words—*s* being employed instead of it in the middle, as *lases* for *lares*. Frequently the letters *m* and *s* were omitted at the end of words, especially, for the sake of euphony, when the following word began with a consonant—thus we have *Aleria cepit*, for *Aleriam cepit*. The ancient Romans were equally careful to avoid a hiatus of vowels, and hence they wrote *sin* in place of *si* in. Double consonants were never seen till the time of Ennius; and we accordingly find in the old inscriptions *sumas* for *summas*: *er* was added to the infinitive passive, as *dari* for *dari*, and *d* was subjoined to words ending with a vowel, as in *altod*, *marid*, *pucnandod*. It likewise appears that the Romans were for a long period unacquainted with the use of aspirates, and were destitute of the *phi* and *chi* sounds of the Greek alphabet. Hence they wrote *triumpe* for *triumphe*, and *pulcer* for *pulcher*. We also meet with a good many words, particularly substantives, which afterwards became altogether obsolete, and some are applied in a sense different from that in which they were subsequently used. Finally, a difference in the conjugation of the same verb, and a want of inflection in nouns, particularly proper names of countries or cities, where the nominative frequently occurs instead of the accusative, show the unsettled state of the language at that early period.

“It is unnecessary to prosecute farther the history of Roman inscriptions, since, immediately after the erection of the Duillian column in 494, Latin became a written literary language; and although the diphthongs *ai* and *ei* were retained for more than a century longer, most of the other archaisms were totally rejected, and the language was so enriched by a more copious admixture of the Greek, that, while always inferior to that tongue, in ease, precision, perspicuity, and copiousness, it came at length to rival it in dignity of enunciation, and in that lofty accent which harmonized so well with the elevated character of the people by whom it was uttered.”—pp. 48–49.

2. A great diversity of opinion seems to have prevailed among the Roman critics of a more recent period, concerning the merits of the earlier comic and tragic writers, but especially the former. Cicero generally expresses himself with regard to them in respectful and even flattering terms—it was a saying of Varro's, that if the Muses spoke Latin they would use the language of Plautus—Cæsar complimented Terence, as in style, at least, a successful imitator of Menander, and we

may judge, from a well known passage of Velleius Paterculus, that some of the best educated men, even to the last, entertained the same sentiments. Indeed, it might fairly be inferred from the keenness and vehemence with which Horace declaims against the perverse taste of the times in this particular, that they were exceedingly popular in the Augustan age. That elegant satirist seems to be out of all patience with his countrymen for their misplaced, not to say foolish admiration, as he is pleased to express it, of such rude, unfinished works. Nor are we to suppose, as W. Schlegel affirms, that Horace was unable or unwilling to see excellence in any thing but a cold and prosaical accuracy, and the polished littleness of a finical and fastidious age. If we could, by any possibility, be brought to think thus of so enthusiastic an admirer of the Greek models—of a poet who has celebrated the genius of Pindar in a strain not unworthy of his own matchless lyre—we must recollect, that on this occasion, at least, his opinion is confirmed by that of Quintilian,\* of all critics, perhaps, the most enlightened and unerring, as the most dispassionate and impartial. That grammarian speaks of the tragedies of Attius and Pacuvius very much as Horace does in the epistle to Augustus.† He bestows upon them some commendation, but it is quite evident that he considers no Roman tragedy as at all approaching to the excellence of the Greek models, but the Thyestes of Varius, and perhaps the Medea of Ovid, while he condemns the comic writers, *en masse*, and scruples not to throw out a doubt whether the Latin language were susceptible of those nice shades and delicate graces that constitute the perfection of the comic style, as it had been exemplified in the master pieces of Aristophanes and Menander. There is a passage in Aulus Gellius,‡ which deserves, on more accounts than one, to be cited in reference to these Latin imitations, or translations rather of the Greek drama. “We often read, says he, the comedies which our poets have taken from Menander and Posidius, Apollodorus and Alexis, &c. While we are reading them by themselves, we find no fault with them; they even seem to be written with so much elegance and grace, that you would suppose nothing could be better done. When you come, however, to compare them with

\* Inst. Orat. lib. x. c. 1.

† Tentavit quoque rem si dignè vertere posset;  
Et placuit sibi, naturâ sublimis et acer

• Nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter andet;  
Sed turpem putat in scriptis metuitque lituram. p. 164, and seq.

‡ Lib. ii, c. 23.

the Greek originals from which they are taken, and to examine them together verse for verse, with a deliberate and scrupulous criticism, it is surprising how despicable they appear: so entirely are they eclipsed by the inimitable wit and beauty of the Greek compositions." He mentions an instance that had but recently occurred to him, in reading the *Plocius* of Cæcilius, which he bethought him of subjecting to the test of such an examination with the original, the *Plocius* of Menander. He declares that it was the exchange of Diomed and Glaucus, and has endeavoured, by a comparison of several passages, to point out the disadvantage to which the Greek poet was seen in his Latin dress.

The regular drama at Rome was divided, as to comedy, into *Comedia* simply, (or *Comedia palliata*) and *Comedia togata*—the former treating Greek subjects, and representing Greek characters and manners—the latter, Roman. There was a corresponding division of tragedy into *Tragedia palliata*, and *Tragedia prætextata*. As for domestic subjects, they were so seldom handled by the dramatic writers, that the class of *Togatæ* and *Prætextatæ* must have been very far from extensive. Afranius is celebrated as having excelled in the former, but Mr. Dunlop thinks with Schlegel that his plays were probably Greek pieces, accommodated to Roman manners, since Afranius lived at a period when Roman Literature was altogether imitative.

The first attempt at a regular dramatic fable was made, as we have already had occasion to observe, by Livius Andronicus, who was taken prisoner A. U. C. 482, and brought to Rome as a slave. He began to publish, that is to act his plays about the year 513–514, immediately after the first Punic war. He was for some time the sole performer. By overstraining his voice in declamation, it at length failed him, and he was constrained to resort to a very singular expedient to supply its defects, which was no other than employing a boy to declaim with the flute in the Monologues and other parts requiring extraordinary exertion while he gesticulated in concert, and only used his own voice in the colloquial and easy passages. What is still more remarkable, this whimsical division of labour—calculated, one would suppose, to produce an effect ludicrous in itself, and inconsistent with every idea of good *acting* or scenic illusion—actually grew up into a system, and continued under certain modifications to subsist on the Roman stage during the most refined periods of taste and literature.

Livius Andronicus appears to have written both tragedies and comedies, but scarcely any thing more than their titles are come down to us. The longest passage that remains is a hymn to

Diana, recited by the chorus, in the tragedy of Ino. We quote these verses for the purpose of exemplifying that sudden change in the Latin language, of which we have already had occasion to say so much:—

“Et jam purpureo suras include cothurno  
Baltheus et revocet volucres in pectore sinus;  
Pressaque jam gravidâ crepitem tibi terga pharetrâ  
Dirige odorisequos ad cæca cubilia canes.”

Indeed, we are not surprised—if we are to suppose that the Scipian monuments afford us a fair specimen of what the language was at that time—that the authenticity of these smooth and accurate hexameters, which are not fixed upon Livius Andronicus by the most conclusive evidence in the world, has been called in question by some very able critics.

According to Cicero,\* the plays of this ancient writer were not worthy of being read a second time; yet, it appears from Horace's Epistle to Augustus, that even in that cultivated age, they were used as a school book at Rome.

The first imitator of Livius Andronicus in the regular drama, was Nævius, a native of Campania. His early plays were published about A. U. C. 519. Very little more than the titles of his tragedies have been preserved: they are like all the rest of this period, every one of them Greek, such as *Alcestis*, *Dulorestes*, *Iphigenia*, *Hector*, *Protesilaus*, &c. He seems to have excelled more, however, in comedy and railing. Some of his sarcasms were levelled at the elder Scipio, who treated them with profound contempt: but an attack of the same kind upon the great family of the Metelli, eventuated in his being cast into prison, and ultimately compelled to take refuge at Utica, where he died about the year 550.

Besides his dramatic works, Nævius translated the Cyprian Epic, an old Greek poem, which may be considered as standing in somewhat the same relation to the *Iliad*, as the *Orlando Innamorato* to the *Orlando Furioso*. This ancient Epic was by some ascribed to Homer, but Herodotus† affirms, with great confidence, that it was not the work of that poet. The last production of Nævius was a metrical chronicle of the first Punic war, of which Cicero,‡ with his usual partiality for these antiquated writers, expresses a very high opinion, and from which he supposes Ennius to have borrowed much. This chronicle was written in the uncouth, irregular Iambics, called the Saturnian verse—

Versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant—

\* Brutus, c. 18.

† Lib. ii. c. 93.

‡ Brutus, c. 19.

which was the genuine, primitive Italian measure, before the Latin language had been moulded into poetical form by the rules and models of the Greek. According to Hermann, the regular Saturnian line consisted of two Iambuses, an Amphibrachys, and three Trochees : subject, of course, to the usual metrical liberties.

But a much more prominent name in this early period of Roman literature, presents itself next in order. This was Ennius, who has been universally entitled the Father of Roman Song. He was a native of Rudice, a town in Calabria, and died about A. U. C. 585, at the age of seventy. After having been absent a long time in the military service, he returned to Rome with Cato the Censor, about the year 550, and setting up a frugal establishment upon the Aventine, devoted himself to literary studies, and endeavoured to gain a livelihood by teaching the Patrician youth the language of his native country. He died very poor—but his great patrons “helped to bury whom they helped to starve.” His bust was placed in the family tomb of the Scipios, which is supposed to have been discovered in the year 1780, on a farm between the Via Appia and the Via Latina. The sepulchre, however, was “tenantless of its heroic dwellers,” and no memorial or monument of the conqueror of Hannibal was found by the side of that “laurelled bust.”

It is impossible to reflect upon the vast space which Ennius fills in the history of Roman literature—on the interesting epoch at which he flourished—on the number and variety of his works, and on the extraordinary popularity which they continued to enjoy for centuries after his death, without most heartily uniting in Scaliger's wish, that he had been preserved to us instead of Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, and *tous ces garçons là*. What, indeed, was all the turgid imbecility—the stuffed and painted decrepitude of a superannuated and declining literature, in comparison of those simple and native charms, whatever they were, which recommended the old bard to Virgil's imitation and the praise of Horace, which caused his *Annals* to be recited amidst the plaudits of the theatres, even in the age of the Antonines,\* and Seneca to nickname the whole Roman people, a *populus Ennianus*. Wakefield, in one of his letters to Fox, cited by Mr. Dunlop, (v. i. p. 228) says, that “a very imperfect notion is entertained in general, of the copiousness of the Latin language, by those who confine themselves to what are styled

\* Aul. Gellius, lib. xviii. c. 5. Antoninus Julianus, the rhetorician, heard that a certain reader was reciting Ennius in the Theatre. Eamus, inquit, auditum nescio quem istum *Ennianistam*: hoc enim se ille nomine appellari volebat. Quem cum jam *inter ingentes clamores* legentem invenissemus (legebat autem librum ex *Annalibus Ennii septimum*, &c.

the Augustan writers. The old comedians and tragedians, with Ennius and Lucilius, were the great repositories of learned and vigorous expression. I have ever regarded the loss of the old Roman poets, particularly Ennius and Lucilius, from the light they would have thrown upon the formation of the Latin language, and its derivation from the Æolian Greek, as the severest calamity ever sustained by philological learning." We are persuaded, from the circumstances already adverted to, that our loss has not been confined to the curiosities of philology. Ennius, of all those old writers, was the only one that produced any thing like a *national* work, and this was, doubtless, the true secret of his popularity at Rome. His "Annals" were a metrical chronicle, similar to that of Nævius mentioned above, but far more extensive, inasmuch as it comprehended the whole series of events, from the earliest and fabulous periods of Roman story; down to the Istrian war. Our regret, indeed, for the supposed loss, would be greatly diminished, if we thought with Mr. Dunlop, that this work of Ennius was no more than a gazette in verse—for nothing, of that kind, could aspire to a comparison with the "pictured page" of Livy, the most animated, eloquent and graphic of historians—but we imagine that there was a much stronger infusion of poetry and fiction in the "Annals," than could have been tolerated in any prose composition. Indeed, such is the necessary inference even from our author's own account of the matter in the following passage.

"The Annals of Ennius were partly founded on those ancient traditions and old heroic ballads, which Cicero, on the authority of Cato's *Origines*, mentions as having been sung at feasts by the guests, many centuries before the age of Cato, in praise of the heroes of Rome. Niebuhr has attempted to show, that all the memorable events of Roman history had been versified in ballads, or metrical chronicles, in the Saturnian measure, before the time of Ennius; who, according to him, merely expressed in the Greek hexameter, what his predecessors had delivered in a ruder strain, and then maliciously depreciated these ancient compositions, in order that he himself might be considered as the founder of Roman poetry. The devotion of the Decii, and death of the Fabian family—the stories of Scævola, Cocles, and Coriolanus—Niebuhr believes to have been the subjects of romantic ballads. Even Fabius Pictor, according to this author, followed one of these old legends in his narrative concerning Mars and the Wolf, and his whole history of Romulus. Livy too, in his account of the death of Lucretia, has actually transcribed from one of these productions; since, what Sextus says, on entering the chamber of Lucretia, is nearly in the Saturnian measure:—

"Tace, Lucretia, inquit, Sextus Tarquinius sum,  
Ferrum in manu est, moriere si miseris vocem."



But the chief work, according to Niebuhr, from which Ennius borrowed, was a romantic epopee, or chronicle, made up from these heroic ballads, about the end of the fourth century of Rome, commencing with the accession of Tarquinius Priscus, and ending with the battle of Regillus. The arrival, says Niebuhr, of that monarch under the name of Lucumo—his exploits and victories—his death—then the history of Servius Tullius—the outrageous pride of Tullia—the murder of the lawful monarch—the fall of the last Tarquin, preceded by a supernatural warning—Lucretia—Brutus and the truly Homeric battle of Regillus—compose an epic, which, in poetical incident, and splendour of fancy, surpasses every thing produced in the latter ages of Rome. The battle of Regillus, in particular, as described by the annalists, bears evident marks of its poetical origin. It was not a battle between two hosts, but a struggle of heroes. As in the fights painted in the Iliad, the champions meet in single combat, and turn by individual exertions the tide of victory. The dictator Posthumius wounds King Tarquin, whom he had encountered at the first onset. The Roman knight Albutius engages with the Latin chief Mamilius, but is wounded by him, and forced to quit the field. Mamilius then nearly breaks the Roman line, but is slain by the Consul Herminius, which decides the fate of the day. After the battle of Regillus, all the events are not so completely poetical; but in the siege of Veii we have a representation of the ten years war of Troy. The secret introduction of the troops by Camillus into the middle of the city, resembles the story of the wooden horse, and the Etruscan statue of Juno corresponds to the Trojan Palladium.\* p. 79.

The tragedies and comedies of Ennius were mere translations from the Greek, as may be inferred from their very names, Medea, Cresphontes, Eretheus, Hecuba, Eumenides, &c. Of his other works, it would be more regular to speak under the head of miscellaneous literature, but it may be as well to dispatch them here. The principal of these were satires *phagetica*, (a sort of culinary digest or *Almanach des Gourmands*,) a

\* As a specimen of the poetry of Ennius, we subjoin the following pretty verses. Ilia is relating to her sister Eurydice the dream, in which her pregnancy by Mars was announced to her.

“ Talia commemorat lacrumans, exterrita somno;  
 Euridica prognata, pater quam noster amavit,  
 Vivens vita meum corpus nunc deserit omne.  
 Nam me visus homo polcer per amœna salicta  
 Et ripas raptare, locosque novos: ita sola  
 Post illa, germana soror, errare videbar;  
 Tardaque vestigare, et quærere, neque posse  
 Corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.  
 Exin compellare pater me voce videtur  
 Heis verbis—O gnata, tibi sunt antegerendæ  
 Ærumnæ; post ex fluvio fortuna resistet.  
 Hæc pater ecfatus, germana, repente recessit;  
 Nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus:  
 Quamquam multa manus ad cœli cœrula Templâ  
 Tendebam lacrumans, et blanda voce vocabam.  
 Vix ægro tum corde meo me somnus reliquit.”

poem on the nature of things, entitled *Epicharmus*, and a prose translation of the *ἡγε ἀναγνώστῳ* of Euhemerus. The *Phagetica* would have been a rare curiosity in these times; to us, who humbly confess ourselves at an immeasurable distance from the transcendental gastronomy of Kitchener and Beauvilliers, a much greater curiosity, than those enlarged and scientific treatises which, in this philosophic age, have so signally enlarged the boundaries of that interesting department of knowledge. His translation of Euhemerus, would have been, if possible, a still more curious relic.

"Euhemerus is generally supposed to have been an inhabitant of Messene, a city of Peloponnesus. Being sent, as he represented, on a voyage of discovery by Cassander, King of Macedon, he came to an island called Panchaia, in the capital of which, Panara, he found a temple of the Tryphilian Jupiter, where stood a column inscribed with a register of the births and deaths of many of the gods. Among these, he specified Uranus, his sons Pan and Saturn, and his daughters Rhea and Ceres; as also Jupiter, Juno, and Neptune, who were the offspring of Saturn. Accordingly, the design of Euhemerus was to show, by investigating their actions, and recording the places of their births and burials, that the mythological deities were mere mortal men, raised to the rank of gods on account of the benefits which they had conferred on mankind—a system which, according to Meiners and Warburton, formed the grand secret revealed at the initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries." p. 94.

The most important remains, however, of this period of Roman literature, are the comedies of Plautus and Terence. The former was the son of a freedman, and was born at Sarsina, a town of Umbria, about A. U. C. 525. The latter, as has been already mentioned, was a Carthaginian slave. The *Andria*, his first comedy, was published in the year 587, when the author was 27 years of age. After he had given to the stage the six comedies which we now possess, he went to Greece with a view to improve himself in his art, but he never returned, having died there at the early age of 34.

The works of these writers possess, independently of their intrinsic merit, the accidental attraction of being the only specimens that has been preserved to us, of the new comedy of the Greeks. The numerous, or rather innumerable productions of Menander,\* Diphilus, Philemon, Apollodorus, Epicharmus, &c. are, with the exception of a few fragments, all perished, and we are left to conjecture what they were from the Latin copies of

\* Aul. Gellius informs us that Menander wrote 106 Comedies, of which only eight were crowned.

Plautus and Terence. From the chapter in Aulus Gellius, however, of which we translated a part in a preceding page, it is certain that these afford us but a very imperfect idea of the originals. What Terence says in his own justification, in the prologue to the *Adelphi*, is additional evidence to the same effect. It shews that both he and Plautus took such liberties with the plots of their Greek masters, as to make it sometimes difficult to judge, from their imitations, what the original fable had been.

What first strikes a modern reader upon a perusal of these plays, is the eternal recurrence of the same characters, scenes and catastrophes. In the twenty comedies of Plautus, with the exception of the *Amphytrion*, which is a drama of a peculiar class, or as the author himself calls it, a *tragi-comedy*, there is scarcely any variety in his *dramatis personæ*. In this respect, they bear a striking resemblance to the ancient Italian masques, which were so contrived as to generalize the usual classes and professions of society in which the shopkeeper, (*Pantalone*) the attorney, (*Balanzone*) the intriguer, (*Brighella*) the stupid valet (*Harlequin*) the braggart captain, (*Capitan Spaviento*) &c. are always on the scene. What is still worse, very few of those personages are exactly *comme il faut*. Perhaps, it would be somewhat extravagant to compare these pictures of Athenian manners (for such they were) with the scenes exhibited in a certain popular farce, which is dignified with the title of "Life in London." But the truth is, that human nature appears to very nearly as great advantage in "Tom and Jerry," as in the comedies of Plautus and Terence. The very names of some of their favourite characters will not bear mentioning in decent company, and there are passages, in which their low manners and practices are painted in such strong colours, as to be quite disgusting. We refer for examples of such pictures, to the first scene of the fourth act, to the third scene of the first act, and to the second scene of the second act of the *Asinaria*, and to the passage quoted in a subsequent page from the *Captevei*.<sup>\*</sup> "Their plots," says Dryden, "were commonly a little girl, stolen or wandering from her parents, brought back unknown to the city—there got with child by some one, who, by the help of his servant, cheats his father—and when her time comes to cry Juno Lucina, one or other sees a little box or cabinet which was carried away with her, and so discovers her to her friends—if some God do not prevent it by coming down in a machine,

<sup>\*</sup> Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena  
Vixerit et meretrix blanda—Menander erit.—Ovid *Amer*.

and taking the thanks of it to himself. By the plot, you may guess much of the characters of the persons—an old father who would willingly, before he dies, see his son well married; a debauched son, kind in his nature to his mistress, but miserably in want of money; and a servant or slave, who has so much art as to strike in with him, and help him to dupe his father; a braggadocio captain; a parasite; a lady of pleasure. As for the poor honest maid, on whom the story is built, and who ought to be one of the principal actors in the play, she is commonly mute in it. She has the breeding of the old Elizabeth way; which is, for maids to be seen and not heard."

We are to look for the cause of this singular uniformity to the manners and customs of the Greeks. These did not admit of that variety of character which presents such an inexhaustible field to modern comedy. In the works of Moliere, for example, we see the impress of a cultivated age. It was a period when manners were reduced to a system which was regulated by its own code—and that a most rigorous one—of usages and laws, and were infinitely diversified by the various tastes, pursuits and conditions of a very advanced stage of society. The perpetual intercourse of the *beau monde*—of the opulent, the educated, and the witty—for the sole purposes of pleasure and conversation, made it the study of every individual to approximate as nearly as possible to the approved standard of character and conduct, however arbitrary or artificial, and the exquisite sense of propriety, in reference to that standard, which was thus acquired, enabled them to detect the slightest deviation from it, and to expose it to an unsparing, though polished and elegant ridicule. The same state of things has continued ever since. Modern comedy has thus an unlimited range for the choice of its subjects and materials. The minutest peculiarities of character or behaviour eked out with a suitable stock of adventures and intrigues, which it costs very little to invent, furnish the groundwork of an amusing play. Great stress is generally laid upon the artificial distinction of ranks, as if comedy could only exist, in its perfection, under a monarchical or an aristocratic form of government. There is undoubtedly something in that, but far more depends, we conceive, upon the variety of professions with their peculiarities and pedantry, upon the state of manners with reference to rudeness or simplicity and cultivation, and upon the greater or less intercourse of society, than upon the form of the political constitution. For instance, the follies of those who imitate their superiors in accomplishments and education, or in wealth and influence, which are ridiculed in the *Bourgeois Gen-*

*l'homme*, prevail more or less, wherever what is called the "ton" is attended to—wherever there are fantastic people to set a fashion, and apes to follow one—that is to say, wherever the accumulation of wealth admits of retired leisure and good company. But among the Greeks, there was very little of what is known among us by the name of *society*. They had no home—no family circle with its unreserved intercourse and social discipline, no tea-parties, and *tertùlias* or *soirées*, and *conversazioni*. Your Greek gentleman did not value himself very highly upon the exploits of the drawing room or the amiable frivolities of our modern dandyism. They lived for the public, and in public—in the streets, the promenades, the *agora*, the porticoes, the gymnasias, and the theatres. Their whole existence was a part which they played before the people, as their tragic heroes acted theirs before its representative, the chorus. They were, indeed, a most poetical and inspired race, the developement of their taste and genius was perfect, and nothing could be more exquisite or more mature than their whole intellectual discipline and cultivation. But all this is quite consistent with the most perfect simplicity of manners, and a very inconsiderable progress in the great modern accomplishments of quizzing, persiflage, mystification, and all the other shapes and varieties of a refined ridicule. The single fact, that their virtuous women were condemned to a sort of oriental seclusion, and exercised scarcely any perceptible influence upon society, is enough to establish the truth of the preceding remarks. The exclusion of females from the society of the other sex, is a decisive proof of a state of manners savoring of rusticity and barbarism. We may judge from our own parties of brawling politicians and professed wine bibbers, from which the charms of female conversation are so rigorously shut out, what such a system leads to, even under the most favourable circumstances. Accordingly, a Greek festival was a downright drinking bout; it was called, as Cicero nicely remarks, a symposium, and not a convivium. All the delicacies of a chastened wit and raillery that make French society so delightful, must have been drowned in boisterous merriment and bacchanalian debauchery, and the very idea of *manners* is inconsistent with the "swilled insolence of such rude wassailers."

We may safely affirm, then, that the state of society at Athens was such as to restrict comedy to a very limited range in the choice of its subjects. We allude, of course, to comedies of *character*, such as Menander and the rest of that school professed to furnish. They could only paint the private life of the Athenians as they found it, and we have very little doubt that they did so faithfully—but their way of living was essentially unfit

for theatrical exhibitions of this kind. We do not mean to say—for it would be absurd to call in question the judgment of the ancient critics in such a matter—that these Greek plays were not written with exquisite elegance, and abundantly seasoned with Attic salt: although we *will* venture the opinion that their subjects are such as suit Plautus better than Terence. But a good comic poem, and a good comedy, are two very distinct things. We may illustrate the difference by the plays of Aristophanes. We think those critics in the right who consider these dramas as *sui generis*—as poems in the nature of comedy, (to borrow a phrase from the bar) rather than as comedies. Aristophanes was not eminently remarkable as a painter of individual character or an observer of private society. He was a man of extraordinary genius, the first of poets in his own way, and who might have been the first of orators, as his style has been pronounced one of the best models for forming them;\* but he is not to be classed in the same category with the writers of the new comedy. He was a severe satirist of public abuses—a vehement and relentless enemy of great state criminals, whom he thinks it quite fair to hold up to derision, even by the exaggerations of buffoonery and caricature, and to overwhelm with the most bitter and unmerciful mockery. We consider the old comedy as the genuine, as it was the first and spontaneous production of the Attic soil. It grew up naturally out of their manners and their institutions, and ceased only because another order of things had taken place, and made it necessary to accommodate the style of the imitation to the altered character of the thing imitated.

The following descriptions of two of the parts that so frequently occur in Plautus and Terence, are well executed, though that of the Parasite falls far short of the picture drawn by the strong but coarse pencil of the former; and that of the Courtesan is far more flattering than it ought to be according to the Latin comedies.†

“The parasites of Plautus are almost as deserving a dissertation as Shakspeare’s clowns. Parasite, as is well known, was a name originally applied in Greece to persons devoted to the service of the gods, and who were appointed for the purpose of keeping the consecrated provisions of the temples. Diodorus of Sinope, as quoted by Athenæus, after speaking of the dignity of the sacred parasites of Hercules, (who was himself a noted *gourmand*,) mentions that the rich, in emulation of this demigod, chose as followers persons called parasites, who were not selected for their virtues or talents, but were remarkable for extravagant flattery to their superiors, and insolence to those inferiors who approach-

\* Quinctil. Inst. Orat. Lib. x. c. 1.

† Captiv. Act I. sc. 1. Act IV. sc. 3-4.

ed the persons of their patrons. This was the character which came to be represented on the stage. We learn from Athenæus, that a parasite was introduced in one of his plays by Epicharmus, the founder of the Greek comedy. The parasite of this ancient dramatist lay at the feet of the rich, eat the offals from their tables, and drank the dregs of their cups. He speaks of himself as of a person ever ready to dine abroad when invited, and when any one is to be married, to go to his house without an invitation—to pay for his good cheer by exciting the merriment of the company, and to retire as soon as he had eat and drunk sufficiently, without caring whether or not he was lighted out by the slaves. In the most ancient comedies, however, this character was not denominated parasite, and was first so called in the plays of Araros, the son of Aristophanes, and one of the earliest authors of the middle comedy. Antiphanes, a dramatist of the same class, has given a very full description of the vocation of a parasite. The part, however, did not become extremely common till the introduction of the new comedy, when Diphilus, whose works were frequently imitated on the Roman stage, particularly distinguished himself by his delineation of the parasitical character. In the Greek theatre, the part was usually represented by young men, dressed in a black or brown garb, and wearing masks expressive of malignant gaiety. They carried a goblet suspended round their waists, probably lest the slaves of their patrons should fill to them in too small cups; and also a vial of oil to be used at the bath, which was a necessary preparation before sitting down to table, for which the parasite required to be always ready at a moment's warning.

"It was thus, too, that the character was represented on the Roman stage; and it would farther appear, that the parasites, in the days of Plautus, carried with them a sort of Joe Miller, as a manual of wit, with which they occasionally refreshed their vivacity. Thus the parasite, in the *Sticlus*, says,

"Ibo intro ad libros, et discam de dictis melioribus;"

and again—

"Libros inspexi, tam confido, quam potest,  
Me meum obtenturum ridiculis meis."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The parasite, in the *Captivi*, may be considered as a fair enough representative of his brethren in the other plays of Plautus. He submits patiently to all manner of ignominious treatment—his spirits rise and sink according as his prospects of a feast become bright or clouded—he speaks a great deal in soliloquies, in which he talks much of the jests by which he attempted to recommend himself as a guest at the feasts of the Great, but we are not favoured with any of these jests. In such soliloquies, too, he rather expresses what would justly be thought of him by others, than what even a parasite was likely to say of himself." p. 121.

"The Greek courtesan possessed attainments, which the more virtuous of her sex were neither expected nor permitted to acquire. On her the education which was denied to a spotless woman, was carefully bestowed. To sing, to dance, to play on the lyre and the lute, were accomplishments in which the courtesan was, from her earliest years, completely instructed. The habits of private life afforded ample oppor-

tunity for the display of such acquirements, as the charm of convivial meetings among the Greeks was thought imperfect, unless the enjoyments were brightened by a display of the talents which belonged exclusively to the Wanton. But though these refinements alone were sufficient to excite the highest admiration of the Greek youth, unaccustomed as they were to female society, and often procured a splendid establishment for the accomplished courtesan, some of that class embraced a much wider range of education; and having added to their attainments in the fine arts, a knowledge of philosophy and the powers of eloquence, they became, thus trained and educated, the companions of orators, statesmen and poets. The arrival of Aspasia at Athens is said to have produced a change in the manners of that city, and to have formed a new and remarkable epoch in the history of society. The class to which she belonged was of more political importance in Athens than in any other state of Greece; and though I scarcely believe that the Peloponnesian war had its origin in the wrongs of Aspasia, the Athenian courtesans, with their various interests, were often alluded to in grave political harangues, and they were considered as part of the establishment of the state. Above all, the comic poets were devoted to their charms, were conversant with their manners, and often experienced their rapacity and infidelity; for, being unable to support them in their habits of expense, an opulent old man, or dissolute youth, was in consequence frequently preferred. The passion of Menander for Glycerium is well known, and Diphilus, from whom Plautus borrowed his *Rudens*, consorted with Gnathena, celebrated as one of the most lively and luxurious of Athenian Charmers. Accordingly, many of the plays of the new comedy derive their names from celebrated courtesans; but it does not appear, from the fragments which remain, that they were generally represented in a favourable light, or in their meridian splendour of beauty and accomplishments. In the Latin plays, the courtesans are not drawn so highly gifted in point of talents, or even beauty, as might be expected; but it was necessary to paint them as elegant, fascinating, and expensive, in order to account for the infatuation and ruin of their lovers. The Greeks and Romans were alike strangers to the polite gallantry of Modern Europe, and to the enthusiastic love which chivalry is said to have inspired in the middle ages. Thus their hearts and senses were left unprotected, to become the prey of such women as the Phronesium of the *Truculentus*, who is a picture of the most rapacious and debauched of her class, and whose vices are neither repented of, nor receive punishment, at the conclusion of the drama. Dinarchus may be regarded as a representation of the most profligate of the Greek or Roman youth, yet he is not held up to any particular censure; and, in the end, he is neither reformed nor adequately punished. The portion, indeed, of the lady whom he had violated, and at last agrees to espouse, is threatened by her father to be diminished, but this seems merely said in a momentary fit of resentment." p. 158.

The comparative merits of Plautus and Terence have been so often stated and canvassed, that very little novelty can be expected in such a parallel at this time of day. The obvious



difference between them is, that the one excels in *vis comica*, the other in the portraiture of character, and the purity and elegance of his style. Plautus seems to have been a blunt, downright, hearty lover of fun, and to have written for those who are for the most part equally so—the lowest of the populace. He is always in a good humour, and never misses an occasion for raising a laugh, even by a coarse joke or by low buffoonery. His *dramatis personæ*, like some of those in Shakspeare's comedies, are shrewd cavillers and wordcatchers, always on the watch for a *double-entendre*, and unmercifully given to forced and farfetched conceits, and to all the abominations of professed punning and wit with malice aforethought. His plays, indeed, like those of the great English dramatist—as Mr. Dunlop justly observes in reference to Ennius—abundantly refute the notion that *concelli* are vices of a declining literature. Terence is entirely free from these blemishes. His dialogue is precisely what we may conceive (making allowance for the metre) the conversation of well-bred people to have been at that time in Rome, familiar and unaffected, but extremely polished, correct and elegant. Writers of all ages, from Julius Cæsar downwards, have vied with each other in extolling the merits of his style. Heinsius speaks quite rapturously of his *mira et propè ineffabilis amenitas*, the incredible charms of which he thinks with Joseph Scaliger that not one in a hundred, even of the most learned men, have eyes to see. It will be reckoned, we suppose, very absurd of us to speak of what is ineffable, and to set ourselves up for competent judges of invisible beauties. Yet we may be allowed to give in our *experience*. It agrees, in some measure, with the opinion of some of the contemporaries of Terence, who as we learn from the Prologue to the Phormio, maintained that

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—quas fecit fabulas  
Tenui esse oratione et scripturâ levi.

For the mere negative merit of purity and propriety of diction, he ought to be put into the hands of every young student of Latin, and may be read with advantage by the most accomplished scholars. But there is a faultlessness that is altogether insipid and spiritless—non peccat nisi eo quod non peccat—and it appears to us that the style of Terence is to a certain extent liable to this objection. He seems to compose always with the fear of Scipio and Lælius before his eyes, and to aim at nothing more than doing a perfectly genteel thing—“content to live in decencies forever.” We should be more struck with his elegance if he wrote with a bolder pen—if it accompanied him through all the varieties of an animated, brilliant, and diversi-

fied style. It is quite evident that his genius is not above mediocrity, and we do not suppose that without the aid of the Greek originals, his name would ever have been known to posterity. In short, nature intended him for a good translator, and he is so. Plautus has, in every respect, more boldness and originality. There is reason to think that his plays were less exact versions of the Greek comedies, than those of Terence. His own turn of mind as well as the character of his audience, may satisfy us that they were less refined than the originals: his system being, as Meinsius expresses it, *fabulas de Græco petitas argumento, Latinis salibus condire*. But it is impossible to read Plautus without feeling that he was born to write comedy. His coarse jests, his broad humour, his buffoonery, and extravagance—these are no doubt vices, but they are the rank growth of a fertile and generous soil. His very style—excessively given as he is to the use of words that occur nowhere else, and were no doubt coined by him for the occasion—proves him a writer of no ordinary powers. It is vigorous, pointed, and copious, and bears the stamp upon it of adventurous and creative talent. We have seen how highly it was esteemed by Varro. Schlegel, indeed, and after him, Mr. Dunlop, think that that learned Roman spoke merely as a philologist when he bestowed so much praise upon it; but this is only a conjecture, and we think, an unfounded one. From a passage in an author to whom we have often had occasion to refer,\* it appears that Varro was very much addicted to the study of Plautus. There were twenty-one of the comedies which had been pronounced genuine by him, and which were, therefore, called “Varronianæ,” but there were others which he did not doubt were the work of the same author, because they were written in his manner, and abounded with comic humour.

Of the tragedies of Pacuvius and Attius, we have already said almost as much as is warranted by our limits, and by the very scanty fragments of those writers which we possess. The former was a nephew of Ennius, born at Brundisium, A. U. C. 534. He died in 624, at the advanced age of 90. Attius lived at a still later period; it is supposed from 584 to 664. Cicero had seen and conversed with him. Their characters as writers, are hit off in a line of the epistle to Augustus.

\* \* \* \* aufert

Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,

\* Aul. Gell. lib. iii. c. 3—the title of the chapter is *De noscendis explorandisque Plauti comediis*. lib. vii. c. 17.

As almost all their tragedies were close imitations or translations of the Greeks, and turned upon the old stories of Thebes' and Pelop's line, we think it impossible they should have had much of the force and fervour of their originals, or have made a deep and living impression upon the hearts of the Roman people. No poets of any nation can expect to handle those subjects with the same effect as Æschylus and Sophocles. Turn from the *Cedipus Tyrannus* to the *Cedipe* of Voltaire, which has always been considered by the French critics as one of that author's happiest efforts, and by some of them, we believe, as decidedly superior to the original. The difference between the Greek name, and the French mutilation of it, (bad as that is) is not, by any means, so great as between the things themselves. Even Racine, with all his admirable talents for this department of poetry, has fallen far short of the Greeks, whenever he has attempted the same subjects, as we think is clearly made out by Schlegel, in his comparison of *Phedre* with the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. The reason is obvious, and has already been hinted at in our introductory remarks. Greek tragedy was essentially and unchangeably Greek. There are associations that hallow and consecrate its subjects and its heroes, which it is impossible to call up by any composition in our modern tongues. We venture to say, that whoever has read the story of *Cedipus* in a French or Italian tragedy, before he took up *Sophocles*, will confess that he found it, in some degree, revolting and disgusting, and that it was not before he had made himself familiar with the glorious trilogy of that poet, that he felt the touching interest and awful grandeur of the theme.

The *Fabula Attellane* were a favourite and privileged amusement among the Romans. These were a sort of rude improvisatory farces resembling, it is supposed, the *Commedie dell' arte* of the Italians. They were originally derived from the *Osci*, or indigenous inhabitants of Campania. Young men of the most distinguished families of Rome, used to perform them without reproach, and even the professed actors who made their livelihood by appearing in them, were exempted from the ignominy and the disabilities which were visited upon other theatrical exhibitions.\* Until the 600th year of Rome, the old *Oscan* drama continued to be employed in them, but as this was become by that time scarcely intelligible to the people, Q. Novius introduced into them the use of Latin. In the age of Sylla, Lucius Pomponius was still more distinguished in this kind, which enjoyed the same high degree of reputation and

\* Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. c. 4.

favour, until it was in some measure superseded by the Mimes of Laberius and Publius Syrus. The principal characters seem to have been all cast in the same mould with those heroes of the Carnaval and the Fair, Harlequin and Scaramouch.

It is certainly a very curious fact, that the practical and politic, the grave and austere Romans should have been addicted to a species of buffoonery so gross and extravagant as this—and not less surprising, that the taste of the modern Italians should, at the present time, be marked by precisely the same peculiarity—so just is the observation, that the games and pastimes of children and the vulgar, retain the image of antiquity long after it has been effaced from all the other usages and institutions of society! But, as Schlegel well observes, “how would Harlequin and Pulcinello be astonished, were they to be told that they descended in a right line from the buffoons of the ancient Romans, and even from the Osci! With what drollery would they be disposed to requite the labours of the antiquarian who should trace back their glorious pedigree to this root! We know from the figures on the Greek vases, that a dress very much resembling theirs, was used even in the grotesque masks of the old comedy—long breeches and a waistcoat with arms, articles of dress which the Greeks as well as the Romans, never used except on the stage. Even in the present day, *Zanni* is one of the names of Harlequin; and *Sannio* in the Latin farces, was a buffoon, who, according to the accounts of ancient writers, had a shaved head, and a dress patched together of all colours. The figure of Pulcinello is said to be an accurate resemblance of one that has been found painted on the walls of Pompeii. If he came originally from Atella, he may still be accounted a citizen of his ancient country.”

It is impossible to decide, from any remains we possess of them, what was the precise character of the *Roman Mimes*; and wherein they differed from the Attellane Fable. Some writers contend, that they were a sort of *monodrames*—it is more probable, however, that they contained a variety of parts, which it appears, were all taken from the lowest dregs of society—thieves, courtezans, &c. Among, or perhaps above them all, however, appeared the eternal Zany, with his grotesque costume, his absurd blunders, his whimsical gesticulation, and the “ineffable stupidity” of his whole demeanour. There is a certain class in every society, that take pleasure in this sort of drollery and buffoonery—but Italy is the true country of Scaramouch. “*Les étrangers les traitaient,*” says M. de Sismondi, in reference to the *Commedie dell’ arte*, “*avec un souverain mépris; les*

Italiens rougissaient et ne savaient comment se défendre, et cependant le public ne riait qu'à ces comédies de l'art ; il y accourut toujours en foule, tandis qu'il laissait deserte la salle ou l'on représentait les comédies érudites : le public avait raison. Les reproches qu'on faisait aux comédies de l'art étaient fondés ; cependant elles seules étaient vraiment en harmonie avec l'esprit national ; elles seules représentaient la gaieté Italienne dans tout son naturel."

The Mime, however, rose in dignity in the hands of Decimus Laberius and Publius Syrus. These were two contemporaries of Julius Cæsar. The former was a Roman Knight, who at the age of 60, went upon the stage at the request of the Dictator. We still have the prologue to his first piece, in which all the critics from Macrobius down, have discovered the high spirit of a Roman citizen, complaining bitterly of his degradation. A degradation it certainly was, but so harsh a measure, was not in analogy with the rest of Cæsar's conduct, and we confess that the lamentations of the old knight, appear to us to be almost as much for appearing too late upon the stage, as for appearing at all. "It would," indeed, "have been [otherwise] difficult to conceive how, in such a frame of mind, he could assume the jocund and unrestrained gaiety of a Mime, or how the Roman people could have relished such a spectacle." The other celebrated Mime was Publius Syrus—who was brought a slave to Rome from Asia in early youth, and having been well educated, and manumitted by his master, distinguished himself by his wit and humour. He had been a performer in the provincial towns, but came to the capital to contribute his share to the splendour and popularity of Cæsar's despotism. We know nothing of his works, except by some hundreds of detached sentences or maxims, which are quite remarkable for beauty and correctness of sentiment, as well as for pointed expression—some of which are in every scholar's mouth.

"The age of Laberius, P. Syrus, and Matius, was the most brilliant epoch in the history of the actors of Mimes. After that period, they relapsed into a race of impudent buffoons ; and, in the reign of Augustus, were classed, by Horace, with mountebanks and mendicants. Pantomimic actors, who did not employ their voice, but represented every thing by gesticulation and dancing, became, under Augustus, the idols of the multitude, the minions of the great, and the favourites of the fair. The *Mimi* were then but little patronised on the stage, but were still admitted into convivial parties, and even the court of the Emperors, to entertain the guests, like the *Histrions*, *Jongleurs*, or privileged fools, of the middle ages ; and they were also employed at funerals, to mimic the manners of the deceased. Thus, the *Archimimus*, who represented

the character of the avaricious Vespasian, at the splendid celebration of his obsequies, inquired what would be the cost of all this posthumous parade; and on being told that it would amount to ten millions of sesterces, he replied, that if they would give him a hundred thousand, they might throw his body into the river. The audacity of the Mimes was carried still farther, as they satirized and insulted the most ferocious Emperors during their lives, and in their own presence. An actor, in one of these pieces, which was performed during the reign of Nero, while repeating the words, "*Vale pater, vale mater,*" signified by his gestures, the two modes of drowning and poisoning, in which that sanguinary fiend had attempted to destroy both his parents. The *Mimi* currently bestowed on Commodus, the most opprobrious appellation.—One of their number, who performed before the enormous Maximin, reminded the audience, that he who was too strong for an individual, might be massacred by a multitude, and that thus the elephant, lion and tiger, are slain. The tyrant perceived the sensation excited in the Theatre, but the suggestion was veiled in a language unknown to that barbarous and gigantic Thracian.

"The Mimes may be traced beyond the age of Constantine, as we find the fathers of the church reprehending the immorality and licentiousness of such exhibitions." p. 335.

Before we quit the subject of the Roman Drama, we will remark, that two circumstances in its history appear to us to be very singular. The one is, that the first beginnings of Roman literature, were almost exclusively in that department; and the other, that after that constellation of dramatic writers was passed away, they had not a single imitator or follower, until Varius and Ovid, each of whom wrote a tragedy. The Roman people were much more addicted to the sports of the Circus and the Theatre, than to those refined and edifying entertainments which our managers call "the legitimate drama." Terence, in the prologue to the *Hecyra*, alludes to some sad mishaps that had befallen him in the performance of that comedy. He had brought it out twice without success—the first time, his whole audience was thrown into an uproar by a rope-dancer and a boxing match, which put an end to the play. The second time, it did very well for the first act, but presently, a rumour got abroad through the theatre, that a combat of gladiators was about to take place—straightway every thing was in disorder:

————populus convolat  
Tumultuantur, clamant, pugnant de loco  
Ego interea meum non potui tutari locum.

3. The Miscellaneous Literature of the period under consideration, so far as we shall be concerned with it, comprehends satire, the writings of Cato and Varro, and the poems of Lucretius and Catullus.

The controversy about the origin of satire, is familiar to every one who has ever looked even into the Delphin edition of Horace, where Dacier's discourse upon the subject is to be found. It is somewhat curious, but principally as a philological speculation, since, whatever may have been the origin of the name or the thing, there is no visible trace either of the satyric drama of the Greeks, or the ribald farce of the Etrurian Histrions in the elegant raillery of Horace, and the lofty invective of Juvenal. The first specimen in this kind that deserves the name, were the satires of Ennius, which were imitated by Pacuvius. But the writer to whom it was most indebted, was Lucilius—born A. U. C. 605. Very few fragments of his compositions have been preserved—so that it is impossible for us to determine what their merit was—but we know that it was the subject of much controversy among the Roman critics. Horace sneers at the haste and carelessness of his predecessor, while there were others, who, in a still later age, considered him as the greatest of poets. The judicious Quintilian\* pronounces both these opinions equally extravagant, and leaves us to infer that he entertained, upon the whole, a favourable idea of this old writer's merits. The improvements which Lucilius introduced into satiric composition, were so great as to make it doubtful whether it was the same thing in his hands that it had been in those of Ennius and Pacuvius, Horace speaks of him as the first that ever wrote in this kind,† by which he means, of course, only that the satires of the older authors were not worthy of being mentioned as specimens of it.

Under this head, learned men usually speak of a work of Varro's, called the Menippean Satire. This seems to have been a jumble of prose and verse, Greek and Latin, philosophy and facetiousness, grave precept and light burlesque. It is from this work that the epithet Varronian has come to be attached to other medleys of a similar kind. Its style, we must suppose to have been much more exalted than that of the Italian Macaronic poetry, if we are to judge from works which are admitted imitations of it—the Apocolosyntosis of Seneca, the little treatise of Boëthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, and the Satyricon of Petronius Arbiter. Some of the maxims contained in the following extract, will, we have no doubt, strike our readers as eminently just, especially his rules for good conversation and the philosophic reflection for the hen-pecked husband.

\* Inst. Orat. lib. x. c. 2.

† Sat. 1, lib. ii.

"Many fragments of this *Menippean* satire still remain, but they are much broken and corrupted. The heads of the different subjects or chapters contained in it, amounting to near one hundred and fifty, have been given by Fabricius in alphabetical order. Some of them are in Latin, others in Greek. A few chapters have double titles; and though little remains of them but the titles, these show what an infinite variety of subjects was treated by the author.

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"There is a chapter concerning the duty of a husband, (*De officio Mariti*.) in which the author observes, that the errors of a wife are either to be cured or endured: He who extirpates them, makes his wife better, but he who bears with them, improves himself. Another is inscribed, "You know not what a late evening or supper, may bring with it," (*Nescis quid vespser serus vehat*.) In this chapter he remarks, that the number of guests should not be less than that of the Graces, or more than that of the Muses. To render an entertainment perfect, four things must concur—agreeable company, suitable place, convenient time, and careful preparation. The guests should not be loquacious or taciturn. Silence is for the bed-chamber, and eloquence for the Forum, but neither for a feast. The conversation ought not to turn on anxious or difficult subjects, but should be cheerful and inviting, so that utility may be combined with a certain degree of pleasure and allurements.—This will be best managed, by discoursing of those things which relate to the ordinary occurrences or affairs of life, concerning which one has not leisure to talk in the Forum, or while transacting business. The master of the feast should rather be neat and clean than splendidly attired; and if he introduce reading into the entertainment, it should be so selected as to amuse, and to be neither troublesome nor tedious. A third chapter is entitled *περί ιδιματων*; and treats of the rarer delicacies of an entertainment, especially foreign luxuries. Au. Gellius has given us the import of some verses, in which Varro mentioned the different countries which supplied the most exquisite articles of food. Peacocks came from Samos; cranes from Melos; kids from Ambrachia; and the best oysters from Tarentum. Part of that chapter *γυναικείων τραπεζών* was directed against the Latin tragic poets." Vol. ii. pp. 48–49.

Cato the Censor was as conspicuous among his countrymen for his literary studies and abilities, as for the severity of his manners and his services in war. He is spoken of in the highest terms by Cicero, in many passages of the Rhetorical works, and there is one especially, in which he represents him as wanting nothing but the elegance and polish of a foreign education.\* There was one peculiarity of his character, which pre-eminently distinguished him as a writer no less than as a senator and a magistrate, and that is, a sturdy, exclusive nationality. It is said to have been from some such motives that he undertook his work, "*De Originibus*," in seven books, which he began in his old

\* Quid enim M. Catoni præter hanc politissimam doctrinam transmarinam atque adventitiam deficit.—*De Orat.* lib. iii. c. 33.



age, and finished just before his death. It was the object of this inquiry into the history and antiquities of the Roman people, to shew how little they had been indebted to Greece, either for the origin or the improvement of their population, their language, and the arts, and virtues of civilized life. It was in this work, also, that he fixed the era of the building of the city, which he determined to have been in the first year of the 7th Olympiad. How much is it to be regretted, that this precious book should have perished, and with it, all the light it would have thrown upon the subject of our second article!

In addition to his numerous orations and the work *De Originibus*, Cato was the first Roman that wrote any thing upon the subject of medicine. Rome, if we are to believe Pliny the elder, existed 500 years, without the least assistance from the Faculty. The first physician that practised medicine professionally there, was a Greek, of the name of Archagatus, who arrived in Italy, A.U.C. 534, and whose system got him the enviable title of *carnifex*, or the executioner. Cato held him and his drugs in great horror. He believed these latter to be a secret poison, by means of which the Greeks had conspired to extirpate all barbarians, and chiefly the Romans, and that they took pay for their pretended services, only to impose the more effectually on the people, and insure the accomplishment of their diabolical purpose.\* He defended his simples, therefore, especially colewort or cabbage (which was his favourite) most manfully, and earnestly exhorted his beloved countrymen, "to remain steadfast," as Mr. Dunlop pleasantly observes, "not only by their ancient Roman principles and manners, but also by the venerable unguents and salubrious balsams which had come down to them from the wisdom of their grandfathers."

The only production of Cato which is still extant, is his treatise *De Re Rustica*, and even that seems to have been very much disfigured and mutilated by time. As it now stands, it is a loose, unconnected collection of memoranda or notes, upon the various departments of rural economy, such as any farmer might throw together from the results of his daily experience. Varro's treatise upon the same subject, is far more systematic and comprehensive. Agricultural pursuits were, of all others, the most favoured at Rome. When our ancestors, says Cato,† praised any one as a good man, they said of him that he was a good husbandman, a good farmer. Nor was this at all to be wondered at in a nation of soldiers, since, as he goes on to re-

\* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxix. c. 1. Pliny seems to side with Cato

† Cato De Re Rus. c. 1.

mark, the bravest men and the best troops are to be found among the cultivators of the soil. The consequence of this love of rural life, and the high consideration attached to such pursuits, was a wonderful progress in agricultural riches and improvements. "No country," says Varro,\* "can be compared with Italy in point of cultivation and abundance. What barley is equal to that of Campania? What wheat to the Appulian? What wine to the Falernian? What oil to the Venafranian? To such an extent has cultivation been carried, that the whole country looks like the suburbs of a great city."

The last mentioned writer flourished somewhat upwards of a century after Cato, and was a burning and a shining light in that constellation of talents which, in the age of Cicero, mingled its mild and unavailing splendours with the departing glories of the commonwealth. Varro was proclaimed by his contemporaries, the most learned of the Romans, and their decree has been ratified by posterity. Although, according to the fashion of his country, which required every citizen to take a part in the public concerns, he discharged the duties of a magistrate, and appeared, on some interesting occasions during the civil war, at the head of the republican legions, by far the greater portion of his long life was passed in rural and literary ease, at his villas, which he furnished with ample libraries, and embellished with all the objects of a cultivated and elegant taste. At the age of 70, he was included with Cicero and Atticus in the proscriptions of the second triumvirate, but he was saved by the courage of a devoted friend, and survived the liberties of Rome twenty years. His beautiful villas, however, had been seized by Mark Antony, and it is conjectured, that we owe the composition of his three books, *De Re Rustica*, to the destruction of his libraries, and his consequent inability to pursue more recondite and profound studies. His works were extremely voluminous—indeed, there is scarcely any branch of literature and philosophy, to which he had not extended his researches—and all his researches, if we are to believe the learned men of antiquity, were attended with signal success.

A list of his works is given by Mr. Dunlop, but as they are all lost, except his treatise on Agriculture, we will be excused for omitting any further mention of them. The pains, however, which he took to enrich his libraries, and the progress of the Romans in the formation of those institutions, deserve to be more particularly noticed.

\* *De Re Rus.* c. 2.

"Nor did Varro merely delight and instruct his fellow-citizens by his writings. By his careful attention in procuring the most valuable books, and establishing libraries, he provided, perhaps, still more effectually than by his own learned compositions, for the progressive improvement and civilization of his countrymen. The formation of either private or public libraries was late of taking place at Rome, for the Romans were late in attending to literary studies. Tiraboschi quotes a number of writers who have discovered a library in the public records preserved at Rome, and in the books of the Sibyls. But these, he observes, may be classed with the library which Madero found to have existed before the flood, and that belonging to Adam, of which Hilscherus has made out an exact catalogue. From Syracuse and Corinth the Romans brought away the statues and pictures, and other monuments of the fine arts; but we do not learn that they carried to the capital any works of literature or science. Some agricultural books found their way to Rome from Africa, on the destruction of Carthage; but the other treasures of its libraries, though they fell under the power of a conqueror not without pretensions to taste and erudition, were bestowed on the African princes in alliance with the Romans.

Paulus Emilius is said by Plutarch to have allowed his sons to choose some volumes from the library of Perseus, King of Macedon, whom he led captive to Rome in 585. But the honor of first possessing a library in Rome is justly due to Sylla; who, on the occupation of Athens, in 667, acquired the library of Apellicon, which he discovered in the temple of Apollo. This collection, which contained, among various other books, the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, was reserved to himself by Sylla from the plunder; and, having been brought to Rome, was arranged by the grammarian Tyrannio, who also supplied and corrected the mutilated text of Aristotle. Engaged, as he constantly was, in domestic strife and warfare, Sylla could have made little use of this library, and he did not communicate the benefit of it to scholars, by opening it to the public; but the example of the Dictator prompted other commanders not to overlook the libraries, in the plunder of captured cities, and books thus became a fashionable acquisition. Sometimes, indeed, these collections were rather proofs of the power and opulence of the Roman generals, than of their literary taste or talents. A certain value was now affixed to manuscripts; and these were, in consequence, amassed by them, from a spirit of rapacity, and the principle of leaving nothing behind which could be carried off by force or stratagem. In one remarkable instance, however, the learning of the proprietor fully corresponded to the literary treasures which he had collected. Lucullus, a man of severe study, and wonderfully skilled in all the fine arts, after having employed many years in the cultivation of literature, and the civil administration of the republic, was unexpectedly called, in consequence of a political intrigue, to lead on the Roman army in the perilous contest with Mithridates; and, though previously unacquainted with military affairs, he became the first captain of the age, with little farther experience, than his study of the art of war, during the voyage from Rome to Asia. His attempts to introduce a reform in the corrupt administration of the Asiatic provinces, procured him enemies, through whose means

he was superseded in the command of the army, by one who was not superior to him in talents, and was far inferior in virtue. After his recall from Pontus, and retreat to a private station, he offered a new spectacle to his countrymen. He did not retire, like Fabricius and Cincinnatus, to plough his farm, and eat turnips in a cottage—he did not, like Africanus, quit his country in disgust, because it had unworthily treated him; nor did he spend his wealth and leisure, like Sylla, in midnight debauchery with buffoons and parasites. He employed the riches he had acquired during his campaigns, in the construction of delightful villas, situated on the shore of the sea, or hanging on the declivities of hills. Gardens and spacious porticoes, which he adorned with all the elegance of painting and sculpture, made the Romans ashamed of their ancient rustic simplicity. These would, doubtless, be the objects of admiration to his contemporaries; but it was his library, in which so many copies of valuable works were multiplied or preserved, and his distinguished patronage of learning, that claim the gratitude of posterity. “His library,” says Plutarch, “had walks, galleries, and cabinets belonging to it, which were open to all visitors; and the ingenious Greeks resorted to this abode of the muses to hold literary converse, in which Lucullus delighted to join them. Other Roman patricians had patronized literature, by extending their protection to a favoured few, as the elder Scipio Africanus to Ennius, and the younger to Terence; but Lucullus was the first who encouraged all the arts and sciences, and promoted learning with princely munificence.

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“The library of Varro, however, and all the others which we have mentioned, were private—open, indeed, to literary men, from the general courtesy of the possessors, but the access to them still dependent on their good will and indulgence. Julius Cæsar was the first who formed the design of establishing a great public library; and to Varro he assigned the task of arranging the books which he had procured. This plan which was rendered abortive by the untimely fate of Cæsar, was carried into effect by Asinius Pollio, who devoted part of the wealth he had acquired from the spoils of war, to the construction of a magnificent gallery, adjacent to the Temple of Liberty, which he filled with books, and the busts of the learned. Varro was the only living author who, in this public library, had the honor of an image, which was erected to him as a testimony of respect for his universal erudition. He also aided Augustus, with his advice, in the formation of the two libraries which that emperor established, and which was part of his general system for the encouragement of science and learning.” Vol. ii. pp. 50-53.

The last writers included within the limits prescribed to the present article, are Catullus and Lucretius.

In reference to the merits of any merely *literary* composition, a foreigner must ever distrust his own opinions when they do not entirely coincide with those of native critics. For this rea-

son, we feel bound to admit that we probably overrate Catullus and Lucretius in considering them (for we profess to have always considered them)—as in point of original genius, the two first poets of ancient Rome. The critics of their own country say nothing that is not in their favour, but it is plain that they do not entertain so exalted an opinion of their excellence as we have ventured to express. When we speak of “the poet,” says Justinian, in the beginning of his Institutes, we mean Homer among the Greeks, and Virgil among the Romans—and there are others besides the Mantuan bard, who seem in the same way to take precedence of our favourites in the estimation of ancient writers.

Catullus had, among the poets of his own country, the title of *doctus*, or learned—for what reason, is not quite clear. If we are to suppose, however, with some of the commentators, that it was because of his familiar acquaintance with the Greek language and literature, we must do him the justice to say, that of all imitators he has the most originality—that of all erudite men he retains the greatest share of the playfulness, the buoyancy, and the vigor of natural talent. There is no constraint whatever in his movements—no parade or pedantry in his style. On the contrary, there never was a poet—we do not even except Shakspeare—who seemed to write more as the mood happened to prompt, and whose verses are stamped with such a decided character of facility and of spontaneity. This, indeed, is the great, and among the Latin poets, the peculiar charm of Catullus. Of all the Romans, he is most of a Greek, not by study and imitation, but by nature. His lively wit, his voluptuous character, his hearty affections, his powerful imagination, seem naturally to overflow in verse and “voluntary wake harmonious numbers.” Julius Cæsar Scaliger, who finds fault with every thing, disputed this poet’s pretensions to learning, and denounced his works as stuffed with nothing but vulgarity and ribaldry, but he afterwards sung a palinodia, declaring the Galliambic ode a most noble composition, and the Epithalamium of Thetis and Peleus, worthy to be placed by the side of the Eneid. Other writers have been equally lavish of their praise for other excellencies: Martial, for instance, ascribes to him an unrivalled superiority in the Epigram. It is impossible to imagine any two things from the same pen more entirely unlike each other, than the ode just mentioned, and the sweet and delicate effusion upon Lesbia’s Sparrow, nor any falling off so sudden as from either of these to the vulgarity and nastiness of some of the Hendecasyllables. His amatory poetry is less tender than that of Tibullus—and less gay and gallant than that of Ovid—but it

is more simple, more cordial, more voluptuous than either. A modern reader would be very much disappointed if he expected to find in it that delicacy of sentiment—that *culte des femmes*—that distant, mysterious, and adoring love which inspired the muse of Dante and Petrarch, and which has ever since characterised the amorous ditties of our sonnetteers. The passion of Catullus had not a particle of Platonic abstraction in it—it was as far as possible from being metaphysical. It is deeply tinged with sensuality—but it has absolute possession of his whole being—he seems to be smitten to the bottom of his heart with its power—to be quite intoxicated with its delicious raptures.\* It is that “drunkenness of soul” of which Byron speaks—from an imagination excited and exalted by visions of bliss and images of beauty—with every feeling absorbed in one devoted passion, and all the senses dissolved in a dream of love.

The sensibility of Catullus, however, is not confined to the subjects of amatory song. There are several of his poems, on various occasions, which are full of tenderness and deep pathos. Quando leggete, says Flaminio, his imitator and almost his rival—“non vi sentite voi liquefare il cuore di dolcezza.” Nothing can be more true to nature and more touching than his address to the peninsula of Sirmio—his home, and perhaps his birth-place. The Carmen Nuptiale has been often imitated, and is committed to memory by every scholar, and the Epithalamium of Julia and Manlius may be regarded as perfect in its kind.† But the noblest specimen, beyond comparison, of poetry and pathos which the works of Catullus present—the most powerful appeal to the sympathies of the human bosom as the liveliest picture of its hidden workings and intensest agonies, is that Galliambic ode to which we have already alluded. The subject is, to be sure, a very affecting one. Under the influence of a frenzied en-

\*We will exemplify this in one or two extracts—thus in the beautiful Carmen de Acme and Septimio, (the 45th.)

At Acme leviter caput reflectens  
Et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos  
Illo purpureo ore basiata,  
Sic inquit, mea vita Septimille, &c.

And so in that to Juventius (the 48th.)

Mellitos oculos tuos Juventi,  
Si quis me sinat usque basiare  
Usque ad millia basiem trecenta, &c.

So Carm. (9th.)

Quem basiabis? quoi labella mordebis, &c.

† A stanza of this little poem, which has been often quoted, is the following:—

Torquatus, volo, parvulus  
Matris e gremio suæ  
Porrigens teneras manus  
Dulce rideat ad patrem  
Semihians labello.

thusiasm, a young man forsakes his home and his country, for the purpose of dedicating himself to the service of the Idæan Goddess. The vow of chastity which a monk may break, was rendered inviolable to the Gallæ (for so the priests of Cybele were called) by the same means which, in later times, a father of the Church adopted to disarm the temptations of the flesh. Atys, in the frenzy of his first excitement, is regularly initiated. He rushes madly forth to mingle in the revelry of the Gallæ, whom he arouses by the trump and the timbrel, and wildly exhorts to follow him to the lofty groves of the Goddess. Their frantic demeanor, their Bacchanalian dances, their shrill and piercing howls, are painted with a force of colouring which nothing can surpass. The imitative harmony of the versification is perfect—it is abrupt, irregular, disordered. You hear in it the hurried step, the clashing cymbal, the resounding timbrel. To all this commotion and disorder, a moment of repose—of soft but fatal repose—succeeds. The *Mænades*, exhausted by their furious excitement, sink down at the threshold of the temple to sleep. A beautiful morning rises upon them, and Atys awakes—to despair. His lament is affecting beyond the power of language to describe. It seems wrung from a broken heart, and is fraught with all its agony and desolation. All the poetry of all ages may be safely challenged to produce any thing more painfully interesting and pathetic.

We regret that the length to which we have already extended our remarks, precludes the possibility of our bestowing upon Lucretius as much attention as the excellencies of his great work fairly entitle him to. Indeed, to do any thing like justice to him, would require a separate article. Of all Didactic poems, excepting the Georgics of Virgil, his is incomparably the first. There is a very great difference, however, between the characters of these immortal works. To say of the Georgics that it was the most elaborate and finished composition of its author in the maturity of his faculties, is to pronounce it a master-piece in its kind. It is, accordingly, a model of that high-wrought and studied elegance of which it is scarcely too much to say that no writer was ever so great a master as Virgil; and is full of the most beautiful and lofty poetry. The wonder is how the poet was able to reconcile his genius to his subject—how he could describe a plough for instance, without either sinking down into prose, or elevating his style far above the matter, and how he has contrived to throw a sort of Epic dignity and animation, without any air of burlesque, into his pictures of the Bee-hive. Indeed, to say what we think upon the subject in one word—the perfection of the Georgics is unapproachable in Didactic poetry,

and were it not that we have that work and Lucretius *De Rerum Naturâ* before our eyes, we should even doubt whether the very phrase "Didactic poetry" were not somewhat of a contradiction in terms. The brevity and simplicity of Virgil's precepts, indeed, make his poem scarcely an exception. He lays very little emphasis upon them, and is not at all ambitious of being associated with Cato and Varro as a writer *de re rusticâ*. He looks upon the face of nature and upon the labours of the husbandman with the eye of poetical genius. He seizes those features of rural life which paint themselves most strongly upon the imagination and the memory of those who have once tasted of its sweetness and repose. He dwells upon those objects which have least of the vulgarity of business about them, and embellishes and elevates and colours them with the most interesting and poetical associations. In short, his picture of the country, and a country life, is their *Beau Idéal*.

The poem *De Rerum Naturâ* is more strictly didactic, and therefore less *uniformly* poetical than the *Georgics*. The author seems more concerned about utility than beauty—about the accuracy and perspicuity of his philosophical analysis, than the elegance of his style or the smoothness and harmony of his numbers. It is an attempt to develop in six books, of from twelve to fifteen hundred lines each, the whole system of Epicurus. This philosopher, who does not seem to have died in odour of sanctity—for he had rather a bad name among the ancients—is now admitted to have laid the foundations, in physics at least, of the true philosophy. The other schools and doctors of Greece, with a crude and precipitate generalization, had attempted to reduce all things to some one element or principle, or to a very few elements and principles which they conceived to pervade the universe, and to enter into all its multifarious combinations. Before experiments had been instituted, and while observation was superficial and irregular, the absurdity of a theory that did not agree with the phenomena might easily escape exposure, and when guessing was the order of the day, one wild conjecture stood as good a chance as another. We are not to wonder, therefore, at the philosophers in their conceits rather than systems about cosmogony, &c. hinted, as it happened, at fire, air, earth or water, as the possible universal element, or gravely taught such doctrines in their schools. The atomic system of Epicurus was quite a distinct thing—it was, with all its errors, a decided step in the progress of science—and deserved to be expounded by philosophers, and celebrated in song.

The task of the poet, however, who undertakes to do both, must be admitted to be one of no ordinary magnitude and diffi-



culty. There would scarcely seem to be an *atom* of poetry floating about in the void of Epicurus. We very much doubt, accordingly, whether any poet but Lucretius could have produced such a work out of such materials. He seems, as was before observed, to think only of his philosophy. He proceeds, step by step, in a regular progress, and brings out the whole doctrine in all its bearings and consequences with a systematic fulness and accuracy. His style is admirably adapted to the subject. Like that of Catullus, it is characterised by the utmost simplicity and ease. He was withal a true poet, and whenever occasion serves, he pours out the most beautiful strains of inspiration and harmony without an effort. These delightful passages occur in every part of his work—when the reader least expects them—in the midst of a concourse of jagged or polygonal atoms, bringing about heaven only knows what combinations—they blossom forth like wild flowers, to regale his wearied senses with their freshness and perfume. This perfect simplicity, however, united with so much poetical beauty, makes it next to impossible, to translate his work into a readable English book. Good's attempt appears to us a wretched failure. It is Lucretius in the last stage of the dropsy, bloated even to suffocation, and utterly deformed.

In order to give the reader some idea of the plan of the work, and the difficulties with which the poet had to contend in his subject and materials, we will furnish a very concise summary of the first three books.

The first opens with that celebrated invocation to Venus, who is represented in a strain of wonderful poetry, as the Goddess of universal Nature, her spirit animating all things, and her smile diffusing over the whole face of creation, light and beauty and joy. For her the earth sends forth her flowers, the floods rejoice at her presence, and the heavens shed around her their selectest influences. The very birds of the air, smitten with her power, pour out their songs of love, and the beasts of the field are warmed with her fires, and agitated by her impulses. The poet beseeches her to stay the car of the Thracian God, that he may enjoy a short interval of peace for the composition of his work, and draws a picture of Mars throwing himself upon her lap, and gazing with insatiable and unutterable love upon her divine beauty, which no description can surpass. After a dedication of his work to his friend Memmius, he declares the motive that induced him to undertake it. This was to relieve the minds of men from the bondage of superstition, whose terrors are not to be dispelled by "the light of the sun or the glittering shafts of day," but by reason alone. He not only repels the charge of impiety, but retorts it upon

those who advance it, exemplifying by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the accursed influence of a false religion. His personification of superstition is exceedingly grand, but too well known to be more than alluded to here. He next enters upon his subject, and begins by proving the truth of the maxim, *ex nihilo nihil fieri*, and that all things are formed of certain minute corpuscles or atoms, endued with solidity and mobility, which, though not palpable to sense, are easily conceived by the mind—that there is also a vacuum—that nothing exists in nature besides these, all other objects about which we are conversant in life, being mere incidents or varieties, or combinations of them—and that the elementary corpuscles are, in consequence of their independent existence and impenetrability, indivisible and so eternal. He confutes the opinion of Heraclitus, who held the first principle of all things to be fire, and of other philosophers who taught the same of air, water and earth. His next sally is against the Homœomery of Anaxagoras, of which he exposes the absurdity. He contends that the Universe is infinite—that space is from its very nature, unconfined—that this attribute of boundlessness, if it may be so expressed, belongs equally to body and to void. Hence, he infers that there can be no central point of gravitation, and concludes the book with a panegyric upon philosophy, by the light of which we are enabled to understand so much that is wonderful in the economy of nature. The whole discussion is interspersed with passages of beautiful poetry, such as that beginning with "*Juvat integros accedere fontes, &c.*"—and the well known simile, "*Sed veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes, &c.*" His explanations also of the rarity of bodies, of specific gravity, and of time, are accurate and curious, and every point is argued with the closest logic. He apologises in this book for his native tongue, as yet a stranger to the language of science and philosophy.

The second opens with some beautiful verses upon the pleasures which arise from the study of philosophy. There is in the famous episode upon the happiness of a rural life in the second Georgic, *O fortunatos nimium, &c.*—a close imitation of some parts of this passage. The poet then returns to his subject and shews that there is, of necessity, a perpetual motion in atoms, and that this motion is of three kinds, direct, repulsive, and oblique or curvilinear—that they are not all of the same magnitude or shape, some of them being globular, others polygonal, and others again hooked (*hamata*)—and that though not infinite in variety, they are so in number. The descent of these atoms through the void is described as being more or less accelerated in proportion to the quantity of matter, and not to the superficial

contents and a slight eccentricity in their course—‘*exiguum clinamen principiorum*’—preserves, in some unaccountable manner, the freedom of the will which might otherwise seem to be subjected to inflexible and merely mechanical laws and impulses. The formation of compound bodies is then explained, and all their varieties as to hardness, smoothness, grossness, &c. are accounted for by corresponding varieties in the atoms of which they are composed. The prismatic colours are next explained, and we are taught that they do not belong to the atoms themselves, but are mere effects of their combination.\* The next matters treated of, are the immensity of creation and the plurality of worlds. But as no compound being can be eternal, all these worlds are destined after certain periods, to decay and dissolution, when their fragments or rather their disengaged atoms, will enter again into other combinations, and grow at length into new worlds. Our earth, Lucretius thought, was even then in a state of exhaustion and decline, and ought, ere this, to have undergone its last change.

In the third book, the poet proceeds to the great object of the Epicurean philosophy, and its proudest boast, which was to relieve its disciples from those terrors and anxieties about death and a state beyond it, that haunt the minds of the unenlightened. The soul (*anima*) he believes to be material. It was the same in kind as the mind, (*animus*) but inferior to it in rank, the latter being seated about the heart, which is the source of life, whilst the former is diffused over the whole body, and receives its impulses from its better companion. They were not of a simple nature, but were made up of air, (*aer*) heat (*calor*)—a certain *venti cæca potestas*—and a refined, undefinable something which is the origin of sensibility. Thus, in some passions, such as anger, there is a predominance of *heat*—in others, such as fear, of the cold *aura*—while a tranquil character or state of mind, is to be ascribed to the influence of the mild and placid *aer*. The same ingredients, in various proportions, enter into and distinguish the natures of the inferior races of animals. The soul being thus compounded of different elements or ingredients, it followed, that it could be dissolved, and so was not immortal, but perished with the body—a proposition which Lucretius takes great pains to establish. The popular opinions of the times are scouted—and the whole story of the infernal regions is explained as an allegorical representation of the errors, delusions and passions of our minds, and the sufferings which they bring upon restless mortals. The stone hanging over the head of

\* The poet's notion of colours is worth comparing with those of our modern philosophers.

Tantalus, and filling him with perpetual apprehension, is figurative of the gloomy terrors of the superstitious. Tityus with his entrails forever renewed, and forever devoured by a ravenous vulture, is a picture of the sleepless anxieties of love and the thousand other troubles and disquietudes of life. The remedy, says the poet, is found in the gardens of Epicurus—in that “sublime oblivion of low-thoughted care,” which he alone knew how to teach. Look back upon the time which was passed away before our birth—how still and tranquil, how free from all that can disturb or distress us! It will be even so with the future which we dread so much. And, after all, why shrink back with so much horror at the approach of death? Why be so anxious to add a few moments to this poor, fleeting existence? It will be at most a mere nothing saved from that total annihilation into which we must fall when we shall have ceased to breathe.

It is evident that to treat such a subject with philosophical accuracy and clearness, and, at the same time to write a most interesting and beautiful poem, required a genius of an extraordinary stamp. But the difficulty which Lucretius had to encounter in the poverty of the Latin language, was almost as great as those arising out of the nature of his materials. While it was his boast, that he was venturing upon an unexplored region of poetry, where no footsteps of a predecessor were to be found, he might justly say—

Nec me animi fallit, Grajorum obscura reperta  
Difficile illustrare Latinis versibus esse  
Multa novis verbis prosertim quom sit agundum  
Propter egestatem linguæ et rerum novitatem.

In this respect, he undertook to do in verse, what Cicero soon after accomplished in prose. Inferior in almost every department of thought and of knowledge to the Greeks, there is none in which the Romans fell so far short of them, as in the different branches of philosophy. Their language which richly deserved the epithet “barbarous,” in comparison of that of Athens and Rhodes, seemed formed only for a race of conquerors and of politicians. What Quinctilian, as we have seen, said of it with respect to the delicacies of the comic style, was eminently true in reference to philosophical inquiries; it furnished no names even for some of the first objects and elementary principles of science, and still less was it capable of defining them with precision, or of drawing with a subtle accuracy, the refined distinctions, which it is the great aim of philosophy to establish.

Accordingly, there is an awkward, and as it were, foreign air about the Latin language when applied to such subjects, which not even Cicero's unrivalled skill in composition could altogether change or conceal. This defect would, of course, be more felt by the poet than by prose writers.

Varro, Catullus, Lucretius—these great names remind us that we are arrived at the most glorious era of Rome. In the midst of victory and conquest in the East and the West, on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the British Channel, as well as on those of the Euphrates and the Euxine, and while the spirit of republican liberty, though contaminated in many of her citizens by licentiousness and corruption, was still as strong and glowing in the second Brutus and his compeers, as it had been in the first—all the elegancies of polished life adorned her manners and pursuits. Greek literature was universally and enthusiastically studied by her scholars, and there were some of them, who, having been bred in the schools of Athens, were as familiar with the use of that language, as with their own. Cicero, already the rival of Demosthenes in the Forum and the Senate, now emulated, in quite another sphere, the genius of Plato, and every thing announced the approach—we ought rather to say the presence—of that perfect civilization and full and dazzling development of literary genius, with which, under the name of the AUGUSTAN AGE, a cruel reverse of fortune has forever identified the fame of a usurper and a despot.

ART. V.—*Vita Danielis Wytttenbachii, Literarum humaniorum nuperrime in Academia Lugduno-Batava Professoris. Auctore GULIELMO LEONARDO MAHNE. Editio altera Gandavi, apud Max. Ant. Mahne, et Lugduni-Batavorum apud S. et J. Lutchmans, MDCCCXXIII.*

IT is not a little surprising, that in an age when classical literature forms a principal part of the education of every well-informed gentleman, the critics and philologists who have devoted their lives to its advancement, should be almost entirely

banished from periodical publications of the highest repute and most extensive circulation. No place is allowed to Ruhnkenius and Lennep, Heyne and Wytttenbach in collections, where graceless booksellers, Sinners-Saved, and similar terræ filii have found niches. Yet, surely, if classical learning possesses that high value which modern civilization has ever ascribed to it, the lives of those who have laboured to make us partakers in its treasures cannot be without interest, nor an insight into the methods by which it has been acquired by the individual, or diffused in society, be void of instruction.

One great merit of the work placed at the head of this article, is the minuteness and distinctness with which the early life and studies of the *hero* are related. It is true, that matters of small importance are frequently described with rather a disproportionate amplification and gravity; but there is something extremely interesting in the downright sincerity and perfect naiveté with which the author details and dwells upon these trifles.

Daniel Wytttenbach was born at Berne, in Switzerland, on the 7th of August, 1746, of a noble family. Unlike his predecessor Scaliger, however, he counted mere nobility of little importance, wisely adopting, as he assures us, the maxim "*nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.*"\* He gloried much more, that two of his ancestors had deserved well of the Republic of Letters, viz. Thomas Wytttenbach, Professor of Theology at Tübingen, and his own father, who filled the same station at Berne with great reputation. He received the first rudiments of education at home with his sisters, from a private tutor, and was sent to the public school at Berne to study Latin, in the eighth year of his age. His first task was to learn and write off the declensions and conjugations. He then recited daily from memory, a certain number of words from the vocabulary of Marius, and translated the Colloquies of Erasmus, in all of which, with a docile disposition and good memory, he succeeded sufficiently well.

But the most memorable event recorded of our future *παῖς* in this age of "mischievous emprise," was his jeopardizing his neck by ascending the house-top, and the wholesome castigation which he thereupon received from his father, a man, it would seem, in all respects worthy of the best days of Sparta. The transaction is related in very good Latin, but especially with that minuteness and gravity befitting its importance, and to which we are afraid no translation of ours could do justice. "*In summum culmen tecti paterni [says his biographer] ascendit atque inde ad suos clamat saltans, en, pueri, quam in alto sim!*"

\* Wytttenbach. Parent. Philomath.

His ipsis, sed magis etiam aliis, qui forte advenerant, senioribus,  
ad puerum oculos convertentibus,

—————frigidus horror  
Membra quatit, gelidus que coit formidine sanguis.

Ingemiscebant et hortabantur eum, ut sub tectum rediret. Ille ridens et sine metu sensim se introrsum insinuabat, et ad suam se cohortem recipiebat. Facinus vero istud temerarium mox ad parentum notitiam perferebatur, et ab utroque diverse ac suo more animadvertetur. Pater cum solita sibi ironia et admodum Laconice, Audio inquit, te jam in tecto saltare posse. Filiolus statim intelligens, quorsum id spectaret, veniam rogabat, et cum lachrymis pollicebatur, se nunquam tale quid denuo perpetraturum esse. Verum ille, *atqui, ait, prius in solo, quam in tecto, saltare discendum est: age nunc salta in solo*—interim alterâ manu puerum, alterâ baculum tenens, aliquoties eum circumagebat verberans." The expostulations of his affectionate mother made a much more lasting impression on him than his father's severity.

Wytttenbach next proceeded to writing themes or exercises in Latin. On account of his ignorance of construction, the want of books suited to his age, above all, the improper method of teaching employed by his master, who gave him exercises entirely beyond his strength, he toiled much but profited little. From this drudgery he was happily relieved by his father. He was one day labouring at his task, solidly entrenched behind a pile of dictionaries, grammars and phrase books—

"Lexica cum glossis, analecta, theatra, medullæ  
Thesauri, methodi, bibliotheca, penus  
Fasciculi, flores, syntagmata, symbola, silvæ  
Notitiæ, tabulæ, lampas, acerra, faces,  
Deliciæ, phrases, suadæ, proverbia, claves  
Atria, vestibulum, janua, porta, viæ—

the old professor happened to enter, and casting his eye on this huge literary *suppellex*, asked his son if he was learning all those books, to which the boy replied, that he needed them to compose his exercise. The father then looked at the exercise, and perceiving almost as many faults and erasures as words, observed, as he turned away, "I will teach you to write exercises before long."

Accordingly, to put his plan in execution, he proposed to his son to go with him to his farm during the winter vacation of the University, to the no small terror of the mother, who well knew

the accordance of her husband's life "with the holy dictate of spare temperance," and was apprehensive that the hardships would be too great for her son's tender age. The father, "rigidus in omnes, omnium verus parens," however, allured his son by kind words, promising him not only that he would teach him to compose exercises, so as to excel his school-fellows, but would allow him to catch birds with the sons of his hind, (villicus) which latter was, probably, a much stronger inducement than the temptation of learning to write Latin without breaking Priscian's head.

On their way to the farm, the father began to reduce his method of instruction to practice, by asking young Wytttenbach the Latin names of the different objects before them, and then proceeding to sentences, in which those names were employed. The boy was delighted at his own ready apprehension, and his ambition was excited by success. But to encourage him still more, his father superadded a pecuniary reward. "At the farm," said he, "we will make themes, and for every theme, I will give you a sesterce, and, to begin, here's one for you on account of what you have learned upon our journey." After three weeks spent in this manner, Wytttenbach returned rich in lore and lucre—"doctus et dives."

It is a wonder that this natural and easy way of teaching, is not more frequently put in practice. Would not a stranger have as speedily acquired Latin at Rome, as French is now acquired at Paris? We know that Galland, the translator of the Arabian Nights, once proposed to open a school to teach Latin entirely by conversation. It does not fall to the lot of every one to be blessed with a father as learned as Wytttenbach's—but, at least, in schools, the masters could employ a portion of each day in this manner, with pleasure and profit to the scholars. This plan is analogous to the early education of Montaigne, according to his own account of it, which is too well known to be more than referred to here.\* Robert Gentilis was also taught to speak Latin by his father in the same way, and literary history furnishes many other examples.

The learned biographer of Wytttenbach, in a dialogue called "Crito," published by him in 1816, observes in reference to this subject—

"If I had to teach a boy, I should begin to talk Latin with him from the first, in order that he might learn that language from me, the vernacular from others, and both at the same time. For as we see well grown boys and girls, taken out of their own country to a foreign one, acquire a new language merely by the habit of speaking it, so may the

\* Essays, b. i. p. 194.



Latin language be learned as easily as any modern tongue, by practice only." p. 83.

We have always lamented that Latin has been disused in lecturing in most Universities, at least on those subjects connected with classical literature. Peter Burman in his indignation at this innovation, exclaims "*Quis non indignetur, gravissimam et severam Germanorum nationem ita jam ab aliquo tempore in delendo Latini sermonis usu laborare cœpisse, ut publicæ Academiarum Cathedræ et privatarum subsellia tremendo illo et insuavi vernaculæ linguæ mugitu reboare audiantur?*"\* The *bellows* of the German language, to be sure, may be so intolerable to the musical ears of a Dutch critic, as to make him desire, on all occasions, the more mellifluous accents of the Latin tongue; but we, whose natures are not so nicely attuned to the concord of sweet sounds, are well enough content with the vernacular in its place. We are merely inquiring as to the utility of a method by which our labor may be lightened in a study, to which so great a portion of our youthful days are devoted. The facility evinced by even the young men, in the Low Countries in speaking Latin, is, no doubt, mainly to be attributed to the lectures in that language, which they attend in their universities—"quotidiano usu discunt, etsi discere sese ignorant."†

When Wytttenbach returned from the farm, his mother received him with scarcely less transport than if he had been saved from a shipwreck. And it must be owned, that her foresight had been fully justified; for although the father had relaxed a good deal from his usual severity, yet when we come to consider their style of living, it will be confessed, we think, that they did not fare very daintily. The father "*nimirum homo sobrius, durus, adstrictus*," not only extolled the temperance and frugality of the olden time, but gave an example in his practice of the principles he professed—indeed, his life would have served as a model for Owen of Lanark, who affirms that sixpence per week is quite sufficient to keep body and soul comfortably in the bonds of unity. Neither tea nor coffee did he use; "no flocks that ranged the valley free," did he condemn to slaughter. Milk boiled with bread formed their breakfast and supper; for dinner, dried apples sodden in water, vegetables, "*et nescio quid pultis*;" and then in lieu of sweetmeats, by way of *bonne bouche*, our epicureans regaled themselves with bread, butter and cheese—like two survivors of some patriarchal race or of the Golden Age.

\* Orationes. Hæge Comitæ, 1759. p. 286.

† Mahæ's Crito.

Daniel (*noster*) who had been accustomed by a tender mother to more dainty fare, for some days revolted at these primitive delicacies, “*tangens malè singula dente superbo* ;” but his father discovered a condiment which added, it seems, an exquisite flavour to the most humble viands, and which has novelty at least to recommend it. When at length his son, “*esuri-entior Erisichthone*,” urged by famine, began to eat with some zest, at least in good earnest, his father related to him, *in Latin*, the story of Ptolemy, who in travelling through Egypt, was delighted with the coarse bread given him in a peasant’s hut, which he had entered without attendants. To this, the old gentleman added a suitable commentary, “*in gratiam tironum*,” on the pernicious effects of meat, eggs, sweetmeats, and the juice of the grape, to all of which, when delivered in Latin, *Wyttenbachiolus* did seriously incline, whereas it would have had but little credence if it had been “done” into the best of Dutch.

“Eggs and flesh [said the father] make the bile and juices stagnant; sweetmeats produce an excess of phlegm; wine is most pernicious, for it excites and inflames the blood. The natural food of man is milk, honey, bread and cheese, butter, fruits and vegetables. So if you wish to enjoy good health, you must live agreeably to nature, and not live to eat, but eat to live.” p. 12.

“*Hæc* (adds his biographer) *quum Pater Latine narraret, filiolus ipsi credebat: quum eadem vero lingua vernacula repe-teret ille vera esse rursus dubitabat.*” This discovery will be admitted to be one of singular importance, and we must needs attribute the many disturbances in the American colleges on account of the fare at Commons, either to the ignorance or negligence of the Professor of Humanities, since any food can be so surely dulcified by a short Latin oration.

The father also attempted to teach his son, by the inductive method, the beneficial and comfortable effects of cold. The heat of the chamber was regulated by a thermometer, and kept exactly above the freezing point, that is, at the point at which the Professor of Theology’s ink remained fluid.

“This [said the old gentleman] is the temperature most agreeable to the human body. If you find it too much reduced, raise it by exercise and walking—go backwards and forwards several times to the gate of the farm, in the meantime getting by heart the theme which we have just written out; when you have completely committed it to memory, recite it, and you shall then have two-pence more.”

For this time it was singing to the deaf. The language of nature had more effect upon little Wyttenbach than Latin; and

though he was well enough contented to receive additional money for complying with his father's precepts, this did not prevent him from escaping, from time to time, to the well piled chimney of the hind.

"Noctis vero (says his biographer) tristius erat negotium." Instead of beds of down, a goodly mattress stuffed to solidity with straw, and linen coverlets of summer lightness, wooed them to slumber in the depth of a Dutch winter; but here also the father had a remedy. He threw on the bed, the clothes they had just drawn off, still tepid with *the healthy bodily heat*. "Vitalis tepor, ut pater aiebat, sanissimum lecto fomentum adderet." Thrilling with cold, the unfortunate youth, during half the night, invoked the aid of sleep in vain—

"Somne deum princeps, mitissime Somne Deorum,  
Lenis ades precibus, noctis amice, meis"—

and when towards morning weariness would overcome him, his father, who believed with John Wesley that it is impossible to grow in grace without fasting and early rising, aroused him betimes from his short and disturbed repose, repeating for his edification, the old saw "*Aurora musis amica*."

Meanwhile, with these few privations of what the puritans called "creature comforts," he made such progress in his humanities, that in the examinations, pro loco, after his return, he gained an easy victory over his school-fellows.

In 1756, Wyttenbach's father was invited to a professorship in the University of Marburg, on terms which he thought proper to accept, and he accordingly removed thither with his family.

Wyttenbach, then ten years of age, was sent to the public school, where he read Nepos, the *Orbis Pictus* of Comenius, and the *Colloquies* of Kromayer, and continued writing Latin exercises. But in addition to his public instruction, he had as a private teacher, Jaeger, afterwards Professor of Mathematics in one of the German Universities, with whom he was so well pleased, that his father, at his request, received Jaeger into his house as family tutor. Under this teacher, in the preceding four years, he studied in Latin—Nepos, Justin, Quintus Curtius, Phædrus and Virgil, and Geography and History. He was also practised in translating from German into French, and vice versâ; and in writing letters after the manner of Gellert or Sevigné, and delineating characters like La Bruyere, which it is not improbable, developed that talent for epistolary writing and the portraying of characters for which he was so eminent in after life.

In his second year under Jaeger, he began the study of Greek, and, as far as memory was concerned, proceeded without difficulty. He soon learnt that universal favourite of the grammarians, the verb *τύπτω*, *I beat*. His master also wished him to acquire the method of forming the tenses, and, that he might assist him, brought him to the *black-board*, and wrote on it *τύπτω*. Then follows in the original, an inimitably graphic and circumstantial account of this very practical method of instruction. "Tum vero, Dic, inquit, (sc. Jaeger) futurum. Wyttenbachius prompte respondebat, *τύψω, τυψῃς, τυψῇ* caet. Ille, quomodo formatur futurum? W. Nescio. Ille, nescis? En *τύπτω*! Sed, &c. But Jaeger's lucid explanations, even aided by the black-board, availed nothing; they were thrown away on an age when the memory is strong but the judgment weak. At all events, we agree with the biographer, that it would have been much more rational to have deferred this task until his pupil could repeat the conjugations with facility. The more Wyttenbach studied, the more confused his mind became, until his youthful ardor began to be quite extinguished. Quaintly, but soothly, did the Marquis of Halifax observe, that "the struggling for knowledge hath a pleasure in it like that of wrestling with a fine woman"—but we fancy that even that pleasure requires to be kept up by the hope of something beyond it.

After spending much time,

—————o'er many a puzzling page,  
Poring intent,  
—————with mood and tense perplexed  
And conjugations varied without end,

he applied to his father, who bade him learn Greek as he had acquired the Latin, and leave the formation to another time. He then soon mastered the grammar, and afterwards read Heusinger's edition of *Æsop*. The year after this, he began Hebrew, as he was intended for theology. He had again the same difficulty with his teacher as to the formation of tenses, and was again relieved by the good sense of his father—though the reasoning of the elder Wyttenbach might have been prompted by that prepossession which old men feel for the methods pursued in their youth, to which he always adverted: "En rursus nugæ, quas in Helvetia ignoramus: quin tu simpliciter ut ego quoque feci tuo more progredere, et plane ut Latina verba, sic nunc Græca, sine istis ambagibus, disce.† \* \* \* \* Ergone, numquam istæ

† Vita Wyttenbachii, p. 26.

ambages desinent? fac ut in Latinis et Græcis facis; ut ego item puer feci."

In addition to his other studies, in his fourth and last year, Jaeger tried to initiate him into versification, and for this purpose, placed the prosody of Prince Maurice in his hands. He memorized with ease, the whole mystery of long, short and doubtful syllables, but as for the meaning, it was to him, "a spring shut up and fountain sealed." Jaeger again put the black-board in requisition, and adorning it with the signs of dactyls, spondees, trochees, &c. strove with bootless zeal to show the accordance of the rules of prosody with the aforesaid hieroglyphics. At length, losing all patience, the teacher, who imagined his pupil's dullness feigned, ordered him to stay within doors till he accomplished his task. His father, surprised at seeing Wyttenbach remain at home, instead of joining his playfellows who were before the door, inquired of him the cause, which the boy related with many tears. He was set at liberty by the old man, who, at the same time, consoled him, by telling him it was useless to learn from his books of prosody, what would be more easily acquired from dictionaries and the Latin poets. On this subject, Professor Mahne asks—

"But would not Jaeger have succeeded more easily, in making Wyttenbach master of that branch of knowledge, if, for instance, he had given him some verses of Virgil, (whom Wyttenbach at that time loved more than all the other Latin writers) reduced to prose, to be restored to the metrical form by him; had shown him the quantity of every foot, and taught him to scan the verse? p. 30.

Still Jaeger was an able and useful teacher; that he had faults is not surprising, since he was not twenty years old; but Wyttenbach always acknowledged, with gratitude, the benefit he received from him.

Our *hero* next, at the age of fourteen, entered the University of Marburg, where he continued his studies for four years—as in other German Universities, the year was divided into two sessions or courses, viz. the winter and summer.

In his first course, which was the winter of 1760 and 1761, he studied mathematics and logic; in his second, philosophy, the history of the German empire, and the institutes of Latin style. The lectures of the University did not commence till seven o'clock in the morning, and his indefatigable father, lest his son should make a prodigal expenditure of day light, had him waked at six, to receive the instructions of a learned Levite in the Hebrew language. By philology was meant the study of the

Greek and Hebrew languages; in which, each student was required to interpret a portion under the guidance of the Professor. The Greek books thus handled, were the Testament, and a few pages of prose or poetry, from the selection of Joachim Schroeder. In lecturing upon Latin style, the Professor usually consumed his hour in explaining Heineccius' jejune *Fundamenta styli cultioris*—rarely adding any thing of his own. He also required his class to interpret some of the elegies from Ovid's *Tristia*; but in prose, as there was nothing sufficiently elegant for his taste, in the classical authors, this learned Theban, (a certain Geigerus) used as a text, one of his own Orations, in which he had embalmed the memory of some German Prince, whose "possessions were not larger than a Lacedemonian letter:" moreover, that they might be fully aware of the vast importance, and see all the delicate graces and beauties of this precious production, he regaled them with a criticism on it from one of the literary Journals! The same Professor practised his class in writing Latin; and either gave them the subject of an amplification which they were to compose, or a German exercise to be turned into Latin.

Thus far had Wyttenbach pursued his studies, with an alacrity and success that delighted his stern but affectionate father, and secured the esteem of his Professors. He was equally a favourite with his young associates, from his gay and social disposition. But suddenly his whole nature seemed changed. He neglected his studies, he avoided his parents, he deserted his friends, and existence seemed to have become a burden to him—"vite ipsum suæ (says his biographer) pudebat, pœnitebat tædebat." We will explain this sudden change. Wyttenbach, who was very fond of books, especially those written in his vernacular tongue, looking over his mother's library, found, by accident, the Pilgrim's Progress. He was so captivated with this pious and interesting allegory, that he read it over repeatedly, and made it his morning's study and evening meditation. He could not, however, avoid occasionally turning his eyes within, to see what progress he had himself made in the pilgrimage, and at every inspection his multifarious sins of omission and commission rose up in dread array against him. He began "to feel the burden heavy upon his back, and feared that it would sink him lower than the grave, and that he should fall into *Tophet*." Fain would he have fled from the wrath to come, but on every side he saw that "his way was set full of snares, traps, gins and nets—of pits, pitfalls, deep holes, and shelvings down." "He feared that he had shut himself out of all the promises, and that there now remained for him nothing but

threatenings, dreadful threatenings of certain judgment and fiery indignation, that should devour him as an enemy." At night, particularly, when left alone, he was in the deepest anguish, and his sleep was disturbed with "restless groans, brinish tears, and self-bemoaning." So far from seeking consolation from his parents, he had now waxed so strong in grace, that he considered them and the most pious of his acquaintances as "superstitious Pharisees," all leprosied with sin, or at best, as "tumblers over the wall," or "sleepers on the enchanted ground." From day to day his sufferings increased—sometimes he would open the Bible suddenly, and take that verse as an omen on which his eye first lighted. Ever and anon he would look to the heavens, in hope of seeing with the eyes of his understanding, a sign of the Divine will, as did honest Bunyan amid his game of cat.\* He doubted whether he were one of the elect, or feared, that peradventure his day of grace was already past. Especially did his despair suggest to him "that he had committed the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost," "wherefore he bore about a wounded conscience."

After nine months trial and tribulation, during which his strength was so much wasted, that his life was in danger, his mother prevailed on him to disclose the cause of his unhappiness. His father gave him a sharp rebuke; but his mother, with the assistance of Spangenberg, her husband's colleague in theology, contrived, by means of kind words and good advice, to "pull him out of the Slough of Despond," and "set him upon sound ground." This *experience* is detailed in twenty pages with great minuteness, and especially the arguments of Spangenberg, by which he proved to Wytttenbach, *logically*, the error of his ways.

In a short time, Wytttenbach recovered his usual cheerful and sociable disposition, and returned to his studies with additional ardour. In his fifth course, he applied himself to mathematics, logic, metaphysics and ethics. He paid particular attention to metaphysics, which he cherished all his life, "*veluti deam Minervam*." He also read privately, Zosimus in Greek, with the assistance of his father.

The Law of Nature, Natural Philosophy, Hebrew Antiquities, and the History of Europe, employed his seventh course. In addition to this, he studied Hebrew with a private teacher, and finished the Bible at this period.

As his father intended him for the pulpit, during his eighth course he heard theological lectures—but Bunyan had appa-

\* Life of Bunyan.

rently left him little taste for such studies, for he was very negligent in attending the Professors. His father remarked his inattention, but knowing him to be sedulously devoted to other studies, did not thwart his inclinations. Among other things, he read the Dialogues of *Æschines*, translated them into Latin (Latine, scilicet, ut poterat) and made an index of the words. He also turned some other Greek books into Latin, and reviewed the studies of the preceding courses, but finished his academical career not very deeply imbued with theological lore. The father, perceiving his son's mind entirely occupied with Greek literature, far from throwing any obstacle in his way, zealously encouraged him both by his advice and assistance.

But Wytttenbach's literary life was now only commenced (1764): for hitherto he had pursued his different studies without devoting a particular attention to, or feeling a decided predilection for any, in reference to its utility in after life. Yet, from early youth, he had looked to Greek literature with longing eyes, and the Professors who pointed the way to the fountains of the Aonian muses as mortals of "purer fire:" when, therefore, his father's approbation crowned his wishes, he eagerly entered upon that career, and saw opened before him a vista which wooed onward his latest steps with constantly unfolding charms.

We have in the writings\* of Wytttenbach, which are partly quoted by his biographer, an account of the state of his learning and studies at this period. He says, that when he left the University, he was, in point of Greek learning, about equal to what he supposes his pupils to be after four months attendance on his lectures; he had heard the different Professors with little advantage, compared with what he had seen in others of his age. He tried to remedy his deficiencies, and reviewed attentively what he had studied in his different courses with some profit. But it was all labour without pleasure. He roamed from book to book without satisfaction, and felt the painful consciousness that his progress was not commensurate with his application or wishes. Remembering the pleasure he had taken in Greek, when young, he sought for the books which he had formerly studied. He commenced with *Plutarch De Puerorum Educatione*, which he perused with more difficulty than delight; he found *Herodian* more agreeable, "*sed nil ad explendum animum.*" By chance he procured *Ernesti's* edition of the *Memoabilia* of *Xenophon*, with which he was so much pleased, that he read it over ten times in succession, repeating every section,

\* *Præf. ex Prim. Edit. Select. Prin. Hist.*



every chapter, and every book before proceeding to another. He then undertook Homer, of which he had formerly studied about a hundred lines—"ut magis necessaria quam jucunda." In two months he finished Homer, using the same repetition as in Xenophon. During the next four months, he continued the study of Homer and read through the whole of Xenophon, with the exception of the *Memorabilia*, four times, and such was the proficiency he had attained in Greek, that he rarely had occasion for a Lexicon.

He now approached the Prince of Orators :—

"I now come [it is his own language that we translate] to Demosthenes. I had a copy without any Latin version, and with Greek notes also, by Wolf: it was all darkness to me! but I had learned not to be discouraged at the beginning of any undertaking—I go on—I encounter greater difficulties than I ever did before, not only in single words, but in the involved structure of long sentences. With immense labour, I at length got through the first *Olynthiac*—I then read it over once and again, and found every thing very plain and intelligible, although I was still insensible to the oratorical force of the style. I hesitated whether I should proceed to the second, or review the first: but I determined on doing the latter. A salutary determination, and never to be sufficiently commended! Upon this perusal, my mind seemed to be endued with another sense. Hitherto I had enjoyed in reading other orators, a certain degree of pleasure, arising out of my understanding the subject and the language, or out of the consciousness of my own improvement; but now an unusual and more than human emotion pervades my whole mind, and becomes stronger and deeper at every reading. I see the various passions that possess the orator by turns—his zeal, his rage, his impetuosity. I kindle with his feelings, and am borne along by the same impulses. I seem to myself to be Demosthenes, standing upon the Bema, delivering that oration, and rousing up the Athenian assembly to virtue and to glory. I no longer read it silently, as I began, but with a loud voice, which I am insensibly led to raise to a high pitch, by the force and fervour of the reasoning, no less than the perfection of the oratorical rhythm." p. 73.

He spent three months in studying Demosthenes, and then resumed Homer with more pleasure, and read other Greek authors with greater advantage.

With Plato, who succeeded Demosthenes, he was so charmed that he not only pored over him night and morning, but unloosed the binding of the volumes that he might bear about him, at all times, enough of this stream of Attic eloquence to slake his thirst. In his woodland walks, stretched beside some gentle stream, or on some breezy height, he became so wrapt in the sublime speculations of the academy, that he seemed to soar in a loftier and purer region, and, as from an elevation, looked down with pity upon the diminished objects of this nether world.

About this time a friend presented him with a book which fixed his destinies for life. This was that "golden" production *Timæus'* Lexicon of Platonic words, with notes, by the immortal David Ruhnkenius, *1740*, V. C. &c.—of which he has given a rapturous eulogium in his life of the erudite editor. As to this pamphlet, for it is nothing more, we can only say that we have always thought that the learning and elegance of Ruhnkenius might have been better employed than in publishing two editions of a slender word-book, which appears amidst its multifarious illustrations like a cockboat on the vasty deep, or to give the god of Wytttenbach's admiration his due share of praise, like a fly enshrined in amber.

Long and lovingly did Wytttenbach regale his appetite with this literary feast, and involuntarily his eye ever turned on him who had collected with such profusion, and arranged with such elegance its rich materials:—

"I both loved Ruhnkenius on account of our common admiration for Plato, and felt personally obliged to him for the advantage I had derived from his *Timæus*. I thought of him day and night, and never lost sight of him for a moment—although unknown to him, I venerated him as my best teacher and a second father. Often when reading his animadversions, I have conceived that I was engaged in conversation with him, and on awaking from the delusion, have repeated those lines:"—

"Quid natum toties, crudelis, tu quoque falsis  
Ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae jungere dextram  
Non datur, ac veras audire et reddere voces?"—p. 76.

He now dreamed of nothing else but of placing himself at the feet of Ruhnkenius, to receive his instructions; and in order to recommend himself to "the great unknown," he proposed to produce something on Greek literature. As he perceived that he required many aids to accomplish this scheme which Marburg did not afford, he obtained his father's permission to go to Göttingen. There he was received with the utmost kindness by the celebrated Christopher Gottlob Heynè, who encouraged and assisted him in his literary labours, and also promised to recommend him to Ruhnkenius, with whom he was on the most friendly terms.\*

The next year, (1764) Wytttenbach published the first fruits of his labours, the critical epistle on Julian, addressed to Ruhnkenius. In his reply, Ruhnkenius gave him praise sufficient to satisfy his most ardent desires:—"I scarcely thought there was any body in Germany who was so proficient in this branch, and

\* He obtained his professorship by the recommendation of Ruhnkenius.

united such a familiar knowledge of Greek with such correct principles of criticism," and adds other compliments equally superlative, with a prophecy of his future greatness.

The joy of Wytttenbach on receiving this much desired epistle, was immeasurable; he read it over and over; kissed it in humble adoration; and, indeed, confesses that for some days there was an interregnum in his intellects. All praise is sweet to a young author, but to be praised by Ruhnkenius! By the advice of Héyné, he renewed his *Latin* studies. He commenced with Terence, which he at first found as difficult as he had before found Demosthenes; but one month's assiduous study made all easy to him. He then tried Cicero, but was soon stopped by the "*difficulty and austerity*" of his style. Having accidentally procured the works of Muretus, he was so captivated by their elegance that he perused them all through, and confesses that whatever excellence he possessed in Latin composition, he owed to that author, who prepared the way, and as it were, led him on gently to Cicero.\*

On this subject Wytttenbach remarks, that those who are just beginning to study Cicero, are usually much more attracted by the writings of Muretus, and other modern authors, not because the Latin is easier, but because both their subjects and their manner of illustrating them are more analogous to those with which we are familiar in our vernacular tongues. The remark is at once just and useful. We think with him, that the works of such men as Muretus, Ernesti, Lagomarsinus, or his own Life of Ruhnkenius, would be the easiest and best introduction to the study of the ancients: and we cannot but regret that the very witty and agreeable Colloquies of Erasmus have been banished from our primary schools, for books, which, like Cave's abridgment of the Lives of the Fathers, are, with rare felicity, "adapted to the meanest capacities," and we may add, to none but the meanest.

In looking over Professor Mahne's account of the early studies of Wytttenbach, we perceive, that notwithstanding the careful instruction he received at home from a learned teacher, four years attendance on the University, and the assistance of his erudite father, his knowledge of the languages was *nothing*, a mere nothing, and that his whole education had to be commenced anew. He could scarcely peruse a book of Plutarch's that he had before studied at school; he proceeded with difficulty in Herodian; yet in seven months he could read the whole of Homer and Xenophon, almost without a Lexicon, and in four

\* *Præf. ex Prim. Edit Select. Prin. Hist.*

months more, Demosthenes with perfect facility ! in short, unaided, in eleven months he had acquired an extensive and critical knowledge of the Greek language. Nor does he appear to have possessed any peculiar aptitude for learning languages. He recommenced Latin with as slender a foundation as he had Greek; he found Terence as difficult as Demosthenes, and took a whole month to read him. Even then he shrunk from the difficulties of Cicero. Yet in one year, or rather six months, (as he employed half of each day in Greek) he made such progress that, as Ruhnkenius asserts, no one could write more elegant Latin. So satisfied was Wytttenbach of the utility of his method, that whatever knowledge he possessed of Greek learning he attributed to REPETITION alone, to which he constantly exhorts his pupils, confidently promising them the same success.\*

The recommendation, and still more, the example of Wytttenbach, add high authority to a method of instruction so consistent with common sense, and so completely within the reach of all. We repeat what we said in our first number—it is absurd to suppose that the languages can be acquired only in good schools. What did the excellent schools of Germany profit Wytttenbach? Like every other literary man, he found that when his collegiate course was finished, by far the most important part of education—self-instruction—was but just beginning. For those who wish to acquire a knowledge at once extensive and exact of the classics, the means, with a due degree of diligence and perseverance, are abundant. Cicero, Cæsar, Sallust, Horace, Virgil, Xenophon, Homer, &c. are every where to be found.

—————Quod petis est hic  
Est ulubris animus si te non deficit.—————

Let any one who has a right knowledge of the declensions and conjugations take the Colloquies of Cordery or Erasmus, for instance, (the easier the better) read them through in short lessons, taking care to repeat each lesson over and over till he understands it, and every night, especially, reviewing while it is fresh in his memory what he has studied during the day; let him then read Nepos, Cæsar, and some of the books of Cicero or Livy in the same way, during a few months, looking at intervals in the Grammar and Dictionary, and we can promise him, if he have only a tolerable share of talent, a far greater facility in reading Latin than is usually acquired in the schools. If he

\* *Praef. ex. Prim. Edit. Select. Princ. Hist. 125, and Parentalia de obitu Derk.*

could find a teacher to assist him occasionally in difficult places, and in parsing, it would undoubtedly be of advantage to him, but the want of this assistance may easily be supplied by a little more patience and assiduity. Even in schools, we think that this system of repetition might be employed with advantage. Boys would acquire a more accurate idea of the meaning of words, and a greater number of words and phrases by careful repetitions of one author, than by hurrying, like dogs running and drinking from the Nile, through many books half understood and soon forgotten. We recommended Cordery and Erasmus, merely because they are easier than most other books, but the sooner the scholar can draw from the original sources the better, and of course, it is desirable he should commence with Cicero, Livy, or similar authors, if his knowledge of the language permit. The poets are not to be rejected, but they can only be read to advantage after a familiar acquaintance with prose. In Greek, a progression from *Æsop's Fables* to Xenophon, particularly the *Anabasis*, followed up by a few other authors, attended with frequent and attentive repetition, would give the scholar an equal facility in that language. In this autodidactic course, the common editions of the country, such as the *Delphin Classics*, Hutchinson's *Xenophon*, Clark's *Homer*, &c. in absence of better, will do well enough. Even in the higher regions of classical literature, should the student's taste or ambition tempt him that way, few teachers could add any thing to Drakenborch's *Livy*, Havercamp's *Sallust*, Hemsterhusius' *Lucian*, Heynè's *Virgil* and *Homer*, &c. Certainly there is something more lively and cheerful in studying with a teacher who could lighten our burthens, and resolve our doubts as they arise. But this facility is not always to be had, especially at the various hours that we can spare from more serious avocations; neither can we always, with convenience, return to an University. Classic authors and repetition are within the reach of all.

We constantly hear persons in the very dawn of life lamenting their early inattention to classical literature, sighing—

“O mihi præteritos referat, si Jupiter annos,”

as if there were no entrance to those Elysian fields but through the portals of a college, or without some literary Charon to ferry them over. It is a still more common notion with those somewhat advanced in age, that they are too old to learn. Want of time may be an excuse, but age never. Cato, at eighty, thought proper to learn Greek, and Plutarch, almost as late in life, Latin. Koonhert began at forty to learn the Latin and

Greek languages, of which he became a master. Ogilby, the translator of Homer and Virgil, knew little of Latin until he was past fifty. Julius Cæsar Scaliger resumed his studies late in life. Even without teachers, many have acquired Greek or Latin without any previous instruction. Apuleius, Wm. Budæus and Hill, are not solitary exceptions, yet we see many who have acquired a competent knowledge of French, without assistance, who would regard the idea of learning Latin in the same way as utterly extravagant.

Such a knowledge of Latin as will enable them to read it with facility, is as much as most persons desire, but to be a finished scholar, practice in writing Latin is also necessary. Still we consider the method alluded to, in the preceding remarks, as the most direct and easy preparation for this. To compose well in a language, it is not enough to know words and grammatical rules, "*aliud est latinè aliud grammaticè scribere.*" We must possess a copious store of phrases which can only be acquired by careful and repeated reading. In Latin composition, we highly approve the plan pursued by Wyttenbach, and still continued by his pupil Professor Mahne, viz. not to translate German, or as we do English, into Latin, but to take an elegy of Ovid, or an epistle of Cicero, for example, and express the same ideas in different words. We are thus confined entirely to Latin idioms, and are not so apt to produce those solecisms that arise from clothing English idioms in Latin words.\* Turning English into Latin, may, however, be a good exercise in schools to teach mere beginners words, the formation of tenses, &c.

Neither Ruhnkenius nor Wyttenbach approved of the practice of writing verses in school. "Ruhnkenius encouraged nobody to make verses. His advice was, that the best poets should be read. The student, by reading these, would have his taste formed, and filled with the true spirit of poetry, and under its impulses, would naturally betake himself to poetical composition, if, indeed, he had

‘*Ingenium, mens divinior atque os  
Magna sonaturum.*’

The natural genius of such a one, he cultivated with care, and assisted by his precepts; but he advised all those who had not this talent, to confine themselves to prose. But most of all did he reprobate the perverse method of those, who, without the remotest idea of what is pure or grammatical Latin, and unable to write prose with any sort of correctness, not only make verses

\* See Crito, Mahnii p. 81.—Vita Wyttenbachii, p. 36.

themselves, but compel their scholars—still more ignorant than they—to do the same, which appeared to him as ridiculous as if, of two men, neither of whom could walk, one were to command the other to dance.”\*

Although we have as high an opinion of prosody as most of its advocates, we have always been inclined to think that a most disproportionate degree of attention is bestowed upon it in many of the European schools, and especially those of Eton and Westminster. The time spent in efforts to attain an unnecessary refinement in the knowledge of longs and shorts, could surely be much better employed in reading the great masters of ancient wisdom and eloquence, or even in writing prose; for it is not uncommon to see scholars profoundly versed in all the mysteries of versification, who have troubled themselves very little about Thucydides or Tacitus, and who even read their works with difficulty. Besides, there is danger from this excessive attention to versification, that our prose will be filled with poetical words and phrases, inconsistent with true elegance and purity of style. “How mortifying soever,” says a late learned English critic, “it may be to our national pride, the charge alleged against us by some foreign critics, that the Latin prose which has lately issued from the British press is, with a few exceptions, glaringly disfigured with poetical idioms, palpable inaccuracies and solecistic phraseology, is undoubtedly an imputation, which, without the blindest partiality to ourselves, cannot be pronounced to be entirely groundless.”† And although he does not say so in so many words, yet he leaves us to infer from his manner of expressing himself, that much “of this impurity of diction is ascribable to a premature initiation into the practice of versification, or to an excessive attention devoted to this exercise, while Latin prose is comparatively neglected.” We agree with the observations of Muretus to a young friend—“to make bad verses, is a disgrace; to make middling ones, inglorious; to make good ones, too difficult to be performed by those who have something else to mind.” As much prosody can be acquired as is necessary for a gentleman without this drudgery and loss of time; and the change of the times makes it absolutely necessary to consult utility in our schemes of education, and to adapt our methods to the wants and opinion of this very sceptical, practical and philosophic age. We repeat, that we have nothing to say against the study of prosody: we consider a certain knowledge of it necessary to every scholar, and a

\* Wyttenbach, vit. Ruhnkenii, p. 750.

† Crombie. *Gymnasium, sive Symbola critica*. p. 6, sec. edit.

grossly vicious pronunciation, as a disgrace to one who pretends to the name.

But we have digressed.—Wytttenbach might certainly have pursued his studies with advantage at Göttingen, but his eyes always turned towards Holland as the Land of Promise. It was the country of Scaliger, Perizonius, Gronovius, Duker, Wesseling, and a host of *heroes*, any one of whom, in Wytttenbach's opinion, was enough to cover it with glory'. Above all, he looked to Leyden, where those Duumvirs of Greek literature, the *immortal* David Ruhnkenius and Ludovicus Caspar Valcknaer were distributing to their schools the copious streams of knowledge which had flowed down to them from their no less *immortal* master Tiberius Hemsterhusius.

By the advice of Heynè, he commenced a correspondence with those two celebrated critics, in which he expressed his longing desire to place himself at their feet, and from both received letters filled with compliments to his learning, accompanied with an invitation to Leyden.

Accordingly, the next year, (1770) with a joyful heart he set out for Leyden, or Lugdunum-Batavorum, as to

An Eden kept afar from sight,  
Though sometimes with his visions blent.

Dr. Johnson did not swell with more sublime emotions amid the mouldering ruins of Jona, than did Wytttenbach on treading that illustrious soil, whilom the domicile of Dousa, Salmasius, Scaliger and Hemsterhusius; and filled with dreams of attic beauty, he "saw music breathing" from the broad Batavian faces even of sailors, porters and "serving men of low degree." Lest we might seem "to paint the lily," we will give his biographer's own words:—"Portam vero Leidæ urbis ingrediens, ipsas Athenas et Palladis arcem sese ingressum arbitribatur, et sacer quidam horror ipsum commovebat. Progrediens, obvium quemque, quamvis illiteratum, et forte operarium bajulum vel nautam, ut sanctum et proprio Musarum commercio dignatum suspiciebat. Quovis gradu pedem in vestigium magni viri et literarum herois ponere sese putabat. Nec domum ullam aut officinam tabernamve fere præteribat, quin sibi cum musis conjuncta, aut nescio quid Attici spirare, Atticoque genio animata videretur."\*

He knocked at the door of Ruhnkenius and Valckenaer, and was ushered in speechless—

—————"Ter inutile hæsit  
Lingua, ter in primo destitit ore sonus."

\* Vita Wytttenbachii, p. 92.



But whatever fear he had previously conceived, was soon dissipated. The two critics laid aside even their "*tela secunda*," and received him with unaffected suavity and kindness, and especially, with that exquisite elegance of manners peculiar to those who spend their lives amidst academic dust in studying Greek, as may be inferred from Wyttenbach's own words:—"In their manners there was no hauteur, no dissimulation, nothing but candour, simplicity and modesty—and that unaffected and truly *republican* equality,\* which every one, who has sought wisdom in the writings of the ancients, learns to love and to practise." He daily attended the lectures of Ruhnkenius and Valckenaer, by the contemplation of whom, he was aroused to glory, like Scipio and Quintus Maximus, on viewing the images of their renowned ancestors. He also laboured at home in reading books which he had not before studied, and in collating MSS. of Plutarch, for the purpose of giving a new edition of his book "*De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ*."

Ruhnkenius and Valckenaer becoming better acquainted with Wyttenbach's learning and talents, were anxious to retain him in Holland, and when the Society of Remonstrants wanted a teacher of philosophy and languages in their school at Amsterdam, they recommended him, and prevailed with him to accept the place. He went to Amsterdam in 1771, and continued in that situation eight years, with great honor to himself and advantage to the school. His duty consisted in teaching logic and metaphysics. In both these, he wrote text books, which may be considered as models of lucid arrangement and elegant latinity.† Besides these occupations, which were sufficiently laborious, in conjunction with Jerome de Bosch, the erudite editor and annotator of the Anthology of Grotius, and Mathias Temménck, (a learned man, then preparing an edition of Heliodorus,) he read Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes—he also read by himself Greek and Latin authors, practised Latin composition, and studied Plutarch, whose works he designed editing.

After spending four years in diligent study, by the advice of Ruhnkenius, he went to Paris to consult the libraries, for the purpose of collecting materials for his Plutarch. He has given in his Life of Ruhnkenius, an eulogium, as beautiful as true, of the *amenities* of that city; but that he partook very little of its pleasures, may be easily inferred, when, in the six months of his stay, he collated no less than *twelve entire MSS. of Plutarch*! He, moreover, became intimately acquainted with D'Alembert, Villoison, Larcher, St. Croix, Lorry, and other learned

\* So we choose to translate "*civilis et communis equalitas*."

† The *Metaphysics* were only published last year, 1837.

men, whom he gratefully commemorates in his *Bibliotheca Critica*, especially the last, who cured him of a fit of sickness resulting from his excessive application. It may be surmised, from various parts of the works of Wyttenbach, that he had no great affection for the French in general, and, in praising his Parisian friends, he, artfully enough, uses the proverb applied to the Athenians, that *the good were very good*.

On his return to Amsterdam, he commenced arranging his prodigious apparatus, and reviewing his former reading and annotations, in order to produce such an edition of Plutarch, as would establish his fame on an imperishable basis.

But the industry of Wyttenbach was not satisfied with ably discharging his duty in instruction and the immense study of preparing his Plutarch; he also meditated the plan of his *Bibliotheca Critica*. Ruhnkenius, whom he always consulted, "veluti terrestrem Apollinem," at first discouraged his design, but on better consideration, not only approved of it, but contributed some articles to the work. The two first numbers were issued in 1777, and were received with the greatest approbation both at home and abroad.\* Indeed, it was eminently useful to the cause of classical literature, not only from the learned, acute and temperate criticisms on the works reviewed, but from the number of sagacious emendations and conjectures of the editor. The Ciceronian elegance and clearness of the style, especially, excited universal admiration. Some few articles were furnished by his friends, but by far the greater part, especially in the later numbers, were from his own pen.

Burmannus Secundus, in the same year, resigned his chair in the Athenæum of Amsterdam, and Valckenaer recommended Wyttenbach strongly for the vacant place, but in vain; Ruhnkenius would not interfere in the election, as the two other learned competitors, Santenius (Van Santen) and Tollius, had also been his pupils.

Both Wyttenbach and his friends were offended that his learning, industry and disinterestedness in teaching should be thus rewarded. Affection for Ruhnkenius alone, retained him in Holland—for honorable situations were offered him in Germany. To prevent him from accepting a place abroad, De Bosen and other literary men persuaded the municipality of Amsterdam and the curators of the Athenæum as a measure of great utility, to elect Wyttenbach, Professor of Philosophy, and thus retain

\* This work has been lately recommenced by John Geel Henryit Hamaker, John Bake, and Peter Hoffman Perikamp, Professors of the University of Leyden.

him in their country, which was accordingly done in 1779. He still continued to teach Logic and Metaphysics in this new situation, and also delivered an excellent course of lectures on the history of Philosophy.

It is much to be desired that Professor Mahne who has the MS. of them in his possession, may give them to the world. They would form a work which, although it would not supersede the valuable volumes of Brucker, would present the best manual of the subject, in erudition, order and beauty of style. While he held this professorship, he published his *Logic*, took the prizes in two disputations proposed by different societies, and finished the ninth number of his *Bibliotheca Critica*.

The Professorship formerly refused to him, was now (1785) offered him, the former incumbent, Tollius, having resigned. His learning began to be duly appreciated, and he had no longer to desire places but to refuse them. The same year, Valckenaer died—"multis nominibus lugendus." Wyttenbach was invited to take his chair at Leyden, but though strongly urged by Ruhnkenius, refused it, and accepted the vacant place in the Athenæum. His task there was to teach Universal History, Greek and Latin, Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Literary History. Of his method of teaching, his biographer, who was his pupil at that time, gives a particular and interesting account.

The principles of the French Revolution (1787) soon after this, extended their influence over Holland, and divided the whole community into parties. Wyttenbach, like another Atticus, as his biographer terms him, retired from the storm, and within the shades of the University, pursued the quiet course always adopted by his exemplar Ruhnkenius. "Let us leave the safety of the Commonwealth," said he to his pupils, "to those to whom it has been confided, the fathers of the country. For our parts, let us mind our own business—you learning, and I teaching."\* Indeed, entirely engaged with the ancients, he scarcely knew more of what was passing around him, than the seven sleepers of Ephesus—and the picture which Burton draws of one of those happy souls, "*procul negotiis*," was a striking portrait of his moral features. "He is not troubled with state matters, whether kingdoms thrive better by succession or election: whether monarchies should be mixed, temperate or absolute, the house of Ottomans and Austria is all one to him; he inquires not after colonies or new discoveries: whether Peter were at Rome, or Constantine's donation be of force; what

\* *Vita Wyttenbachii*, p. 144.

comets or new stars signifie; whether the earth stand or move, there be a new world in the moon or infinite worlds."\* It may be well doubted, how far any one, as a good citizen, has a right thus to withdraw himself from the strife, and, with folded arms, view the weal or woe of his country with indifference; but whatever doubts we may entertain of the correctness of Wytttenbach's conduct in this respect, as a Professor he merited every praise, and by his zeal in the cause of letters, contributed much to maintain the Athenæum in a flourishing condition during those disastrous times.

Thomas Burgess,† Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, being on a visit to Holland in 1788, called on Wytttenbach, and in the course of his conversation, proposed to him to have his edition of Plutarch printed at Oxford. That University had issued from their press some very incorrect editions of Greek classics, and was anxious to redeem its reputation by sending forth some work, and especially such as the one proposed, in a more commendable form. The publishers of the Bipontine classics made equally honorable and advantageous offers, but he gave Oxford the preference, probably, on account of the renown of that ancient seat of learning.

His labour during this period was immense, commencing his studies with the dawn, and "outwatching the bear." He finished and sent over to England in 1794, the whole of the *Morals* of Plutarch, except the *Fragments*, *Spurious Books*, &c. Amidst his other occupations, he had still found time to publish, a little before this, the tenth number of his *Bibliotheca Critica*, and his *Selecta Principum Historicorum*, both of which furnished additional proof of acuteness, learning and diligence. The preface to the latter, in which he gives an account of his early studies, has been much admired for its eloquence and good sense.

When the Batavian Republic was established, (1795) Wytttenbach adhered to the same prudent course in politics, which he had before pursued, and gave in his adhesion to the powers that were. Some of the Professors, made of sterner stuff, refused to take the oaths under the new Government, and were deprived of their places. Among others, the Greek Professorship at Leyden became vacant, which was again offered to Wytttenbach, and again refused; he had also, two years before, rejected a similar invitation from Berne. Ruhnkenius, "whom Wyttten-

\* *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 30.

† Formerly Bishop of St. David's, and now of Salisbury.

bach revered on this side of idolatry," was seriously vexed at his second refusal of a Professorship at Leyden, and it was not until he was visited by his old pupil some months after, that their friendship resumed its former course.

Independently of the pecuniary loss which Wytttenbach thought a change would produce, he enjoyed a freedom in the Athenæum which the University of Leyden did not afford; he had no trouble or difficulty with the *Senatus Academicus*; he lectured at his option on Greek, Latin, Antiquities and History, and as he had nothing to do but teach, he had ample time for study. Above all, he had formed an extensive circle of literary friends, to whom he was sincerely attached from similarity of pursuits and habits, and with whom he carried on a most intimate and happy intercourse. But these "*Dies noctesque Deorum*," were soon to have an end. In 1798, his instructor, friend, and almost second father, Ruhnkenius, died—leaving his wife and family in the utmost penury.

The University of Leyden for the third time, applied to Wytttenbach to fill the place of Ruhnkenius, promising, on that condition, to provide for the family of his departed patron, and, after many conflicts with himself, a sense of duty and charity impelled him to do for others what he never would have done on his own account. After accepting this place, he proceeded to Leyden in 1799, as Professor of Eloquence, Universal and Literary History, and the History of Philosophy, Antiquities, and Greek and Latin Literature, to which was added the Librarianship.

His first literary labour at Leyden, was his celebrated *Life of Ruhnkenius*. Of this work, his biographer says—

"Upon the subject of this *Life*, I am at a loss how to express myself. Should I attempt to set forth and to extol its merits? This undertaking I have no hesitation in declaring to be not only very far beyond my feeble powers, but to be quite unnecessary. \* \* \* \* As to the *Life of Ruhnkenius*, which I have read over and over again, from which I have made extracts, which, in short, I have almost got by heart, I shall ever gratefully acknowledge and avow that it has been of the greatest benefit to me in my literary studies." p. 168.

He, moreover, tells of a diligent and learned Dutch senator, to whom "the foot of time fell so noiseless," while perusing this Milesian tale, that he forgot the hour of going into council. These praises are high, and, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated; still we know no work of a similar kind in the Latin language, more agreeably and elegantly written. How well it was received, is evident from the numerous editions it has gone through.

Until the downfall of the French dominion, he remained uniformly quiet on political matters, and, almost abstracted from the world, continued sedulously his literary labours amidst revolutions in government and the din of arms, which molested him as little as the gales that were whistling around the walls of the University. In explaining the different classical authors to his classes, especially Cicero de Legibus, de Senectute, de Amicitia, Paradoxa, &c. also some of the poets, he adorned them with nearly as great an abundance of emendations and illustrations, as if he had intended new editions of them. Creuger's edition of Cicero de Naturâ Deorum et de Legibus, which contains his notes, will give some idea of the manner in which the others were executed.

He published during this period, his *Epistle to Heusde*, (1803) a second edition of his *Selecta Principum Historicorum*, the twelfth and last number of his *Bibliotheca Critica*, *Annotations on Bake's Posidonius*, the *Phædo* of Plato, two numbers of his *Philomathia*, (which was, in fact, only a continuation of the *Bibliotheca Critica*) and some minor works. He also published the sixth volume of his *Plutarch*, being the first volume of his *animadversions*, and the last that he lived to finish.

Since the revival of letters, few works of equal length can be found, on which so much learning and labour have been bestowed. We before mentioned, that he collated twelve entire MSS. at Paris; besides this, he resorted to all the editions and MSS. within the reach of himself and his friends—read over nearly every author of antiquity, nor did he neglect any commentator, grammarian or writer of any description, who, he thought, could help him to correct or elucidate his author. In establishing the Greek text, he supported the old readings, when doubtful, by parallel passages from other authors, drew new readings from MSS. and proposed conjectures where the work was clearly corrupt. Adopting the Latin translation of *Hylander*, he corrected it carefully wherever the sense or latinity appeared to require it. Then, in separate volumes, were copious annotations of whatever could contribute to a full understanding of his author; and to the whole was added four complete indexes—1st. Of things contained in *Plutarch*. 2ly. Of words and things explained in his *animadversions*. 3ly. Of authors mentioned by *Plutarch*. 4ly. Of Greek words—being, in fact, a complete *Lexicon* of the author.\*

When he first commenced his labours, he intended to publish an edition of the whole works of *Plutarch*, which he thought he

\* It is much to be regretted that these valuable indexes are still lying unpublished at Oxford.

could accomplish in ten years. Yet he employed thirty years on the morals alone, which his death left incomplete.

His Plutarch was every where received with the approbation which his sound erudition and industry deserved, and, from the publication of the first volume, honors were conferred on him abroad and at home. Among other things, he was elected a member of the Latin Society of Jena, in 1802; of the Institute of Holland, in 1808; and of the Royal Society of Gottingen, in 1811. Louis Buonaparte also, while he was King of Holland, invested him with the order of the Reunion. On the downfall of Napoleon, and the establishment of the house of Orange, the King conferred on him the order of the Belgic Lion. He was also made a member of the Institute of France, an appointment which he had refused to accept during the domination of the French over his own country. But old age now (1815) began to assert her empire in spite of a vigorous constitution; his eye-sight, which for some time had been bad, failed rapidly, and his bodily strength diminished daily. But his studies were not discontinued—he attended his lectures—and reposing on his bed at home, he dictated to his niece,\* who acted as his secretary, or listened to her writings.

He thought exercise would restore his strength, and, therefore, bought him a little farm, to amuse himself with walking and rural pursuits—

Liber ubi penitus curarum animi que solutus  
Tantisper respiret, et aspera diluat urbis  
Tædia, civiles permutans rure tumultus.†

His health still declining, by the advice of his physician, he set out for Germany, but after arriving at Heidelberg, returned in worse health than before. He had now on him, a disease, which as Lord Coke says, “all the drugs of Asia, the gold of Africa, the silver of America, nor all the doctors of Europe, could not cure—OLD AGE.”

Hitherto, Wyttenbach had led a life of single blessedness, but the flowers of affection in him began to bloom, like the aloes, nearly at the expiration of a century. He espoused his own niece, Cleobulina, who had lived with him more than twenty years, in the utmost concord and happiness. The nuptials were celebrated in 1817, and “inito matrimonio illud officium explevit quod ipsi tunc maxime cordi erat.”‡ Wyttenbach’s biographer has not fully explained the reason

\* Her name, we believe, was Joanna Galien.

† Rapin.

‡ Vita Wyttenbachii, p. 26.

of this marriage, and we, perhaps, ought to imitate his reserve, although we are sure that a disclosure of the circumstances would detract nothing from the dignity and worth of his character.

Porson always said that Parr would have been a great man, had it not been for his trade, his politics and his WIFE, to whom of a verity, Xantippe was

“Mild as light, and soft as evening gales.”

In the two first of the above particulars, Wyttienbach was fortunate; his trade was that most suitable to the cultivation and developement of his talents, and his politics had been of a character never to disturb the tranquillity of his mind, while they made no enemies and many friends. His marriage was equally fortunate for happiness. “His wife, richly endowed by nature, and possessing a tongue attuned to the tones of attic elegance, pursued the same route with increasing avidity, and dared to fathom the depths of abstruse contemplation.”\* Her different works evince a deep knowledge of the ancient languages, and an elegant mind. A learned critic,† speaking of Wyttienbach and his spouse, says every thing about the house of this celebrated couple was Greek, even to their lap-dog.‡ The University of Marburg has lately honored her and itself by conferring on Madame Wyttienbach, the degrees of Doctor in Mathematics and Master of Arts. Among other literary labours after his marriage, he reviewed and corrected his former notes, to assist Professor Creuger of Heidelberg, in publishing his *Cicero de Naturâ Deorum*.

After having made a fruitless journey to one of the watering places to restore his health, he was, by his own desire, classed as one of the Emeriti Professors in 1818. He then sent forth the third and last number of his *Philomathia*, which was the last work he published; but notwithstanding the decay of his eyesight, and trembling of his hands, which rendered his writing nearly illegible, he continued until nearly his latest hour annotating on Eunapius: like Hemsterhusius, Ruhnkenius and Heynè, his literary ardor did not abate with age, nor his intellect exhibit any sign of senility.

In January, 1820, he was visited by the apoplexy, and restored by the prompt attendance of a physician, but in a few days fell a victim to a second attack—“*Ætas non immatura pro humanâ naturâ, at pro literis immatura.*||

\* Zonaras, lib. iii. speaking of Anna Commena. † Reiffenberg, *Rev. Encyclop.*

‡ Alluding to her late “*Ma petite Chienne Hermione*.”

|| Wyttienbach *Bib. Crit. de obitu Valckenarâ*



1. The life of Wytttenbach was one of those rare and happy exceptions to the usual lot of humanity, on which the mind loves to dwell. At an age when the visions of hope are too frequently dispelled by gloomy realities, he was blessed with the full accomplishment of schemes, projected by the fond enterprise, and adorned with all the brilliant colouring of youthful enthusiasm.

2. He early gained the friendship and esteem of those who, in his eyes, had been favoured by nature with every gift that can confer dignity and importance upon man; and in his onward career, successively scaled all the heights of intellectual ambition to which his aspirations had ever soared.

3. His life, it is true, was one of labour; but his labours and pleasures were the same. He was toiling up an eminence where, at each successive step, the difficulty of the ascent was repaid by a landscape constantly spreading out before him in extent, and softening in beauty.

3. Even the evils of old age were unfelt, or were attended by comforts that smoothed their asperities. He saw his merit universally appreciated and honoured; he had many faithful friends endeared to him by similarity of tastes and pursuits, and a learned wife to heighten, by her sympathy and co-operation, the sweets of literature, without which he scarcely considered life as vital.

3. Especially was he one of those happy characters who fully knew the value of the blessings which Providence has placed before them. The pleasures which were dearest to his youthful fancy lost none of their attractions with time. 1. No tantlings of ambition, no illusory hopes of higher happiness ever tempted him to cast a longing eye on enjoyments, acquisitions or honors, beyond the tranquil shades of his academic bowers. He had pursued the career which was most delightful—he had acquired the fame which was most enviable—he had attained to the honours which were most elevated, in his estimation. Thus blessed with whatever to him was desirable, his days flowed on with content, and he departed from life like a guest well pleased with the entertainment.

As a critic, the merit of Wytttenbach was of the highest order, both in emendation and illustration. In establishing a text, he always preferred to fortify the old reading by parallel passages from other authors, or to draw new lessons from manuscripts, to the often rash guesses of such critics as Lambinus, Scaliger, or "slashing Bently." He rarely indulged in conjectural criticism, but the "solers audacia" was employed with sagacity and judgment when a text, evidently corrupted, required such medicine. The learning in his annotations was immense, but lucidly arranged, neatly expressed, and above all, always devoid of those ineptitudes and common places so frequent with com-

mentators. His writings, (other than his critical labours) are not, perhaps, distinguished for great originality—good sense, order and perspicuity are their characteristics. In Ciceronian purity of latinity, few, since the revival of letters, have equalled—none excelled him. Muretus, with similar power over the Latin language, surpassed him in imagination and richness of expression, but certainly not in clearness of thought and propriety of diction. The style of Wytttenbach was like Doric architecture, simple, but not austere; that of Muretus, more like the Corinthian, where elegance never becomes gaudy. The style of Wytttenbach was better suited to the Philosopher—that of Muretus, to the Orator. The pages of Wytttenbach are every where redolent of the beauties of antiquity, without losing a certain native freshness. They are like the productions of talented artists who have studied in the land of Angelo and Raphael; a fine attitude or graceful drapery here, a skilful grouping or artful distribution of light there, may reach the poetical creations of the Vatican and the Sistine Chapel, but the *tout ensemble* evinces an original, combining genius that makes every thing its own. Never could it be more justly said of any one than of Wytttenbach, that the character of the man is to be seen in his writings—they possess a moral beauty, a dignity, a repose, which could only spring from a virtuous and contented mind.\*

In perusing the biographies of Wytttenbach, and other critics of his nation, it is amusing to see the vanity they evince in estimating their own importance. Extravagant compliments and high-sounding names are showered by them on each other with a liberality unknown to other classes of literary men. Not a rector of a Gymnasium of Amisfort, Delft, Dordrecht, Zeirigzee, Zwook, or any other town of Holland, but is *vir magnus, illustris, eximius, egregius, summus, celeberrimus, clarissimus, præstantissimus, eruditissimus, doctissimus*, and various other *errimus's* and *issimus's* "too tedious to enumerate." Wytttenbach, in his life of Ruhnkenius, names with patriotic pride, the immortal *heroes* composing that constellation, who eradicated the Batavian fogs in his day. There was first in Leyden "*veluti quadam arce sapientiæ, omnium princeps et horum sacrorum quasi antistes, TIBERIUS HEMSTERHUSIUS.*" Then came the musical names of Oudendorp and Drakenborch, Wesseling, Duker, Valckenaer, Heringa, Abresch, Hoogeveen, &c.—"*Horum nemo non suo genere excelluit, nemo non apud exteros doctrinæ fama clarus fuit.*"—"Who," asks Wytttenbach" does not wonder that one age and one small country should

\* Besides the works enumerated, some smaller pieces, such as Orations, Disputations, &c. are collected in his *Opuscula*. Lug. Bat. 1821.

produce a galaxy of genius, unequalled by the whole world." Another writer of the same school,\* in supporting the literary glory of Holland, brings forward, triumphantly, Derkinderen, Kooten, Zillesen, Notten, Scholters, Waardenburg, Wassenberg, Derhoer, Shuter, Goudoever, Peter Hoffman, Perlkamp, and a host of other "lights of the world and demigods of fame," who, like the great De Groodt, vulgarly called Grotius, have had their names humanized by a Latin *desinence*. Indeed, this *umbrate* race of beings, abstracted from politics and the usual busy scenes of life, inhabited a world completely their own, beyond which their thoughts or reasonings rarely extended. They regarded their own studies as the only important pursuits of man, and looked up to the gifted few excelling in them with that reverential respect accorded by us all, to those who approach our own standard of greatness. Burman in speaking of the death of Grævius—"orbis amor," says—

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Regum monumenta peribunt;  
Grævius, hac mundi mole cadente, cadet—

and in the same oration, exclaims in despair—"concurrите populi, concurrите ab ultimis terrarum terminis gentes, moenia non modo communis Athenæi, sed ipsa sapientiæ sacraria corrue-runt et subversa sunt: non enim vir supra alios eruditus, non ingenii laude præ reliquis excellens, sed eruditorum princeps, imo ipsa eruditio et literæ cum Grævio efferuntur et sepeliuntur."†

The mild Wyttenbach, relates with approbation two anecdotes of the no less mild Ruhnkenius, which also exemplify, very strikingly, this devotion to their pursuits.‡ Ruhnkenius who was Librarian at Leyden, once chased a German Professor out of the library, who dared, most unblushingly, to assert in his presence, that it would be better in the present day for each nation to write in its own language than in Latin! On another occasion he shewed the library to a learned Swede, and among other things a trunk containing some of the writings of the "Heaven descended" Joseph Scaliger.§ The Swede, imprudently indulging in some jokes and criticisms at Scaliger's expense, Ruhnkenius indignantly thundered at him—"hence with your stupidity," and frightened off the audacious Goth.

Though we may not agree with these critics in their estimation of their own surpassing merit, yet every lover of classical literature must feel grateful to those who have spent their lives

\* Philomath. lib. 3, p. 157.

† Burm. Orat. Hag. Com. 1759, p. 85. ‡ Vita Ruhnkenii.

§ "Mox enim tamquam Cælo missus Josephus Scaliger," &c. Eu. Hemsterh.

in removing the stains of time from the monuments of ancient genius, and revealing their beauties more clearly to our contemplation. None have toiled more successfully in this vocation than the Dutch school of the eighteenth century. In Greek literature, especially, Hemsterhusius, Ruhnkenius and Valckenaer, presented a triumvirate unequalled in depth and accuracy of erudition. The founder of this school, Tiberius Hemsterhusius, with strong natural talents, in the period of sixty-two years, during which he held different professorships, acquired a mass of erudition probably unequalled by that of any other individual. Valckenaer\* classes him with Salmasius, Casaubon and Scaliger; and Ruhnkenius† unhesitatingly places him above Casaubon or any other Hellenist since the revival of letters. He published little compared with his immense erudition; which is apparent in his MS. notes to Aristophanes, the Attic Orators, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Harpocration, &c.; Propertius, Manilius, Valerius Flaccus, &c.; from which, scholars even in our day, continue to draw copious stores.‡ Even his theories of language were not committed to writing by himself, but are only to be found in the works of his two pupils Lennep and Valckenaer. Some of his ideas on language were certainly more ingenious than correct, but he has the merit of asserting, long before Horne Tooke, the fundamental principle of the Diversions of Purley.§ From the school of Hemsterhusius, like that of Isocrates, issued none but chiefs, among the most distinguished of whom were Valckenaer and Ruhnkenius. Of Valckenaer, we have not as minute an account as of Ruhnkenius, but even without the evidence of Lennep,|| Ruhnkenius,¶ and

\* *Observ. ad Orig. Græc.* 3d Edit. 1808. † *Eulogium Hemsterhusii.*

‡ See *Aristophanica* Porson; *Anecd. Hemster. Ed. Geel. Poet. Mîa. Gaispor-dii: Bib. Crit. Nov. &c.*

§ Quæ, præter verba et nomina numerantur partes orationis, ea, vel ad verba, vel ad nomina propiè referenda sunt; nisi sint quædam interjectiones. *Lennep. Proleg. ad. Stirp. Ling. Græc.* 7.

“In lingua Græca, ut in orientalibus linguis ac reliquis omnibus partes orationis tantum sunt tres, nomen, verbum, conjunctio. Imo, si rem rite spectamus ad verbum et nomen omnia commode revocari possunt. *Valckenaer. Obser. ad Orig. Græc.* 7.

“Ex VIII. partibus quas vulgo statuunt Grammatici, verbum et nomen principem obtinent locum: quum reliquæ omnes facillime ad harum partium alterutram referri possint. Quapropter etiam Aristoteles, alique de veteribus, revera duas tantum esse partes orationis voluerunt.” *Lennep, de Analog. Ling. Græc.* p. 38. Ed. 1805. In the last cited work the theory is fully explained—still we believe that Tooke was unacquainted with the ideas of the Dutch critics, and honestly thought his theory original—at all events he has the merit of analyzing our language, and placing before us its mechanism more clearly than has been done by any one. The merits of this eminent scholar and patriot will be duly honored in English when the rage of party feeling shall have subsided.

|| *Præm. de Ling. Græc. Analog.* 19. ¶ *Eulog. Hemsterh.*

Wytttenbach,\* his publications are sufficient proof of his stupendous diligence and learning. In one respect Ruhnkenius excelled both Hemsterhusius and Valckenaer—the uncommon purity and elegance of his Latin style. Like Hemsterhusius, his life was spent more in studying and writing than in publishing, “Nullus erat,” says Wytttenbach, “Græcus, Latinusve, Poeta, Philosophus, Historicus, Orator, Rhetor, Grammaticus, Lexicographus, Scholiastes, Commentator, Platonius aut Aristotelicus, nullus cujus cumque generis sive editus sive ineditus scriptor, nulla denique docti historice argumenti inscriptio, nullum omnino eruditæ Antiquitatis monumentum, quin id cognitum, notatum, excerptumque in adversariis teneret.† His immense erudition is not only to be seen in his own publications but in the assistance given to others, viz.—Alberti, Pierson, Lennep, Koen, Gesner, Ernesti, Heynè, Heusinger, Musgrave, Toup, Villoison, Brunck, Schweighæuser, Morell, Burgess, Porson, Edwards, Wolf, Spalding, &c. With two such instructors as Ruhnkenius and Valckenaer, a strong clear mind, and a long life of enthusiastic study, it is not surprising that Wytttenbach placed himself on a level with the three eminent critics whom we have mentioned above.

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ART. VI.—*Clio*. By JAMES PERCIVAL. No. III. G. & C. Carvil. New-York. 1827.

If Mr. Percival is ambitious of outliving the present generation, he must have done dreaming dreams and seeing visions. Not but that a bright vision and a pleasant dream are very good things in their way—but really to publish page after page, and volume after volume of “musings”—of mere musings—of such incoherent, undefined and shapeless fantasies, as may be supposed to float about at random in the brain of a poetical opium-eater—is not the best possible way of producing any thing worthy of being anointed with cedar oil, or preserved in a cypress case.‡ The little volume placed at the head of this

\* Biblioth. Crit. &c. No. v. p. 3, 107. Ibid. No. ix. p. 76.

† Wytttenbach. Vita Ruhnkenii, p. 736, Opuscul. Wytttenb. 1821.

‡ Hor. Ars. Poet. 332.

article, is lamentably obnoxious to this censure. It is very much such poetry as we should have expected to see produced, if Mr. Percival had sent his *Port Folio* to the printer, with instructions to publish its contents without discrimination or correction. It is exceedingly pretty rigmarole—a very brilliant and musical medley of metrical common places—here a little sentiment, and there a little description, and every where a great deal of namby-pamby, in the last degree mystical and diffuse, overrunning and almost choking, many truly poetical beauties of thought and expression. Mr. Percival is not, we suppose, the only poet who has ever fallen into such dreaming moods—for the inspired tribe of all men are most given to reverie—but he is, perhaps, the only poet that has published his dreams as they came up, instead of selecting the brightest images, and the happiest conceptions, and combining them with judgment and taste into a perfect work. It is impossible, we think, to read through this little volume without a very laudable exercise of perseverance, and what is still worse, more than ordinary efforts of attention; but it is, at the same time, impossible to do so, without seeing cause to regret that the author should waste his talent—for talent he unquestionably has—upon such loose undisciplined and straggling composition—

Non avea natura ivi dipinto  
Ma di soavità di mille odori  
Vi facea un incognito, indistinto.

We know that it is become quite fashionable to extol this mystical and rambling—we had almost said raving—style under the plausible title of the Romantic, and to prefer it greatly to the studied regularity of the classic models. The ancients and those of the moderns who follow them, are decried as tame and prosaic, merely because they are precise and perspicuous. They knew so little about the true sublime, that they thought it consistent with perfect simplicity and clearness, and even when they soared up into the most glorious regions of poetry, they were careful never to lose sight of common sense. Their want of philosophical abstraction and a spiritual religion,\* it seems, made them, most unnecessarily, pay the same respect to the understandings of their readers in poetry or in elevated and ambitious prose, as in their humblest didactic works, and their *Ars Poetica* is nothing but a system of logic—of which, indeed, the principles are more refined, but not a jot less rigorous than those of the “Art of Reasoning,” vulgarly so called. They, therefore,

\* See the speculations of Schlegel, Mad. de Staël et tutta quella schiera.

make no drafts at all upon the indulgence or facility of their readers. They take upon themselves the whole burthen of proof, and expect no admiration unless they can shew you what to admire, and why you should admire. They never compass themselves about "with the majesty of darkness." They do not expect that what is only vague shall be considered as vast, and that what is unintelligible shall pass for sublime. For example—such a book as Ossian's poems (which we take to be a specimen of the genuine Romantic) would have been regarded at Athens as an instance of absolute monstrosity. A people accustomed to ask for the reason of every thing, would have seen in the vagueness, obscurity, and bombast of this pretended Celtic Epic only the effusions of a melancholy madness. There have been critics, however, in modern times—and those among the most enlightened and best educated men—who thought differently—who, to borrow a few lines from Mr. Percival, considered these poems

"————— as words  
Spoken in the fever of a dream  
Breathless and indistinct, yet full of awe  
High and mysterious—"

That is to say, they understood a fury in the words, but not the words. Their minds were prepared by previous impressions and habitual associations to believe and tremble—to receive these Gaelic legends in the true spirit of religious humility, with an arcanus terror sanctaque ignorantia. Ghosts wrapped up in the dark rolling mists of the highlands, or "moving in a sun-beam" over their silence and solitude, or howling in the midnight tempest, or heard to sigh in the echoes of the mountain and the roar of the waterfall—how was it possible that what so nearly resembled and so forcibly recalled the horror-breathing tales of the nursery should not be considered as sublime! This we suppose, was all very well—we do not envy; we wonder rather—for we profess ourselves of that old fashioned, prosaical school, which absolutely refuses to admire in literature what it is not able to comprehend, and lays it down as its first canon of criticism that a reader has a right to see clearly what his author would be after.

However this may be, if what principally distinguishes the modern or romantic poetry from the classical, is, that the former is more concerned about *spiritualities* than *temporalities*—about soul than body—about the shadowy abstractions of the mind than the objects of the senses, Mr. Percival is entitled to a very high rank in the school. The volume before us is absolutely *haunted*.

It is a land of shadows. The reader—who would be all the better of the gift of second sight—meets with a spirit of some sort or other at every step, and is always surrounded by their “sightless substances.” There is a “spirit of life,” and a “spirit of beauty,” and a “spirit of May,” and a “sole sitting spirit of loneliness,” and a “spirit of delight,” and a variety of other spirits not to mention a “soul” of something or other, with pretty little “rainbow wings.” Then there are “*things* of heaven,” and things that are “not like things of earth,” and “blessed things,” which are all undefinable—indescribable, but, as the poet assures us, very beautiful and admirable. “The air is full of sights, that scarce were seen, dim images”—and “visionary pomps” arise “and stand awhile, in terrible obscure,” and “glimmerings” spring out of the womb of darkness—pale and uncertain at first “as the flitting glance of moonlight through a storm”—which presently, “however, wax stronger and rear themselves into “dreamy shapes” and “hovering forms,” the which again being invested with “a chill and spectral glare” and so becoming of course very awful, make toward the poet in his trance—and as they approach him seem to disclose some dim traces of a human likeness, yet for all that seem “more like a moon-struck ghost than living thing,” for they make no motion, even their glaring eye-balls roll not, and no voice issues from their bloodless lips. It is some consolation however, to the reader, to know that no enchanter of old—not Merlin or Prospero—ever had more unbounded control over this disembodied and aerial population—so terrible to children, and so indispensable in poetry—than Mr. Percival.

“But I have gained a mastery o’er spirits,  
 And can evoke them from their secret caves,  
 Or from the viewless regions of the air,  
 And call them at my bidding. It is so.  
 I have seen glorious creatures throng around me,  
 All loveliness and light. They were not dreams,  
 But were substantial essences, pure forms,  
 That had a look and voice. I spake to them,  
 And they did answer, and their tones were music,  
 Such as they say the harmony of spheres,  
 When the seven orbs move round the golden sun,  
 Hymning too deep and ravishing melodies  
 For mortal ear to listen to, and live.  
 They spake, or rather chaunted, and their song  
 Revealed a mystery so high, methought  
 The fountains of all knowledge opened up  
 To meet my gaze, and from their hidden caves  
 Came forth the darkest elements of things,  
 And stood before my presence.”—p. 77.



We have to find fault, however, with Mr. Percival, not only for the mysticism, *dreaminess*, and diffuseness of his details, but for the want of what is called in French *ensemble*. He seems, as we hinted in our opening remarks, to write without any object before him—there is no story, no action, no plan. He calls up his spirits from the deep, and they come, it seems, at his potent bidding—then we are favoured with some account of their appearance, and perhaps of the region whence they last came—but they soon vanish without doing any thing memorable or important. In a single instance, indeed, one of these goblins flies away with our poet and transports him to a “magic world, wondrous wild, majestic, beautiful, obscure and dark, then bright to dazzling,” but the tale being “too high for mortal utterance,” the curtain falls just as we are looking with all our curiosity for a rare and splendid show.

Now, however agreeable such irregular and *objectless* effusions may sometimes be, surely it is pushing the matter too far to do scarcely any thing else. Design and *unity* of design are essential to a work of art, and we need not inform Mr. Percival, who, we believe, is a very good scholar, that there is no characteristic of the Antique more distinguishing and remarkable, than the strict adaptation of means to ends, and the perfect proportion which all the parts of a combination are made to bear to each other and to the whole. Moreover, in all that Greek genius has left us from an *Epio* poem to a Corinthian capital, every thing in each composition, is connected in a more or less intimate relation of cause and effect, &c. Utility is thus an essential constituent of its most refined beauties. But what combination—what effort of a commanding genius can be displayed in a “Fragment” without either beginning or end, or in “A Dream,” having no connexion with any object going before or coming after it, or in a mere phantasmagoria of spectral images and visionary beings, who have no office—no errand—in short, no one purpose to accomplish either in heaven or on earth? What should we think of a painter, who, instead of studying *composition* and making his pictures perfect works—instead of a portrait, a landscape, or an historical piece—were to huddle together unfinished sketches, or the most brilliant confusion of images, without regard to harmony or design, and hang them up in gilt frames at an exhibition? It is true, that the rudest beginnings of a work by a great master, excite more curiosity than the master-pieces of inferior artists—but that is because his previous performances have acquired for him the reputation of a great master. We doubt very much whether posterity would ever hear of a statuary who was known never

to have chiselled any thing but a foot or a hand, how perfectly soever those parts may have been done.

—————*Molles imitabitur ære capillos*  
*Infelix operis summâ, quia ponere totum*  
*Nescit, &c.*

We take the liberty, therefore, of recommending to Mr. Percival, that he write a *bonâ fide* poem—that he digest and concoct his brilliant dreams, instead of voiding them upon the public, with such haste, and, that he learn to apply the *limæ* labor with much more severity to his verses. He appears to us to have a dangerous volubility, which is a very bad symptom. Before his imaginings kindle into true poetry, they escape from him in verse, and the tempting facility of filling a hundred or two pages with good, merchantable rhymes may prevent his ever doing any thing above mediocrity. We think Mr. Percival capable of arriving at a high degree of excellence in a certain species of poetry. We do not, indeed, consider him as a man either of great genius or of profound sensibility. In the volume before us, he has touched upon several subjects calculated to call forth his pathos, if he had any. We see nothing more than a certain tender and poetical pensiveness, which, although a very pretty thing, is still very distinct from the agonies and energies of deep passion. In this respect, Mr. Percival resembles in some measure, another of our men of talent, we mean Washington Irving, who (whether it be heresy or not, we will say it) appears to us to have much more sentimentalism than sensibility. But Mr. Percival's diction is, in many instances, highly poetical—especially when he is revelling in visions of Oriental magnificence, or painting (as he loves to do) the soft beauties and balmy fragrance of some delicious Southern climate. We think him fitted to excel principally in this sort of description, and have no doubt, that if he seriously undertook a work like the *Castle of Indolence*, for example, he would produce something worthy of being handed down to posterity.

We will proceed to exemplify the preceding remarks by some extracts from the poems. The following presents an instance of a period spun out through many a winding bout of linked sweetness, for two whole pages in the original. It appears to us to be downright rigmarole.

“ Few [are they,]

The spirits who originate and bend  
 All meaner hearts to wonder and obey,  
 As if their look were death, their word were fate;  
 As if they held the balance and the sword  
 To measure out their happiness, and give  
 To each his stated portion, and avenge

All such as dare to murmur.—Few are they,  
 And if they were not, earth would be the list  
 Of an eternal conflict, the abode  
 Of ever warring fiends, who in the train  
 Of a controlling spirit, in the march  
 Of a high conqueror's madness, still athirst  
 For a new field of bloodshed, never tired  
 Of the hot harvest of a passionate war,  
 Where the deep feelings of a nation's rage,  
 And the awakened thoughts of long revenge  
 Are blended with those passions, which arise  
 From the uprooted evils of an age  
 Of ever-growing tyranny, the sense  
 That chains are broken, prison-gates unbarred,  
 And the more galling servitude of mind,  
 The bowing of the spirit to the weight  
 Of a corrupted priesthood, and a court,  
 Which robs to show unto their famished eyes  
 Their earnings, with a splendid mockery  
 Of pageants, and false justice, and the pomp  
 Of a bedizened soldiery, the tools  
 Who forge and link their fetters—the glad sense  
 That this deep charm is scattered, that this weight  
 Is from their long-bowed shoulders shoved away,  
 And like the waking from a painful dream,  
 Has left them in the wonder and the joy  
 Of lightness and deliverance—who go on  
 As tigers in blood-thirstiness, to slake  
 Their longing in the plunder and the waste  
 Of those who dare not, like themselves, be free,  
 At least who dare not cast the spell aside,  
 That binds them to the altar and the throne,  
 And palsies all their vigour, and subdues  
 All their due might of soul; for men know not  
 The force that sleeps within them, till the sound  
 Of a loud warning wakes them from the sleep  
 Of a long night of darkness—they know not  
 How they may rush upon the coward foe,  
 Whose power was in delusion, and the maze  
 Of falsehoods sanctified by time, and made  
 Sacred by being hallowed to the use  
 Of an unmeaning worship, feared the more,  
 The more it is unmeaning: they know not  
 How they have only to come forth, and say,  
 "Ye shall not be our masters, ye shall not  
 Riot, as ye were wont, in our best blood,  
 And feed upon our toil, and in our sweat  
 Bathe as in perfumed waters;" how at once  
 By firm resolve, and union, and the act  
 That lingers not one moment, they are free,  
 And lords of those who were their lords."—pp. 70–72

The following passage reminds us of "Melancholy smooth Meander," &c. It is a collection of very poetical words and phrases, flowing as smoothly and harmoniously as may be ; of which, however, it will cost the reader, we fancy, more than one perusal to divine the meaning. The poet is speaking of the sound—"the faint falling chime of a small rivulet"—which he heard at midnight in one of his wonted musings. Of course, every thing else in nature was hushed to make this solitary "chime" more impressive.

" Then it sank  
Slowly away, and down the flowery bank,  
That still sent up its offerings of balm,  
And filled the night with odours wafted far  
On the calm breathings of the western gale,  
Which now seemed waking, and at times would wave  
In a wide fold the drapery of my couch,  
And shake the wild vine, where it clustered o'er  
My half-raised casement—down the flowery bank  
Reflecting, in its beads of dropping dew  
Hung on the bending grass, the many eyes  
That calmly watched in heaven, and looked on earth,  
As mothers on their infants, when the night  
Draws near to its meridian, and the pale  
Fast-dying taper throws its trembling light  
Full on the innocent slumberer, whose repose  
Is happiness ; whose dreams, if it has dreams,  
Are all in smiles ; and as the day flits by  
Light-winged and without tears, that are not pure,  
So is its slumber full of deep delight,  
And unembittered by the keen regret  
Of past repented follies, or the fear  
That darkens in the future—down the bank  
The tinkling of the water-fall would glide,  
And stealing through its canopy of flowers,  
It then would seem all silent ;—yet my ear  
Followed it, and I hung upon its sounds  
Still warbling near in fancy, as we gaze  
Intently on the lips, that lately breathed  
With a most tender music, and still seem  
To listen to that deep mysterious flow  
Of spirit-touching melodies ; and when  
They tremble with her breath, as the full leaves  
Shake on the rose, when the still air awakes,  
And comes to kiss their dew—oh, then we hear,  
Though all is silent, such a strain, the heart  
Beats quickly, and dissolves in tears away."—pp. 58–59.

But we gladly turn to the beauties of the volume, which, though certainly not without alloy, are neither few nor inconsiderable. The following is from the piece entitled "Sea Pictures."

## I.

"Wide to the wind the canvass throw ;  
 The moment calls—away—away,  
 And let the full libation flow  
 To the bright sentinel of day ;  
 Fill high the beaker to its brim,  
 And freely pour it in the sparkling sea,  
 That the blue-cinctured galley swim  
 Light as a bird who feels its liberty,  
 And gladdening in the sun's reviving smile  
 Floats o'er the water to its osier isle.

Now let the sails be widely spread  
 To catch the welcome breath of heaven ;  
 The light clouds hurry over head  
 By the free mountain breezes driven—  
 We catch it now—the enlivening air  
 Sounds cheerily amid the crackling sails ;  
 Away—away—the wind is fair—  
 Hasten on to meet the ever blowing gales,  
 Where softly breathing o'er the marble main  
 They smooth its billows to a liquid plain.

## II.

Spread every sail before the wind :  
 Catch all the breathings of a gale so fair :  
 It steals upon us from behind,  
 Like an invisible spirit, through the air :  
 Wide laughs the quickly heaving sea—  
 Its foam-wreaths twinkle in the sun ;  
 Onward the galley hurries, steadily,  
 Like the front horse who knows the victory won,  
 And with his balanced limbs and waving mane  
 Skims, lightly as a dove, the even plain.

Yonder the mountains blueely rise,  
 Their foreheads whitened by the smile of heaven ;  
 They hang like summer clouds around the skies  
 Soft slumbering in the golden light of even :  
 Yon peaks mount upward from the Elysian vales,  
 Where an eternal spring unfolds  
 Flowers never fading to her quickening gales,  
 And the same tree in blended beauty holds  
 Bud, bloom, and fruitage in its early down,  
 Or brightly peering forth amid its leafy crown.

There live the blessed—a gentle air  
Steals round them laden with the breath of flowers;  
All tells of an eternal beauty there;  
One glorious sunshine gilds the amaranth bowers :  
No rolling cloud, no gusty rain,  
No light-winged snow come rushing from the sky,  
But shining dews bedröp the spiky plain,  
Oft twinkling as the sea wind flutters by ;  
There hangs in middle air the princely palm  
Swaying its broad leaves to the whispering gale,  
Its flower-tufts drooping low, as in a calm  
Floats the gay pennon round the uncertain sail ;  
There springing from the ocean's breast,  
Silent and cool, Hesperian breezes rove ;  
They only fan the happy to their rest,  
And give a pleasing murmur to the grove.”—pp. 42–44.

His verses on “The Mythology of Greece” are very commendable.

“ There was a time, when the o'erhanging sky  
And the fair earth with its variety,  
Mountain and valley, continent and sea,  
Were not alone the unmoving things that lie  
Slumbering beneath the sun's unclouded eye ;  
But every fountain had its spirit then,  
That held communion oft with holy men,  
And frequent from the heavenward mountain came  
Bright creatures, hovering round on wings of flame,  
And some mysterious sybil darkly gave  
Responses from the dim and hidden cave :  
Voices were heard waking the silent air,  
A solemn music echoed from the wood,  
And often from the bosom of the flood  
Came forth a sportive Naiad passing fair,  
The tear drops twinkling in her braided hair ;  
And as the hunter through the forest strayed  
Quick-glancing beauty shot across the glade,  
Her polished arrow levelled on her bow,  
Ready to meet the fawn or bounding roe ;  
And often on the mountain tops the horn  
Rang round the rocky pinnacles, and played,  
In lighter echoes, from the chequered shade,  
Where through the silvery leaves at early morn  
Stole the slant sunbeams, shedding on the grass  
Brightness, that quivered with the quivering mass  
Of thickly arching foliage ;—often there  
Dian and all her troop of girls were seen  
Dancing by moonlight on the dewy green,  
When the cool night-wind through the forest blew,

And every leaf in tremulous glances flew ;  
 And in the cloudless fields of upper air,  
 With coldly pale and melancholy smile  
 The moon looked down on that bright spot, the while,  
 Which in the depth of darkness shone as fair,  
 As in lone southern seas a palmy isle ;  
 And when a hunter-boy, who far away  
 Had wandered through the wild-wood from his home,  
 Led by the eagerness of youth to roam,  
 Buried in deep unbroken slumber lay,—  
 Then as the full moon poured her mellow light  
 Full on the mossy pillow where he slept,  
 One more than nymph, in sylvan armour dight,  
 Bent fondly over him, and smiled and wept.  
 Each lonely spot was hallowed then—the oak  
 That o'er the village altar hung, would tell  
 Strange hidden things ; the old remembered well,  
 How from its gloom a spirit often spoke.  
 There was not then a fountain or a cave,  
 But had its reverend oracle, and gave  
 Responses to the fearful crowd, who came  
 And called the indwelling deity by name.  
 Then every snowy peak that lifted high  
 Its shadowy cone to meet the bending sky,  
 Stood like a heaven of loveliness and light ;  
 And as the gilt cloud rolled its glory by,  
 Chariots and steeds of flame stood harnessed there,  
 And gods came forth and seized the golden reins,  
 Shook the bright scourge, and through the boundless air  
 Rode over starry fields and azure plains.  
 It was a beautiful and glorious dream,  
 Such as would kindle high the soul of song ;  
 The bard who struck his harp to such a theme,  
 Gathered new beauty as he moved along—  
 His way was now through wilds and beds of flowers ;  
 Rough mountains met him now, and then again  
 Gay vallies hung with vines in woven bowers  
 Led to the bright waves of the purple main.  
 All seemed one bright enchantment then ;—but now,  
 Since the long sought for goal of truth is won,  
 Nature stands forth unveiled with cloudless brow,  
 On earth ONE SPIRIT OF LIFE, in heaven ONE SUN.”—pp. 49-51.

The following picture of a War Horse is striking, with the exception of the three lines beginning “Bright as the flashing steeds of day,” which are bombastic.

“There you may see a warrior horse,  
 All his trappings are dropped with gold—  
 How his eye sparkles! and, O! how bold,  
 As he springs away in his pride and force.

There a dark and keen-eyed Moor  
 Hangs and pulls at his bridle rein,  
 But all his skill and might are vain ;  
 He prances and tosses—and, hark ! away,  
 Bright as the flashing steeds of day,  
 He has broke from his keeper, and flings his mane,  
 Like a streaming meteor, over the plain.  
 Can you not see the creature neigh,  
 In his vapoury nostrils panting wide,  
 In his tossing head and his arch of pride,  
 And his rapid glance from side to side,  
 As he stands and beats the echoing ground  
 With quivering tramp, and sudden bound ?  
 Then with a tremble in every limb,  
 And an angry snort he darts away,  
 And round in a circle he seems to swim,  
 Or bends and turns like a lamb at play.”—pp. 53–54.

There is, in our opinion, more true pathos in the following simple lines, than in all the rest of the volume. We wish Mr. Percival would always write in the same natural style.

“But I have tried them, and have found them vain.  
 I have sought wisdom, and for this have pored  
 Over the blind imaginings of man,  
 And racked unwilling nature to reveal  
 A few half hidden laws. In the vain search,  
 Age has come on me, and the proper joys  
 Of youth are lost for ever. O ! how gladly  
 Would I resign all I have ever gained,  
 Or hoped to gain, of knowledge or of power,  
 For a few moments of the innocent gladness  
 A young heart feels, when the pure bloom of health,  
 Runs o’er the cheek, and all things look of love.”—p. 79.

The following very pretty lines are from the poem entitled  
 “Italy—a Conference.”

“No wonder they so love  
 The song and dance, and walk with such a look  
 Of thoughtless gaiety—the merry beggars,  
 Who breed like insects on these sunny shores,  
 And live as idly. There are glorious faces  
 Among them—there are Roman spirits here,  
 And Grecian eyes that tell a thousand fancies,  
 Like those that shaped their deities, and wrought  
 Perfection. True, they have no stirring hopes  
 To lift them ; yet at times they will give vent  
 To the o’erburdened soul, and then they speak  
 In oracles, or like the harp of Memnon,  
 They utter poetry, as the bright skies



And wandering winds awake it. Who can wonder,  
 That every voice is bursting out in music,  
 And every peasant tunes his mandoline  
 To the delicious airs, that creep so softly  
 Into the slumbering ear! O! 'tis a land,  
 Where life is doubled, and a brighter world  
 Rolls over this, and there the spirit lives  
 In a gay paradise, and here we breathe  
 An atmosphere of roses."—pp. 100-101.

The beauty of the Oriental imagery in the following lines, can scarcely fail to be remarked by every reader of taste.

“ There lay before me

A broad bright river, glancing to the morn  
 In silent motion ; waving to and fro,  
 Not in the wind, for the tall palm stood  
 Still, as if pillared marble, and the canes  
 Shook not their spiry blades—not even a ripple  
 Gurgled along the shore ; but to and fro  
 Slowly it waved, and from its sloping mirror  
 Sent back the coming day. Masses of shade  
 Lay on the sleeping water, and between  
 Opened its depths, how clear—far down the heavens  
 Were vaulted, and the bands of lazy clouds,  
 All in their gorgeous trim, went moving by  
 With scarce perceptible motion, and their trains  
 Waved, like the heavy banner of a ship  
 Down-rolling from the top-mast, when the calm  
 Has only breath enough to bend its folds  
 In slow meanderings, and its stars shine out  
 A momentary glance, and then retire,  
 And twinkle then again, even as at night  
 The stars dance on a fountain. Smooth it spread,  
 That river, and the lotus leaves and flowers  
 Covered its quiet bays with broidery  
 Of blue and scarlet, on a ground of purple  
 And virgin green ; and with the long slow swell  
 They turned their mirrors sunward, one short flash,  
 And then fell back in shade. A tall pagoda  
 Rose opposite, and stretched its frowning walls,  
 And lifted high its pyramids, o'erfretted  
 With a wild waste of dreams ; and high above  
 Glittered the golden trident, for the sun  
 Had risen there, in all that burst of power  
 Had risen, with which he rushes on the heaven  
 In equatorial climes. 'This was the hour  
 Of prayer, and many white-robed devotees  
 Came to the river's brink, to sip its wave,  
 And bathe them in its waters. Then I saw

One like a nymph in shape, yet darkly tinted,  
Sit on the shady shore. She wove a crown  
Of starry flowers, and twined it gracefully  
Over her locks of jet; then to the east  
She turned, and sung her hymn.

“Forth from thy mountain throne  
Advance along thy starry-vaulted way,  
‘Thou burning Lord of day!  
Thou holdest on alone,  
And all the gods of darkness steal away.  
Before thy luminous ray  
Night and her shades are flown.

Forth from the Swerga’s bowers  
Thou issuest in thy robe of flame;  
And over heaven’s blue lotus flowers  
Rush the wild steeds, no other hand can tame.  
They champ, they snort, they blow;  
They heave their winnowing manes;  
And round thy wheels, in sparkling showers,  
Perpetual streams of lightning flow,  
And fill yon azure plains.

Thy beamy car descends,  
And gliding o’er the forest trees,  
To the still river bends,  
Up-curling with the newly wakened breeze.  
Over its bright expanse,  
Thy bounding coursers dance,  
And sweep the rolling foam before thy path.  
They hurry, hurry by;  
I hear the chariot’s thunder nigh:  
I see the radiant God;  
He lifts his golden rod—  
How terrible the flashing of his eye!  
SUYRA, Lord of day, restrain thy wrath—  
Send forth thy light to bless, and not to scath.”

Her song had ceased,  
Its magic ended; but another spell  
At once was on me. Then, methought a garden  
Spread out its avenues, o’erarched with planes,  
And filled with citron flowers. One ancient tree  
Towered over me, and threw its shadow broad  
And deep below. Beneath it flowed a fountain  
Hewn from a natural rock, and by it rose  
A tomb, plain wrought in marble, turban-crowned,  
And on it carved, “GULGHESHTI MUSELLARA.”  
This was the tomb of Hafiz—these the walks  
Of roses, by the fountain Mosellay,

Dearer to him than bowers of Paradise,  
 The eastern heaven of love. Far round me lay  
 One harvest of ripe roses, sending out  
 Their vaporous dews in one invisible cloud  
 Of odorous bliss. The silence and the calm,  
 The coolness and the shade, the sweet low sound  
 Of the still flowing fountain, and the breath  
 Of a faint wind that panted through the thickets,  
 Were beautiful. They sank upon my soul,  
 Like dews on withering flowers. They quickened me,  
 And freshened all my thoughts—and then a voice  
 Came from the garden, silver-toned and clear,  
 But melancholy sweet, and often choked  
 By stifling sobs, as if the bulbul wooed  
 And languished for his rose, or as the dove  
 Gurgles around his mate, or sadly mourns  
 His widowed nest, and makes the twilight wood  
 Responsive to his sighs. Slowly it came  
 On through the vaulted alleys, till a group  
 Of maidens, veiled and fearful, from the bowers  
 Stepped cautious forth.”—pp. 123–126.

The last specimen we select, is in quite a different style and measure.

There is nothing can equal the tender hours  
 When life is first in bloom ;  
 When the heart, like a bee in a wild of flowers,  
 Finds every where perfume ;  
 When the present is all, and it questions not,  
 If those flowers shall pass away,  
 But, pleased with its own delightful lot,  
 Dreams never of decay.

O! it dreams not the hue, that freshly glows  
 On the cheek, shall ever flee,  
 And fade away like the summer rose,  
 Or the crimson on the sea,  
 When far in the west the setting sun  
 Goes down in the kindled main,  
 And the colours vanish one by one,  
 But never revive again.

O! life in its spring-time dances on  
 In smiles and innocent tears ;  
 It casts not a look to the moments gone,  
 But hails the coming years ;  
 They shine before its fancy's eye,  
 Like eastern visions, bright,  
 Gay as the hues in the western sky,  
 At the coming on of night.

Thus happy in all their bosoms feel,  
And in all their fancy dreams,  
Their quiet moments onward steal  
Like the silent flow of streams,  
Gliding through tufted flowers away  
To the far and unknown sea ;  
So on with a flight that cannot stay  
Their days of innocence flee.

But soon—too soon their hearts shall know,  
The future was falsely bright,  
And its gay and far-deluding glow  
Shall change to the gloom of night ;  
O! then with a fond and lingering eye  
They shall turn to the early hours,  
When life, as their moments hurried by,  
Was a wild of sweets and flowers." pp. 143-144

The preceding extracts are favourable specimens of the poetry of this little volume—but even they are far from being exempt from the prevailing blemishes of Mr. Percival's style—want of perspicuity and distinctness, of condensation and simplicity.

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ART. VII.—*The Life of Hugo Grotius, with brief Minutes of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of the Netherlands.*  
By CHARLES BUTLER, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. London. 1826.

MR. Charles Butler, of Lincoln's-Inn, is sufficiently known in this country by his "Reminiscences." The generality of our readers are perhaps less familiar with his previous works, and particularly his controversies with the British Laureat. It is enough for our purpose to mention, that he is less distinguished as an able conveyancer, than an ardent and intrepid volunteer in the battles which are still fought for Papacy in England; and we may add that he is not likely to yield to the reasoning of an opponent who treats of theology like a mere dilettante—who is, besides, a poet—and moreover, so little disposed to reconciliation and tolerance, that he could not refrain from thundering

against Catholicism, even in the 'Carmen Nuptiale' of the Heiress of the British crown, in such strains as the following:—

Think not that lapse of ages shall abate  
The inveterate malice of that harlot old.

A biography of Hugo Grotius, from Mr. Butler, and not at the head of a new edition of any work of that great man, but in a separate composition of 259 pages while there existed already a Life written by a member of the French Academy,\* of which an English translation had been published as early as 1754, not to mention several biographical sketches that bear the recommendation of such names as Barbeyrac, Bayle and Chalmers, and a vindication of Grotius in two volumes†—would seem naturally to create an expectation that Mr. Butler's little volume should contain more, and tend to more than its title page purports—and so it does. For although the extraneous historical matter which fills a large part of this publication, may be imputed as much to haste and carelessness in the composition as to a disregard to the true character and province of biography; yet, it may be remarked, that much of this matter—the whole documentary part, and almost all the quotations, though they have but a remote connexion with the personal history of Grotius, yet bear very directly upon the religious questions in which Mr. Butler takes so lively an interest. We think, however, that even supposing him to have some covert design of this sort in the present publication, he might as well have omitted his epitome of history, from the times of Charlemagne to the year 1815. We admit, however, that it was indispensable to such a design that he should comment upon the controversies of Arminius with Gomarus—give an account of the proceedings of the famous synod of Dort—enlarge more upon Grotius' religious works than upon those on which his enviable fame is, at least, as much founded—introduce St. Vincent de Paul—lay much weight upon the Jesuit Patau's opinion, in regard to Grotius—refer to his own previous publications;—and lastly, give, in an Appendix, an "Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith or Symbolic Books of the Roman Catholic, Greek and principal Protestant Churches,"—and a sketch "of the attempts made for a re-union of the Calvinistic Churches to the See of Rome." Under this latter head are brought forward Bossuet's correspon-

\* Mr. De Burigni

† Hugonis Grotii Manes, ab iniquis obtreactionibus vindicati, vol. ii. 8vo. 1797, said to be published by Mr. Lepman. The biographical notice of Barbeyrac is in the edition of the Treatise on War and Peace, with notes of Barbeyrac. London. Folio. 1738.

dence with Leibnitz, touching the re-union of the Lutheran Protestant to the Roman Catholic Church, and the opinion of the faculty of theology of the Helmsstadt University, in regard to the marriage of a Lutheran Princess with a Catholic Archduke, together with an account of the correspondence which not long afterwards took place between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Dupin, and which is recorded in the English translation of Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. This is, indeed, any thing but biography, according to Dryden's definition of that species of writing—and we know of none that comes more nearly up to our own opinion of it. “Biographia, or the History of Particular Men's Lives,” says Dryden, “comes next to be considered: which, in dignity, is inferior to the other two (Commentaries or Annals and History, properly so called) as being more confined in action, and treating of wars and counsels, and all other public affairs of nations, only as they relate to him whose life is written, or as his fortunes have a particular dependence on them, or connexion to them. All things here are circumscribed, and driven to a point, so as to terminate in one; consequently, if the action or counsel were managed by colleagues, some part of it must be either lame or wanting, except it be supplied by the excursion of the writer. Herein, likewise, must be less of variety for the same reason; because the fortunes and actions of some man are related, not those of many.”\* Mr. Butler has surely taken the license of “excursions” in a very unlimited sense. He may plead that his title-page announces, along with a biography of Grotius, “Brief Minutes of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of the Netherlands.” But he reduces the literary part to nine “negative” lines, at the conclusion of his work; where he says that “after most diligent and extensive searches, both in British and foreign markets, he has not been able to discover materials for it.”†

But we have not taken up our pen to find fault with Mr. Butler. We have the best feelings, and a respect approaching to veneration, for his great age, for the comparatively mild disposition which he has almost universally displayed in his controversial writings, and for his rare toleration, united as it is with an unalterable attachment to his religion. We confess ourselves awed into an unwillingness to discover any latent foible, such as self-complacency or self-praise in a writer who brings forward the testimony of a man like Dr. Parr, who, in a letter addressed to him, says—“I know, and I shall ever be ready to admit, and even to maintain, that your talents are of a very

\* Life of Plutarch. Walter Scott's edit. of Dryden: vol. xvii. pp. 58-59.

† Life of Hugo Grotius. p. 189

high order ; that your knowledge is extensive, various and profound. That in subjects of theology and law, you have holden up many useful truths ; that your natural disposition is marked by genuine kindness, and that in private life, your virtues are numerous, enviable, and exemplary.”\* “I had no time to tell you that your style is correct, perspicuous, pure, often elegant, often impressive, never turgid, and never affected.”†

Besides, Mr. Butler had only to decline the title of a biographer to acquire an indisputable right to bring forth his views and opinions under whatever form he pleased. As it is, we could not refute, nor even comment upon them, without omitting entirely that part of the work upon which we intend to dwell exclusively, viz. the personal history of Grotius, and without taking up particularly (and of course at considerable length) the question, whether that illustrious scholar inclined to Catholicism—what were probably his real religious opinions, and what was the extent of the concession he would have been willing to make, in order to effect an union between the principal dissenting portions of Christians. We might have found in the few pages of Mr. Butler, grounds enough to contest some of his conclusions. We need only to transcribe here Ménage's Epigram, which Mr. Butler himself quotes, in proof of the uncertainty of Grotius' religious opinions.

“ Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ,  
Siderei certant vatis de patria Homeri:  
Grotiadæ certant de religione, Socinus,  
Arius, Arminius, Calvinus, Roma, Lutherus.”—p. 187.

Nay, more—we have Mr. Butler's own example of a writer pleading warmly for the re-union of Christians, without having the least notion that such a thing is practicable. We copy his own words in a letter to Dr. Parr, dated January 28, 1822, and Dr. Parr expresses himself still more strongly upon this subject. “The acknowledgment of the pious Jeremy Taylor,” (says he) “that the attempts of Grotius, Cassander, and others for what Jeremy, in his learned phraseology, calls a *syncretismus*, never will succeed.‡ And in another letter, he observes, “you may find from my letter to Mr. Denman that I neither expect nor desire any external union between the Church of Rome and England. It cannot be effected without concessions, which neither of them ought to make.”§ And lastly, in a third passage, “alas!” he cries, “all my wishes for syncretism have, at last, fainted away from despair.”||

\* Mr. Butler's *Reminiscences*. Boston. 1827. p. 195.

† *Ibid*. p. 234.

‡ *Ibid* p. 207. § *Ibid*. p. 215. || *Ibid*. p. 229.

But, we repeat, it is not our present purpose to discuss these matters. We leave it for other times, or more able critics to contend with our author (if they feel disposed to do so) upon points which he is perfectly right not to concede easily. We shall take up his biographical sketch which we think interesting, now that Burigni's work is little read, and extremely rare in this country; and because we readily believe that Mr. Butler has compiled and condensed the most important facts, brought together not only in the French work we have mentioned, but in all the others, upon which he candidly confesses that he has "levied some contributions." In the "Reminiscences" he explains the origin of his two publications, entitled "the Life of Hugo Grotius" and "the Life of Erasmus." He had collected some notes for them, so long ago as 1769; and finding them among a heap of papers which it was his intention to have destroyed, he resolved, upon reflection, to fashion out of them two distinct works. "In a couple of vacations," says he, (and we believe, in not more than a couple of days) "he might harmlessly to himself, he thought, and not unpleasantly to a portion of the public, form his notes into biographical memoirs, not absolutely unworthy of perusal." These are nearly his own expressions, and we are far from gainsaying him; for, although it required little labour to compile the two volumes; though much is borrowed and almost transcribed from Chalmers' General Biographical Dictionary; though the Life of Grotius was forced through the press in such a hurry that many important dates are incorrect\* and the review of that great man's works is incomplete, meagre, and jejune: still, the biographical sketch is so different from the many defective publications of the kind that have appeared in England and elsewhere, that we really hope to do some service in commending it on this account, and in publishing a brief abstract of it. Mr. Butler's work does not belong, at all events, to the "namby pamby school of the Crusca," of which the author of Pursuits of Literature justly observes, that "it must not be suffered to revive either in verse or in prose."

Without further prefatory remarks, we proceed to our task.† Hugo Grotius was born at Delft, on the 10th of April, 1582,

\* As for instance, page 46, 1587 instead of 1597—page 72, 1684 instead of 1584—page 74, 1698 instead of 1598—page 82, 1563 instead of 1583—page 106, 1610 instead of 1619—page 16, "present electorates." This is an anachronism.

† The account which Mr. Butler gives of Grotius' works is, as we have already said, incomplete. For a more copious and perhaps a complete list of them, we may refer to Dr. Watts' *Bibl. Brit.* (1824) where mention is made of two dissertations: "*De Origine Gentium Americanarum*," 1642 *Et cum notis I. de Laet*. Amst. 1643, 8vo. Wittemb. 1643, 8vo. Wittemb. 1714, 8vo.



(1583)\* His family was of noble extraction, and very much distinguished; the surname the Great (Groote, which was afterwards latinized into Grotius) having been given to one of his maternal ancestors as a reward for some signal service. His father, who was a learned lawyer and a scholar, and had filled the office of curator at the University of Leyden, directed him in his early studies; and his mother contributed to foster in him that piety and those high principles of morality and honor which he invariably displayed during his whole life. He had scarcely attained the age at which elementary studies are commenced, when the task of preparing him for the higher branches of learning was confided to an Arminian clergyman of much reputation, and at the age of twelve, he was sent to the University of Leyden, and committed to the care of the celebrated Francis Junius. His application and great natural talents, united with remarkable modesty, recommended him to the notice of Joseph Scaliger, the first scholar of the age, as well as to that of many other learned men. Douza sang his praise when he was scarcely turned of eleven. Comparing him with Erasmus, Douza thought that the latter could not at the same early age have promised so much, and that Grotius "would soon excel all his contemporaries, and bear a comparison with the most learned of the ancients." Shortly afterwards he accompanied the Count Nassau and Barneveldt, the grand Pensionary, in an embassy to France, the object of which was to conclude an alliance between Holland, England and France, against Spain. Henry IV. who had been informed of the astonishing talents and learning of the young traveller, by his Ambassador to the Dutch Republic, honoured him with a very kind reception, and presented him with his picture and a golden chain. Although this embassy is recorded in the Annals which Grotius published afterwards, he does not make the least mention of himself; yet he valued so highly the present of the good king, that he wished to be represented in a print with the token of regard he had received from him; and in one of his poems, he prides himself upon having seen him. He did not make the personal acquaintance of the President de Thou, though he addressed to him upon his return to Holland, a copy of his edition of Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (or in more simple language) of the connexion of speech with learning, and the "Seven Treatises on the Liberal Arts," which he undertook by the advice of Scaliger, and dedicated to the Prince of Condé! From this letter arose a correspondence between the great French historian and young

\* Chalmers says 1583. John De Groote married Alida Avershie in 1582, and had three sons and a daughter.

Grotius, by means of which the former obtained much information relating to the troubles in the Low Countries; and that part of the President's work may therefore safely be exempted from the objections that have been made against his general account of events not immediately connected with France. De Thou advised Grotius to keep himself aloof from religious controversy; but the young philomath replied "that he found himself obliged to enter into them by his love of his country, his wish to serve the Church, and the request of those to whom he owed obedience."

Grotius pursued, meanwhile, the study of law, and at the age of seventeen, appeared for the first time at the bar, where he immediately acquired considerable reputation. He was soon, (1607) elected Advocate General of the Fisc by the provinces of Holland and Zealand. In 1613, he was appointed Pensionary of Rotterdam for life, though this office had never before been conferred except at pleasure; but he intimated that he would not accept it on so insecure a condition, foreseeing, probably, the troubles which not long afterwards broke out. By this new office he had a seat in the assembly of the States of Holland. By this time he had been married for about five years, with Mary Reigersburg, a lady of an illustrious family in Zealand, who ever proved to him a faithful and devoted friend.

It is quite natural in Republics, that lawyers should be chosen for diplomatic agencies, and we will observe by the way, that perhaps one of the best symptoms of improvement in Government is, the appointment of practising lawyers to offices of high trust. The right of fishing in the North Seas being then under discussion between the States-General and England, who claimed it as an exclusive privilege, Grotius was sent to London to plead the cause of his country; but he was not successful in his mission. He had, however, personally, all possible reason to be gratified with his residence in England. James I. could not but treat with distinction, a man already so celebrated for his learning; and Grotius had, moreover, the pleasure of meeting with his friend Casaubon, with whom he agreed upon the religious questions which divided so many learned and good men. They inclined to mutual concession, as each thought that the dispute was rather about words than any essential point of doctrine or discipline.

Although it is not our purpose to remark upon his works, we think ourselves obliged to mention here the '*Mare Liberum*,' which he published in 1608, as it is intimately connected with the political affairs in which he was first engaged. This work, in which he discussed the claims of Great-Britain, not only to the

fisheries but to the navigation in the Northern Seas, was followed by the famous 'Mare Clausum' of Selden, who treated his antagonist with more respect than was usual among the polemics of that age. Grotius could not but gratify his Government by his able defence of their rights and interests: but they had powerful reasons to remain in peaceful relations with England, and did not, therefore, make any further effort in support of their claims.

We now approach the most critical period of his life. As soon as the twelve years' armistice had been concluded between the United Provinces and Spain (1609), the former, instead of enjoying the peace which they had so long desired, while they were, at the same time, fighting against one of the principal powers of Europe, and distracted among themselves by the opposite principles and views of Barneveldt and Prince Maurice of Orange, threw themselves headlong into the fathomless abyss of religious controversy, and all the vehement commotions which it must necessarily produce. Arminianism became the theme of every conversation, and mingled itself in every private and public concern. The nation was divided into two irreconcilable parties; and Grotius, who had already acquired a great name, who had been directed in his earliest studies by an Arminian clergyman, and who had openly declared to De Thou that he could not remain neutral in religious contests, was of course involved in these perplexing and dangerous controversies. Calvinism was consecrated in the United Provinces as the religion of the State, by a fundamental law: but now, a party elated with pride, on account of the military and political success which their country had obtained over Spain, was emboldened to profess openly the doctrines of their countryman, James Arminius, who was about twenty-two years older than Grotius, and though not of such noble extraction, was still of a respectable family. By views of the goodness and justice of God, more agreeable to mere unassisted reason, Arminius was sure of finding adherents among the learned, as well as among the higher ranks of society. Yet his adversary Gomarus, who, like him, was a Professor at the Leyden University, gained over numerous followers, not so much by accusing his adversary of any innovations, as by imputing to him a secret affection to Papacy and Pelagianism. Though Arminius died in October 1609, his doctrines survived him long afterwards; were explained, and more and more developed, and gave rise to inveterate and furious dissensions. Grotius was first involved in this dispute by a metrical eulogium which he published of the deceased; but he confessed, at the same time, in a private letter, that he was almost wholly igno-

rant of the subject in dispute. By debating the questions connected with this subject, he became gradually interested in it, and more and more convinced of the soundness of Arminius' system. The Remonstrance which the Arminians addressed in 1610 to the States of Holland, was, it is believed, drawn up with the assistance of Grotius. It is well known, that this was, in fact, a Confession of Faith nearly as explicit as that of Augsburg. A Counter-Remonstrance was not long afterwards published by the partisans of Gomarus; and the questions which divided the parties having thus been brought to an issue at the time of Grotius' embassy to England, it has been surmised that he was commissioned by his fellow-believers to obtain from James I. some countenance for their principles. Mr. Butler quotes Nichols' "*Calvinism and Arminianism Compared*" in support of the opinion that Grotius had such a commission, and that he met with some opposition from Archbishop Abbot, whilst he received aid from Bishops Andrews and Overal, in consequence of whose intervention the British Monarch, at last, addressed to the States-General, counsels tending to a conciliation of the opposite principles, and to toleration.

The public animosities grew, however, to such a height, that the States of Holland deemed it necessary to issue an edict of pacification; but the moderation which it recommended, harmonizing better with the principles of the Arminians than with those of their adversaries, the latter became only the more violent: riots broke out, and still greater disorders were apprehended. Upon the ill-advised suggestion of Barneveldt, the city magistrates of the Provinces of Holland were authorized, in 1617, to make levies for the maintenance of peace in spite of the remonstrances of the towns, where the majority of the inhabitants were Gomarists—Amsterdam and Dort were of the number.

Party leaders seldom suspend hostilities longer, than until some opportunity presents itself to arm their adherents for a firmer and more decisive struggle, with a probability of success. Maurice of Orange had ever considered Barneveldt's zeal in promoting the armistice with Spain, as an indirect attempt to strip him of the influence which he had acquired by his military command and services. He now declared himself insulted in his political capacity of Stadtholder, by the edict of pacification; forbade the soldiery to act against the rioters—openly took the field with the Anti-Arminians, going to their churches, and giving them every sort of encouragement; and thus produced an irreparable breach between the two sects.

Grotius was sent by the States of Holland to Amsterdam, to effect a reconciliation. In the speech he addressed to the Burgomasters, he referred to the examples of mutual toleration given by several leaders of religious sects—to the testimony of Gomarus himself, in proof that his adversary had not attacked any fundamental point of doctrine—and to that of James I. for the lawfulness of maintaining the two contrary opinions respecting predestination; and recommended a general toleration as the best means of restoring peace and of promoting the convocation of a synod, which might definitively settle the disputed points. But he and his co-deputies were dismissed without much ceremony, and his oration was not permitted to be published. Grotius did not receive this affront with a philosophical temper, but fell into a fever, which endangered his life, though it could not bring him to be mindful, after his recovery of the urgent requests of his friends to withdraw from so ill-boding a contest.

He was employed by the States of Holland to draw up a formula of peace, which the two parties might, it seems, have agreed to without compromising their respective doctrines, as it left to future determination the most important subjects of their quarrel: but Prince Maurice, to whom it was shewn, set the example of rejecting it. From that moment, war was unavoidable. The Prince, seconded by the States-General, convened a national synod, which was to meet in Holland; and immediately the three Provinces most interested in the business of the Arminian cause, put in their solemn protest. Barneveldt offered to retire from his high civil station, but was obliged to yield to the entreaties of the States of Holland, and to face the storm.

The Arminians levied troops in several cities, and disregarded the States-General's injunctions to disband them. This proceeding was, in truth, conformable to the anomalous principle of the Dutch confederacy. It was, nevertheless, denounced as rebellion by the Prince, who did not hesitate to conduct his troops against the pretended rebels; and during that expedition, signalized his authority, or rather his wrath, by the disarming of the levies, and the deposition of Arminian magistrates and clergymen.

Grotius was deputed with the Pensionary of Leyden to Utrecht, by the States of Holland, to encourage resistance; but here also the Prince Stadtholder carried every thing with a high hand, and obtained from an assembly of eight persons, who styled themselves the States-General, the arrest of the two deputies, together with Barneveldt, and all three were confined in the castle of the Hague. Towards this time, Maurice suc-

ceeded to the dignity of Prince of Orange, by the demise of his elder brother—an event which greatly increased his influence.

The famous synod of Dort, after a session of about five months, declared the Arminians guilty of pestilential errors and corruptors of the true religion; the sentence was confirmed by the States-General on the 3d of July, 1619, and, accordingly, the proscribed Ministers who had been defamed at Dort, were deprived of their clerical employments: some of them lost even their private property, and most of them were either banished or imprisoned. This example was soon followed in the other Provinces.

Meanwhile, the Prince and his party continued their persecutions of the three prisoners at the castle of Louvestein, whither they had been removed from the Hague, with an unrelenting hatred and bitterness. Twenty-six commissioners had been appointed by the States-General to try them; and though the prisoners protested against the jurisdiction of this extraordinary tribunal, asserting that the States of Holland were their only competent judges, the proceedings were carried on, and the trial was opened with Barneveldt.

The capital charge against the accused was, that they had disturbed the established religion, and brought into collision the authority and interests of the States of Holland and West Friesland with those of the States-General. They were, in short, made responsible for the disorders that had occurred.

It is impossible to read the history of these iniquitous proceedings without being forcibly reminded of the mock trial of Charles I. Barneveldt recalled in vain the services he had rendered to his country, and the proofs of attachment he had given to the Orange family—in vain did he answer every charge, and display the utmost firmness and ability, and all the confidence which innocence could inspire that he should meet with the sympathy of his stern judges—in vain did he even confess and explain his prejudices against the Prince; he was condemned to death; and although the King of France sent an extraordinary embassy to interpose in his behalf, he was executed on the 13th of May, 1619; the noblest victim perhaps, that has been offered up to blind political hatred and popular phrensy in modern times. He died with one consolation:—Grotius and Hoogerbety were spared, and he observed, with satisfaction, “that they were of an age to be still able to serve the Republic.” “Citizens,” cried he on the scaffold,—“I have been always your faithful countryman—believe not that I die for treason; I die for maintaining the rights and liberties of my country.” This was the martyr, and not such a savage and

treacherous rebel as Lord Lovat, who might have hallowed a scaffold, by exclaiming in his last moments: "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*." This judicial assassination, and the massacre of the two De Witts by the mob, are a sufficient proof that no people, not even the Dutch, is constitutionally too phlegmatic and tame to be maddened into ungovernable phrensy by political excitement.

The States of Holland made a fruitless attempt to obtain the release of Grotius, upon the ground of their constitutional right. The Prince's influence, however, prevailed; and such was the excitement on both sides, that Grotius' wife was repeatedly denied the favour of sharing her husband's imprisonment, while in the midst of affliction and defeat, both she and his brothers persevered in recommending him to contest the competency of the tribunal appointed to try him—the surest way to increase the animosity of the judges, and of those from whom they held their commission. It is no wonder, that under all these circumstances, legal forms were not strictly observed, nor that Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estates. Hoogerbety incurred the same sentence, except that his house was assigned to him for a place of detention.

Grotius' imprisonment and his rescue, which will bring to the reader's mind a similar but less complicated act of female devotion in more recent times,\* will be best related in Mr. Butler's own words, with but a very few omissions, for the sake of brevity.

"On the 6th of June, Grotius was taken to Louvestein. Twenty-four *sous* a-day were allowed for his maintenance; but his wife undertook to support him during his confinement, from her own estate. She was at length admitted into prison with him, on condition that she should remain in it while his imprisonment lasted.

"At first, his confinement was very rigid: by degrees it was relaxed: his wife was allowed to leave the prison for a few hours, twice in every week. He was permitted to borrow books, and to correspond, except on politics, with his friends. Ancient and modern literature equally engaged his attention. Sundays he wholly devoted to prayer and the study of theology.

"Twenty months of imprisonment thus passed away. His wife now began to devise projects for his liberty. She had observed that he was not so strictly watched as at first; that the guards, who examined the chest, used for the conveyance of his books and linen, being accustomed to see nothing in it but books and linen, began to examine them loosely. At length they permitted the chest to pass without any examination. Upon this, she formed her project for her husband's release.

"She began to carry it into execution by cultivating an intimacy with the wife of the Commandant of Gorcum. To her she lamented Grotius'

\* Madame De Lavalette.

inordinate application to study; she informed her that it had made him seriously ill, and that she had resolved to take all his books from him, and restore them to their owners. She circulated every where the account of his illness, and finally declared that it had confined him to his bed.

"In the mean time, the chest was accommodated to her purpose, and particularly some holes were bored in it to let in air. Her maid and the valet of Grotius were entrusted with the secret. The chest was conveyed to Grotius' apartment. She then revealed her project to him, and after much entreaty, prevailed on him to get into the chest, and leave her in the prison.

"The books which Grotius borrowed were usually sent to Gorcum, and the chest which contained them passed in a boat from the prison at Louvestein to that town. Big with the fate of Grotius, the chest, as he was enclosed in it, was moved into the boat. One of the soldiers observing that it was uncommonly heavy, insisted on its being opened, and its contents examined; but, by the address of the maid, his scruples were removed, and the chest was lodged in the boat. The passage from Louvestein to Gorcum took a considerable time. At length the chest reached Gorcum, and it was intended that it should be deposited at the house of David Bazelaer, an Arminian friend of Grotius, who resided at Gorcum. But when the boat reached the shore, a difficulty arose how it was to be conveyed from the spot upon which it was to be landed to Bazelaer's house. This difficulty was removed by the maid's presence of mind; she told the bystanders that the chest contained glass, and that it must be moved with particular care. Two chairmen were soon found, and they carefully moved it on a horse-chair to the appointed place. Grotius declared that while he was in the chest, he had felt much anxiety, but had suffered no other inconvenience. Having dressed himself as a mason, with a rule and trowel, he went through the back door of Bazelaer's house, accompanied by his maid along the market-place to a boat engaged for the purpose. It conveyed them to Vervie, in Brabant; there he was safe. His maid then left him, and, returning to his wife, communicated to her the agreeable information of the success of the enterprise.

"As soon as Grotius' wife ascertained that he was in perfect safety, she informed the guards of his escape: these communicated the intelligence to the Commander, who put her into close confinement; but in a few days, an order of the States-General set her at liberty, and permitted her to carry with her every thing at Louvestein which belonged to her. It is impossible to think, without pleasure, of the meeting of Grotius and his heroic wife. From Vervie he proceeded to Antwerp: a few days after his arrival in that city, he addressed a letter to the States-General: he assured them that in procuring his liberty he had used neither violence nor corruption. He solemnly protested that his public conduct had been blameless, and that the persecution he had suffered would never lessen his attachment to his country." pp. 118-122.

In the same year that Grotius recovered his liberty, the truce of twelve years between his country and Spain expired. The



United Provinces did not play a great part in the subsequent hostilities, in consequence of their internal dissensions, in the midst of which Prince Maurice finally lost part of his popularity, and was unsuccessful against the Marquis Spinola. He died in 1625, as some historians assert, dispirited by his military reverses, and overwhelmed with self-reproach for his resentful conduct towards Barneveldt.

Meanwhile, Grotius had found a secure retreat at Paris, where he was received with the respect due to him; but was not presented to the king until nearly a year after his arrival. (March, 1622.) He soon obtained a pension of 3000 livres. France, at that time, protected all those who had suffered by the intolerance of the States, and issued an edict in their favour, in which she went so far as expressly to promise them her support—an example, no where, we believe, followed in recent times. Grotius, however, longed after his country, and rather to conciliate the good will of his countrymen than to propitiate his persecutors, he published his *Apology*, in which he establishes the state rights (as we should express it) of each of the component parts of the United Provinces, in contradistinction to the general powers of the Confederacy, especially in regard to religious matters, and clears himself from the charges upon which he had been condemned. It is not surprising that the States-General became more incensed against him, and in default of the author, wreaked their vengeance upon his work. This new act of hostility at last prevailed with Grotius to become naturalized as a subject of France early in 1623; but his pension was not on that account more regularly paid, and his own resources were barely sufficient to support himself and his wife. He incurred besides, the ill-will of Cardinal de Richelieu, from his honest reluctance to sell his independence to such an arrogant master. This, joined to the confidence he reposed in the friendly regard of Prince Frederick, (the brother of the Prince of Orange) the consciousness of his innocence, and a less reasonable reliance upon the effect which he expected his last work to produce upon the minds of his countrymen, induced him to return to Holland, but he was again banished and sought a retreat in the city of Hamburgh. Here, he spontaneously declared to his friends in France that he would no longer accept the pension of their Sovereign, though he still professed a lively sense of the obligations that had been imposed upon him. He soon after offered his services to the British Government, but Archbishop Laud frustrated his designs in that quarter. At Hamburgh, Grotius continued the literary works which he had begun in his prison at Louvestein. These were, as may easily

be conceived, his best solace. They were of a miscellaneous character. One of them (which it is only necessary to name, to render superfluous every epithet expressive of admiration) was his *Treatise de Jure Belli et Pacis*; the other is entitled, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*. By the former of these works he had so much won the regard of Gustavus Adolphus and of Oxenstiern, that a copy of it was found in the tent of that great Monarch after his death; and when Sweden, in consequence of the battle of Nordlingen, began to descend from the proud station which she had occupied in the alliance against the Catholic League, and was compelled to pay court to France, the illustrious Chancellor chose Grotius as Ambassador to negotiate with that Power for a renewal of the existing treaty between Sweden and France, and to add more lustre to his diplomatic character, (though his literary reputation might have superseded the necessity of any title) he conferred upon him the dignity of Counsellor to the Queen. But some of the Protestant States had already concluded with France a treaty which did not meet the expectations of the other Confederates, and threw great difficulties in the way of the new Ambassador of Sweden. In the first interview Grotius had with the Cardinal de Richelieu, (March 28, 1635) he received a despatch from Chancellor Oxenstiern, informing him of his resolutions to rejoin him at Paris, and that he was already on his way thither. After Oxenstiern's arrival, Grotius played but a secondary part. The points aimed at by Sweden were yielded by France, and the Chancellor having soon after repaired to Stockholm, Grotius acted once more alone in his diplomatic capacity, and generally with success, although the French Minister was not very favourably disposed towards him. As it commonly happens with auxiliary powers, that have to pay subsidies, France was not always punctual in her remittances, and often tried, on the one hand, to make deductions, and on the other, to lessen as much as possible the number of troops which she was bound to supply. Grotius was now placed in the most disagreeable of all situations for a diplomatic man, which is to be compelled to watch a reluctant ally. He succeeded, however, in his applications and remonstrances, and no practical statesman need be told, that to this end he varied the tone and form of his remonstrances, according to the complexion of affairs. He crowned, at last, his diplomatic functions, at the Court of France, by a renewal of the treaty, upon conditions favourable to his adopted country.

In the midst of his success on the most important part of his political business, he was, however, disturbed by the irregularity of his pecuniary remittances, and by disputes in regard to pre-

cedence with ambassadors of other Courts. He contested that privilege even with the representative of England. It is not improbable that the French Cardinal contemplated such alterations with a secret pleasure. He had besides, the mortification to discover that he had a secret associate in a private agent of the Queen. Grotius felt this more sensibly than any other vexation; and either really admonished by his age and infirmities to solicit his recall, or using them as a pretext, he wrote to the Queen upon the subject. Christina granted his petition, though in very flattering terms, and held out to him the prospect of new marks of her esteem upon his return to Stockholm. "She wrote," says our author, "to the Queen of France, a letter, in which she expressed herself in a manner highly honourable to Grotius: she acknowledged her obligations to him, and protested that she never would forget them." This is an unusual frankness between Courts, in regard to a diplomatic agent.

Notwithstanding the tokens of approbation with which his fair sovereign honoured him, it may be questioned whether she was really gratified with his skill as a diplomatist. Profound scholars, and men so devoted to speculative studies as Grotius, have seldom excelled in a career which requires a greater knowledge of the world than of books.

To an unfortunate inclination for religious controversy, must be ascribed the greatest calamities and afflictions which he experienced. In attempting to effect a union of sects, and to establish a solid peace in Christendom, in regard to theological controversies, he became, by turns, the favourite, and the tool of the most opposite parties, and at last, lost by it his equanimity and peace of mind.

On his way to Stockholm, he passed through Holland, and was received with great distinction at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. From this latter city, he went in a vessel freighted at public expense, to Hamburgh, and from thence to Stockholm. Christina, who was at Upsal, came to meet him in the capital. He dined once with her; received many promises, and was allured by flattering expressions. The Queen desired him to remain in her service, and to bring his family over to Sweden. Whatever may have been her sincerity, Grotius was so anxious to leave her kingdom, that upon a delay in the despatch of his passport, he determined to depart without one; and he had already reached a seaport, about seven leagues distant from Stockholm, when a deputy from the Queen intimated to him her wish to converse with him once more. He returned, and received a present of about 10,000 French crowns and some plate, "the finishing of which had, the Queen told him, been

the only cause of the delay of his passport." A vessel was appointed to convey him to Lubec, but a storm forced him to disembark at a port fourteen miles distant from Dantzic, from whence he went to Rostock, where he died the second day after his arrival, from exhaustion of nature, accelerated by his late anxieties. The clergyman who visited him, gives the following account of his last moments :—" He sent for me about nine at night. I went, and found him almost at the point of death. I said, 'there was nothing I desired more, than to have seen him in health, that I might have the pleasure of his conversation.' He answered, '*God had ordered it otherwise.*' I desired him to prepare himself for a happier life, to acknowledge that he was a sinner, and to repent of his faults, and happening to mention the publican who acknowledged that he was a sinner, and asked God's mercy, he answered '*I am that publican.*' I went on, and told him that he must have recourse to Jesus Christ, without whom there is no salvation. He replied, '*I place all my hope in Jesus Christ.*' I began to repeat aloud in German, the prayers, which begin *Herr Jesu*—he followed me in a very low voice, with his hands clasped. When I had done, I asked him if he understood me. He answered, '*I understand you very well.*' I continued to repeat to him those passages of the word of God, which are commonly offered to the remembrance of dying persons, and asking him if he understood me, he answered, '*I heard your voice, but did not understand what you said.*' These were his last words; soon afterwards he expired, just at midnight." He was buried in the principal church; but his corpse was afterwards carried to Delft, to be deposited in the burying ground of his family.

He had written himself the following epitaph :—

"Grotius hic Hugo est, Batavus  
Captivus et Exul  
Legatus Regni, Suecia Magna Tui."

His earliest biographer, Burigni, describes him as a man of a "very agreeable person, good complexion, an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a serene and smiling countenance, not tall, but very strong and well-built."

Dr. Johnson, in recommending a poor nephew of Grotius to Dr. Vyse, observed, "the nephew of him, of whom every man of learning has perhaps learned something. Let it not be said, in any lettered country, the nephew of Grotius ever asked charity and was refused"—which, indeed, he was not.

The excellent wife of Grotius died at the Hague, in the communion of the Remonstrants. "Through life," Mr. Butler adds, "she was uniformly respected; and whenever the services of Grotius, to sacred and profane literature are recorded, her services to him should be mentioned with praise."

We have now given, we trust, a brief but satisfactory view of the personal history of Grotius. His life was more eventful than that of a man of great learning generally is—a circumstance which will surprise us the more, when we reflect upon the number and value of his works.

We shall conclude this article with a few general remarks on his literary character, which exhibits him in a double point of view, viz. as a theological controversialist and as a great jurist, or rather as the founder of the modern school of international law—for, although he was a general scholar, a poet and a mathematician of such extraordinary merit, that his claims in these particulars would entitle any other writer to universal respect, in Grotius they are merged in the splendid reputation which his works on jurisprudence and theology have won for them, wherever there is taste for literature and philosophy.

There are not, in our opinion, two learned professions nearer akin one to another, than the pulpit and the bar, especially since the Reformation. A mind accustomed to investigate abstract and complex questions—for the most part involved in doubtful and disputable phraseology—compelled to exercise a refined criticism upon established, and still oftener upon arbitrary or unascertained rules; frequently driven into the mazes of metaphysics; sometimes departing from a seemingly clear position, but in the course of inquiry, forced by the very consequences deduced from it, or by the conflict of opposite opinions, to doubt what at first seemed self-evident, and thus to struggle constantly with difficulties either arising out of the nature of the subject, or created by the ability of practised and skilful adversaries:—such a mind will apply itself as successfully to the investigation of philosophic truth as of legal rights; if, indeed, there is any essential difference between them. The author of the treatise "*De Officiis*," the great orator of Rome, the competitor of Hortensius, and the rival of Demosthenes, excelled equally in the speculations of the Lyceum and the Academy. At the epoch, too, when Grotius flourished, the influence of religious opinions upon political interests and relations was so divided, that a man justly conscious of his great mental powers, could not help bestowing his attention with an equal degree of zeal and curiosity upon these united sources of the general commotions and disturbances of his country. Even in

more modern times, and especially in such a society as ours, founded on the law—the aptitude of lawyers to discuss religious matters, is often exemplified by the open change of one profession for the other. We doubt, nevertheless, whether these studies can be prosecuted to any great extent simultaneously; and the division of labour is not, perhaps, so necessary to the complete and effective cultivation of any other branches of learning, as of these two. Even in the most highly gifted individuals, the greatest success in both will seldom go much further than a showy superficial cleverness, which is very far from being the same thing with sound learning—and so far as concerns the reputation of Grotius, we hesitate to state our opinion upon what it is principally founded. When men, like Leibnitz and Hurd, speak of his religious works in the highest terms of praise, it would argue an absurd degree of presumption to doubt of their excellence. But Grotius had a mind “to comprehend the universe:”—“the incomparable Grotius” as Leibnitz calls him—or as he says of him in another place—“there was gold in the impure mass of scholastic philosophy, and Grotius discovered it.” Who can hope to obtain such a height! The most modern example of a great jurist and diplomatist taking part in religious controversies—the author of “*Soirées of Saint-Petersbourg*”—seems to support our opinion; for his greatest admirers will surely not give him as much credit for this work and others of the same nature, as for his *Burke-like* views of the French Revolution.

As the founder of the modern public law, to which Helvetius, we believe, was the first to give the appropriate name of international law, Grotius stands in a most splendid and imposing light. It required vast learning, a most comprehensive mind, and we may add, a pure heart, to create a code that answers, in the opinion of practical jurists and great judges, to all possible legal questions: it required the self-confidence of a great genius to conceive such a work, and the patience and perseverance of a laborious scholar would have been tasked to accomplish it, even amidst the favour of the sovereign applause of the people, and the tranquillity of independence—what then, under the pressure of misfortune and persecution?

We conceive that no greater honour can be bestowed upon the authors of the “*Federalist*,” than the habitual reference to their opinions and views, in regard to the Constitution, as well in the halls of legislative bodies, as in courts of justice. Yet the authors of this invaluable work, were more or less directly instrumental in framing the laws which they explain: they wrote their commentary in a free country; they addressed it

almost exclusively to their countrymen; they were aided and enlightened by the accumulated political experience of the two last centuries, (of all others the most fertile in great events) and in the midst of a continual discussion of constitutional questions in America, France and England:—they discuss but a few great political principles. Grotius had hardly any of these advantages; and yet his treatise upon War and Peace, is quoted as an authority all over the world, in the tribunals of every nation; in the diplomatic papers\* of all cabinets; and excepting the most barbarous governments, and those without the pale of Christianity, all others respect and have profited by his maxims. Uncommissioned and unauthorized by any sovereign power, but sanctioned by the universal voice of nearly two centuries, in an age not the most prone to submit to the yoke of authority, he stands at a greater height than even the compilers of the civil law. He is in fact, so much above all praise, that eulogium is superfluous, even when clothed in eloquent language, and coming with the weight of kindred genius.

Grotius has, nevertheless, been criticised for his deference—his servile deference, as it has been called, to the authority of precedents and examples, and the sayings of sages and poets. Sir James Mackintosh thought it necessary to refute this censure; and at the time he wrote his *Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations*, perhaps there was some foundation for the opinion, for French philosophy exerted a baneful power over a large portion of mankind. Every thing was then to be deduced from, or reduced to abstract principles. The discredit which it was intended to throw upon all constituted authorities, was to extend to the authority of history and the experience of past ages. The several French Constitutions which differ so much in the arrangements of civil polity and the distribution of political powers, were all alike essentially metaphysical—a string of abstract principles. In public discourse, Religion was held up to derision and contempt; parental power was likened to political tyranny; classical studies were denounced as mere trammels of fanaticism and pedantry. No wonder that Grotius, with his quotations from Scripture, and Greek and Latin authors, was treated with disrespect, and that his most moderate critic among the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, Condillac, hinted that his genius would have

\* We remember only one diplomatic note where Montesquieu is quoted even by the French; and this is one presented by Talleyrand to the Allied Powers at the Congress of Vienna. In a parallel between the author of the "*Spirit of Laws*," and Grotius, much might be said in elucidation of a difference in national character and times, and the minds of these two philosophic jurists.

served him better than his learning. Still less cause is there for wonder, that a clerk of the foreign department at Paris, had the hardihood to publish a small pocket volume on international law, which was intended to supersede his. That the multiplicity of examples drawn from Scripture, and the classical authors of antiquity, was not, however, the most powerful reason of the dislike which the founders of the French Revolution entertained towards Grotius, may be inferred from the fact, that they studied Machiavelli, repeated Montaigne, and worshipped Montesquieu, who are all equally liable to the same censure (if it is one) of fortifying their opinions by numerous quotations and references.

That age, when learning was the exclusive occupation of a few men, and the most studious generally devoted themselves professionally to some particular branch of it, has, nevertheless, transmitted to us works, which prove a universality of reading in their authors, and we may add, of knowledge, considering the progress which natural science had then made—such men were Bacon, Grotius, Montaigne, Machiavelli, Jeremy Taylor, and Burton. Their works are full of references to authors—some of whom would probably be unknown to the general reader, and even to profound scholars at the present day, were they not mentioned by these great writers. In the freshness of learning—a freshness which ever exists for those who never cease to study—there is a natural tendency to throw out lavishly, what the mind has acquired, to unburden, as it were, the memory—and when taste is not yet formed, there may be a want of selection and a want of economy in the riches thus communicated—but certainly not a vain display of knowledge or a learned foppery. A book of the latter kind may aptly be called *liber conglutinatus*, or in the words of a happy quotation of the author of the “Pursuits of Literature,” *Ex epistolis virorum obscurorum*—“a book made up of as many books as would serve for fuel, to dress sheep, oxen, swine, pigs, turkeys and geese, without number; or as would be sufficient for one *high-dryer* to heat an hundred stoves.”\* But who would dare to think so of Grotius and Jeremy Taylor! Might it not rather be supposed that modesty leads a great genius to support his opinions and his advice by authorities venerable in his own eyes? We confess that besides the pleasure of reading passages, which such men as we have mentioned thought themselves incapable of improving, we receive them gratefully as an intimation that they did not wish to rely on their own powers and opinions,

\* *Pursuits of Literature*. 12th ed. p. 102.



without fortifying and enforcing them by the authority of those whom they thought as wise or wiser than themselves.

Besides, Grotius, in particular, did not intend to publish a speculative work. His great Treatise is, on the contrary, wholly practical. The pressing circumstances of his times, and the wars in which his country was engaged, made him think of the necessity of establishing rules to mitigate their evils, or to ascertain, at least, the rights and duties arising out of them. He trod in the steps of Albericus Gentilis, who had been induced to discuss maritime law, in consequence of the war between England and Spain. The war of independence of Holland led, thus, some other jurists, as Ayala and Arias, to write on public law. But it was reserved to Grotius to become an universal, though unauthorized lawgiver.

We could easily be betrayed into an attempt to compare Grotius with those who have undertaken to improve upon him ; but we resist this temptation for the present.

ART. VIII.—1. *An Address pronounced at the opening of the New-York High School, with Notes and Illustrations.* By JOHN GRISCOM. New-York. 1825.

2. *Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the High School Society of New-York, made November 12.* 1827.

3. *Tenth Annual Report of the Comptrollers of the Public Schools of the First School District of the State of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia. 1828.

4. *Address of the Trustees of the Public School Society in the city of New-York, to their Fellow-Citizens, respecting the extension of their Public Schools.* 1828.

5. *Report of a Sub-Committee of the School Committee, recommending various improvements in the System of Instruction in the Grammar and Writing Schools of the city of Boston.* Boston. February 8, 1828.

6. *Prospectus of the Livingston County High School for Boys on Temple Hill, Genesee, N. Y.* Genesee. August, 1827.

7. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools to the Legislature of New-York.* 8vo. Albany. 1828.

THE subject of practical education is now claiming the serious and devoted attention of all classes of citizens in the

United States. It occupies the reflections of the prudent and the benevolent, it awakens the exertions of the statesman and the sage. It is becoming more and more in our country a measure of national concern. It constitutes one of the topics embraced of late years in the annual communications of the Governors of States to their respective Legislatures; and in many of the States, there are statutory provisions for extending the benefits of education to the children of the poor, and for the erection and support of schools in every district. In no one, has the design of the Legislature been more successfully executed than in the State of New-York; in no one, perhaps, is the system more wise and liberal. In that State, as soon as the inhabitants of a neighbourhood can agree to erect a school-house, and furnish a certain sum for the payment of a teacher, they have a right, by law, to draw upon the public school fund for a sum equal to their own contribution.\* The effect of such a provision is not in the least problematical. The last report of the superintendant of common schools, made to the Legislature of New-York, shews, that there is within the various school districts of that State, the astonishing aggregate of 441,856 children, between the ages of five and fifteen, at school during eight months of the year, and that this number exceeds by 17,804, the whole number of children between five and fifteen years of age, within the districts, according to the last census. This statement, we think, may challenge a comparison with any part of the world. The superintendant, Mr. Flagg, whose diligence and discretion in collecting and collating his materials, are entitled to the highest praise, has, in fact, in one of his reports, given a tabular view of the relative extension of the benefits of education in different countries of Europe. This statement is given on the authority of Baron Ferussac, whose monthly bulletin of knowledge, collected with Herculean labour, from every source within the reach of the indefatigable *savans* of Paris, is, probably, as worthy of confidence in all statistical matters, as any thing that issues from the press. It thus appears, that while in the State of New-York, the number of children at school, is to the whole population of the State, as 1 to  $3\frac{9}{10}$ ; in the most favoured countries of Europe, viz. in Scotland, and in the circle of Gratz, in Germany, the pro-

\* It is required by the school law of that State, that a sum shall be assessed upon the taxable inhabitants, equalling that which is apportioned to each township; and by a vote at town-meeting, double the amount may be raised. In the course of the last year, the towns raised by tax \$10,542 32, more than were required to entitle them to the public appropriation.—*Report of Superintendent, January 29. 1828.*

portion is as 1 to 9 or 10. But we doubt not that our readers will be gratified with the table itself.\*

It is probable that the New-England States, and many parts of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, might furnish statements nearly as favourable to the extension of common school learning as New-York; for we find, by Mr. Flagg's Report, that it is by no means in the most populous and wealthy counties of that State that the number of the educated bears the highest ratio to the population. Indeed, we are somewhat surprised to find that the reverse is strikingly true. In the county of Albany, the number of children at school is to the whole population as 1 to 5.8, and in the county of Kings, a very small district, including the populous and wealthy commercial town of Brooklyn, the ratio is as 1 to 16! but we presume that this proportion cannot include the number of scholars that frequent the private schools of that thriving and rapidly increasing village. With respect to the great commercial emporium itself, it is evident, not only from the remarks of the superintendant, but from a late Address of the trustees of the public schools at the head of this article, that notwithstanding the exertions of the public-school society, together with those of the numerous charitable and religious associations concerned in education, there is, in all probability, an amount of at least twelve thousand children within the limits of the city, on whom the light of instruction never falls, with the exception of a small portion who attend the Sunday schools. This is a melancholy disclosure; more especially when contrasted with the statement from the counties of Chenango, Otsego, Madison and others, in the interior of the State, which exhibit a ratio of 1 to 2.8. We have no means of determining whether the city of New-York contains a greater or less relative number of untaught children than the populous cities and towns of other States; but the facts sufficiently prove that the concentration of vast numbers of people within narrow limits is exceedingly unfavourable

					No. of Scholars compared to population.
* Empire of Germany—	Circle of Gratz,	-	-	-	1 to 9
	Bohemia,	-	-	-	1 " 11
	Moravia and Silesia,	-	-	-	1 " 12
	Austria,	-	-	-	1 " 13
	Styria,	-	-	-	1 " 18
Prussia,	-	-	-	-	1 " 18
Great-Britain—	Scotland,	-	-	-	1 " 10
	England,	-	-	-	1 " 16
	Ireland,	-	-	-	1 " 18
France,	-	-	-	-	1 " 30
Poland,	-	-	-	-	1 " 78
Portugal,	-	-	-	-	1 " 80
Russia,	-	-	-	-	1 " 964

to the general diffusion of knowledge. In this respect at least, "great cities are great sores;" and as it requires no great extent of observation to prove that ignorance is the parent of irreligion, indolence, improvidence and crime, it cannot be doubted that unless some remedy can be found for this alarming evil, it must, in time, arrive at a height, which, taken in connexion with the republican principles of universal suffrage, will greatly endanger the liberties of the country, and destroy the tranquil operation of that admirable system of government under which we are so rapidly advancing, as a nation, in prosperity and power. This subject is adverted to with becoming feeling in the Address of the New-York Public School Society:—

"It appears to the trustees, that the due order of things has been inverted; that our common schools are not the proper objects of a parsimonious policy, but are entitled to an endowment not less munificent than the best of our institutions. Neither the sick nor the destitute have higher claims upon us than the ignorant. The want of knowledge is the most imperative of all wants; for it brings all others in its train. If education be regarded as a charity, it is the only one whose blessings are without alloy. It demands no jealous scrutiny as to the claims of its applicants, nor does it require to be so stinted as not to multiply their number. The obligations which rest upon us, in regard to this great interest, both as men and Christians, are sufficiently obvious and imposing. To these are to be added, the peculiar claims which are addressed to us as the citizens of a free country. If we would preserve our free institutions, the means of education must be co-extensive with the right of suffrage.

"Although the knowledge of an individual may not always be accompanied with corresponding virtue, yet we hold it to be certain, that politically considered, the community will always be more or less virtuous as they are more or less enlightened. All private interests harmonize in the public good, and the more clearly this is perceived, the more will a single view to the public welfare be regarded as the test of public spirit, and the just measure of popular favour.

"If it be not true that the political power of the people is generally employed for what seems to them their own good, we must abandon all the theories of a republican government. If this power be thus employed, we need only enlighten the mind which directs it, and it is our fault if it be not found on the side of virtue and patriotism. Let it not be supposed, that we would separate the power of knowledge from that of morals and religion. The remarks we have made, we wish to be understood as applied to the people in their civil relations. But if we go farther, and regard religion and morals as the highest objects of education, as they truly are, it certainly will not be denied that education furnishes the principal and almost the sole means of their diffusion.

"On the other hand, let it be remembered that the uneducated and unenlightened must necessarily be the mere play-things and tools of

political ambition. Those base men who pervert their station, or abuse the public confidence for private purposes, have nothing to fear but from just sentiment and enlightened opinion. Prejudice and ignorance are the very elements from which proceed all popular error, confusion and violence. It is the business of education to purify this atmosphere, and to drive out the pestilence. The hand which perchance may wield the public destinies, is nothing in itself; it is the terrible engine which it puts in motion which alone is to be dreaded.

"It may not be without just cause that, in some other countries, it is considered a dangerous thing to enlighten the people. But with us, the question of their political power is settled; and, if they are true to themselves, it is settled forever. We wish to keep that power in their hands, and to enable them to exercise it with wisdom. The labouring classes have been justly called the back-bone and sinews of the republic. It is not enough that they know how to read, write, and cast accounts. We wish to provide for them better excitements than they now have. We wish them to enjoy the pleasures, as well as other advantages, of intellectual occupation. We wish them to be able to understand and admire the beneficence of the Creator in the works of his hands. We wish them to feel that virtue is the first distinction among men, and knowledge the second, and to be themselves the great exemplar of these truths.

"Entertaining these views, we hold that there is no object of greater magnitude within the whole range of legislation—no more imperative demand for public revenue, than the establishment of competent schools and seminaries of learning. We hold that, in the nature of things, nothing can be better entitled to a share of the public revenue, than that from which private and public wealth derive all their value and security. In short, our schools are the very foundation, upon which rest the peace, good order, and prosperity of society."

These are certainly demonstrable propositions. There may be found in different sections of our own country, and even in different neighbourhoods and communities within the same district, practical evidences of the *power* which education confers upon the general mass, in advancing the interests and prosperity of the people, both physical and intellectual. But in other countries the contrast is more impressive. The traveller, who passes from Scotland to Ireland, from Sardinia to Switzerland, or from France through Belgium to Holland, will be amazed at the disparity in industry, comfort and elegance which arrests his attention. If he inquire minutely into the various causes of this discrepance, he will find nothing more obviously correspondent with it, than the condition of the common schools, and the various opportunities of instruction afforded the mass of the children of those countries respectively. There has been, most clearly, a progress in the opinions of men, within the last thirty years, with respect to the causes of national wealth, or, of what is of

more consequence, of national power in the aggregate, and individual liberty and enjoyment in the detail. Political economy is a new science; and, although still imperfect, and in many respects very unsettled, yet the discoveries to which it has led, have unfolded truths, the most important to social welfare. We hold it to be one of these, that wherever those who constitute the strength and sinew of the people are in a state of ignorance, the violations of law, and the indulgence of the grosser passions meet with less interruption. There is less of the majesty of public opinion, (the most powerful of all potentates) to be encountered in the gratification of unlawful desires. We are, therefore, among those who believe that the only sovereign balsam for political evils lies in the moral and intellectual cultivation of every rational being who is entitled to rank, as a political unit, in the social compact. By this means, and this only, can every member of the body be made thoroughly to understand and to feel that its own safety and happiness is inseparable from the well-being of the whole. We agree, therefore, with the authors of the New-York Address, that taxation and expenditures cannot be more fitly and justly ordered than in carrying to the doors of every family in the State, the means of education:—

“We may go still farther and say, that in so far as the expenditure proposed is necessary for the establishment of common or English schools, it is recommended by the principles of economy, in the strictest sense of that word. Those who are without education, must always be a degraded caste. Having no prospect of a material improvement in their condition, they are without the common incentives to industry, and hardly know what frugality means. Those who are unacquainted with the habits and pursuits of humble life, do not know how generally education is connected with independence, and the want of it with abject poverty. Add to this, that the *caste* of which we are speaking, for such it unhappily is, is necessarily removed from all wholesome, social influences, and that they are the natural prey of the cunning and profligate, and it will be perceived, that with regard to a great portion of them, and particularly the children of emigrants, we must choose between the expenses of their education, and the cost of their maintenance in our almshouses and penitentiaries. It is proof enough of this, that small as is the proportion of those who cannot read and write to our whole population, they constitute the majority of our convicts and paupers.

“The more the community is enlightened, the more equally will its burdens be borne. It has not, perhaps, been sufficiently considered by political economists, that national wealth chiefly proceeds from the activity of mind; and must, therefore, be proportioned to the extent and universality of its developement. There is a striking illustration of this truth, in a lecture not long since delivered by Baron Dupin before one of the Institutes of Paris. It appears by his statement that in some

parts of France, those who are educated are 1-10th, in others 1-20th, in others only 1-229th part of the whole population; and that the national revenue of these districts is nearly in corresponding ratios. Nay, more, that these proportions are not materially varied by the most striking superiority or inferiority of soil and climate."

The statement of Baron Dupin above alluded to, is worthy of universal attention, and although the substance of it has found admission into various newspapers throughout the country, a fuller extract from the Discourse of the French philosopher will, we conceive, be suitably introduced in this place.

"I present to your notice a map of the kingdom, which represents by shades, more or less deep, the degrees of ignorance or information which prevail.

"Those departments whose primary schools contain the tenth of the whole population, are coloured with the deep tint of No. 10, those departments whose schools contain only the 20th part of the total population, are coloured No. 20; those whose schools contain only the 229th part of the population, I have coloured in black, No. 229, &c.

"What then you will say, does France contain departments where there is but one child at school, in a population of 229 inhabitants? Yes, gentlemen, such a state of things does exist, and even still worse. But, it will be observed, this must be, undoubtedly, in some corner of Lower Brittany? No, gentlemen, Lower Brittany is rather better. It has schools which contain the 222d part of its population. It must then be on the summit of the Alps or the Pyrennees, where the poor have to struggle against eternal frosts and avalanches, in cultivating a contracted territory? No, gentlemen, the inhabitants of the Upper Alps and Upper Pyrenees are among the number of those whose popular instruction is the most diffused; because nothing gives so much moral energy to a people as to have to struggle against natural obstacles. That obscure place, where only the 229th part of the human species frequent the schools, is in the middle of the kingdom, in a wide valley, under a mild and serene sky, in the region of the vine, the mulberry and the maize, on the borders of a superb river; it is called the garden of France; it is Touraine.

"Look, on the contrary, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the country of Henry the Great, Bearn: it contains, in its schools, the 15th of the total population; and it is in the vicinity of this fine country, formerly called the garden of the Hesperides, the garden of the West, that we find the country whose deep colouring, proportioned to its present ignorance, relieves me from the necessity of pronouncing its name.

"In drawing the narrow dark line, which you observe, from Geneva to Saint Malo, we separate the North from the South of France.

"On the North, are thirty-two departments, and thirteen millions of inhabitants; on the South, fifty-four departments, and eighteen millions of inhabitants.

"The thirteen millions of the North send to school 740,846 young people; the eighteen millions of the South send to school but 375,931 pupils.

"Let us now observe some of the remarkable consequences resulting from this disproportion.

"In the North of France, notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, the intelligent industry of the people enables them to obtain from the soil, a revenue which is sufficient to pay 127,634,765 francs of the national impost, for a surface of 18,692,191 hectares, while the fifty-four departments of the South, pay only 125,412,969 francs for a surface of 34,841,235 hectares.

"Thus for a million of hectares, the public treasury receives from the enlightened portion of France, 6,820,000 francs, and from the dark portion 3,599,700.

"The superiority of the public revenue, furnished by the enlightened portion of the kingdom, is also particularly obvious in the patent tax, which is levied at an equal rate throughout the kingdom.

"The thirty-two departments of the North close a patent account with the public treasury of 15,274,456 francs, and the fifty-four Southern departments, only 9,623,733 francs. Hence, favoured by superior industry and information, a million of Frenchmen on the North side of the line, pay for the patents of their arts 1,174,958 francs, and a million on the South, only 534,662 francs.

"I have examined the list of patents (*brevets d'invention*) from July 1, 1791, to July 1, 1825, and the following are the results:—For the 32 Northern departments, 1689 patents—the 54 Southern departments, 413 patents.

"The University of the kingdom decrees to all the colleges of Paris and Versailles, an immense number of prizes of three grades, according to merit. The almanac of the University contains the names and birth-place of all the successful candidates. After subtracting all that were born in Paris, in order to avoid giving too great an advantage to the North, the following is the result:—Rewarded pupils of the 31 Northern departments; 107 of the 54 Southern, 36; that is one third: and what is more, of these prizes, 37 were of the first degree, and of these, 33 were assigned to students of the North.

"Of the pupils of the *Polytechnic Schools*, for thirteen consecutive years, I have found that of 1933 admitted, 1233 are from the North, and 700 from the South.

"The *Academy of Sciences*, to which all France gives this testimony, that it chooses its members with independence, and consequently with equity, from all the savans of the kingdom, presents a result still more favourable to the inhabitants of the North. Of the 65 members who compose the Academy of Sciences, the 32 departments of the North have 48, and the 54 departments of the South have only 17. Consequently to furnish one member of the academy, there must be 15,434 children at school in the North, and 22,113 in the South.

"I have reserved, as the last object of comparison, those noble rewards which the government grants, at the periodical exhibition of the



products of national industry. The following, at the exhibition of 1819, was the proportion of the prizes:

32 departments of the North.		54 departments of the South.	
Gold Medals,	63		26
Silver Medals,	136		45
Bronze Medals,	94		36
	—293		—107.

The exhibition of 1823, gives still more striking results.\*

Although it cannot be denied that there is some degree of uncertainty and vagueness in the data from which the inferences of Baron Dupin are drawn, yet it must be allowed that the facts and comparisons go to establish in a manner satisfactory and conclusive, the vast importance of diffusing the rays of knowledge into every recess and corner of a country, however widely extended. We trust it will become more and more, the pride of America, that she is not outdone by the most enlightened nations of Europe, in this species of patriotic benevolence; and that between her local governments, there will be a generous strife in the exhibition of their strength and skill in this noble career of literary humanity. The fruits of this spirit are abundantly apparent. The State of New-York may claim the merit of instituting and prosecuting simultaneously, her magnificent schemes of internal improvement, and her plans of general education. In the same year (if we mistake not) in which she celebrated the union of the lakes and the ocean, did her Legislature decree that the annual sum of one hundred thousand dollars should be thereafter appropriated to the support of *common schools*. These two objects were equally the favourites of that master-spirit which has so recently sunk beneath her horizon, leaving behind it so many brilliant traces of a genius which has given an impetus to national and patriotic exertion, the benefits of which admit of no calculation.

The Pennsylvania Report named in our title, relates only to one district of the State, but this is doubtless, at once, the most populous and important of them all. Whether there is in Pennsylvania, as in New-York, a state officer, whose duty it is to watch over the general interests of public education, and to make an annual report thereon to the Legislature, it is to us, at present, unknown. We have been forcibly impressed with the benefits which must result from making it the official duty

\* We have given this extract of the Baron Dupin, because it exhibits some interesting views, but we must keep in recollection that Paris is included in the northern division of the kingdom, and this Capital, which attracts talent, and wealth and industry indiscriminately from every quarter of the kingdom, must modify, very considerably, the foregoing statements.

of a responsible officer, to exhibit annually, a lucid statement of the condition and progress of education throughout the State. It brings different sections of the State into generous competition with each other, by diffusing information that cannot but serve as a stimulus to honourable exertion. Besides, such reports will serve hereafter as useful land-marks for the historian and political economist.

The first school district of Pennsylvania, which includes the city of Philadelphia, and a portion, if not the whole of the contiguous part of the county, and to which the Report before us relates, comprehends a population in which there have been, during the past year, four thousand six hundred and three children educated at the public expense. The cost of this education was \$23,772 94, or \$5 16 for each scholar.

Agreeably to the New-York Report, there are ten thousand children attending the public schools; and "the whole revenue accruing to the Public School Society of New-York, exclusive of about \$4,400 received from pay scholars, for the year ending on the first of May last, was less than \$20,000." The average of this cost is, therefore, less by two and a half dollars for each scholar. What it is that occasions this wide difference in the cost of public education between Philadelphia and New-York, or in what respects the quality of the instruction in the two cities may differ, we have not the means of ascertaining. The comparative numbers too, which are educated in the two cities at the public expense, differ as widely as the cost. Either the private schools of Philadelphia are much more numerous than in New-York, or there must be a greater deficiency in the extension of education in that city, great as it appears to be in New-York, making all due allowance for the difference in population of the two districts to which the reports respectively relate.

In the city of Boston, the expenses of an education in the public schools are still greater. Agreeably to the able and interesting Report, named at the head of this article, signed by Josiah Quincy, chairman, dated February 8, 1828, the annual expense of 2987 scholars in the seven *grammar* schools of Boston, is \$25,200, making \$8 43 for each scholar. The primary schools, or those for small children, taught mostly by females, contains 3,144 scholars, the expense of which is \$13,500, or \$4 29 per scholar. Even this lower price is almost double that which supports the schools in New-York. The principal object of the Boston Report is to demonstrate, that by the adoption of a new, improved system of instruction, the expenses which that city incurs in the support of its schools, would be

greatly lessened, and the schools placed upon a better foundation.

This brings us to the point which is the main object of our introducing the subject of public instruction to the notice of our readers, viz. the system of mutual or monitorial instruction in the management of schools.

It is not our intention at present, to enter into a history of this mode of teaching children. We have no inclination to attempt to settle the contending claims of Bell and Lancaster, *neither* of whom if certain statements which we have seen, can be relied upon, ought to be regarded as the first who adopted this method of conducting schools. We consider them both, however, as entitled to high honour and respect, for their perseverance and skill in perfecting and promulgating their respective systems, and have no doubt that the world has been much benefited by their labours. The method of Lancaster is extensively in vogue, there being scarcely a country in Europe which has not adopted it, more especially, as the vehicle of popular and general instruction. The Reports of the British and Foreign School Society, indicate the extension of this system in different portions of Europe, in British India, in some parts of South-America, at the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, Madagascar, and in several of the South-Sea Islands. The last annual Report of that Society, adopted May 7, 1827, is the twenty-second. It is a work of 160 pages octavo, replete with information interesting to every philanthropist. Now we take it for granted, that a system or mode of instruction, which requires an organization quite different from that which the world has been accustomed to for a thousand years past, could not have stood the ordeal of twenty-five or thirty years trial in this enlightened and philosophic age, and that too in so many different countries, and under all sorts of governments, from imperial to republican, unless it possessed substantial merit. We find too, from the British Reports, that the system predominates most where there is the greatest freedom of opinion, or where sovereigns and the high functionaries of government are most liberal and enlightened. Its progress in Denmark, for example, is truly surprising. At the commencement of the last year (1827,) it is officially stated, that "the system of mutual instruction had been introduced into 1,515 schools, and that 492 more were preparing to adopt it in the spring, which will make a total of upwards of 2000 schools, probably containing 100,000 scholars." We suspect that this little kingdom will make a better figure in some of Mr. Flagg's future statistical tables, than any portion of Europe, which at present appears in them.

It is doubtless well known to our readers, that it is this Lancasterian or Monitorial system which is pursued in the public schools of Philadelphia and New-York, as well as in various other towns of the United States. The power which it places in the hands of a master, enabling him to distribute the light of his instruction through an almost indefinite number of channels, and thus to superintend a very large school with better effect than he could a very small one without it, is the simple and obvious reason of the great difference in the cost of instruction between Boston and New-York. This argument is forcibly urged in the Boston Report, together with a statement of other advantages attendant on the new system, in favour of a change in the long established practice of that city.

“The advantages of the Monitorial system in comparison with the old system, may briefly be thus stated. To the student it makes learning less irksome, by simplifying and facilitating his progress; it gives to instruction more interest by alternation and variety of exercise, in which physical and intellectual action are combined; it keeps attention awake and interested, by permitting no moment of idleness or listlessness; its effect on the habits, character and intelligence of youth is highly beneficial; disposing their minds to industry, to readiness of attention, and to subordination, thereby creating in early life a love of order, preparation for business, and acquaintance with the relative obligations and duties both of pupils and instructors.

“To the master also, it renders teaching less irksome and more interesting, giving an air of sprightliness and vivacity to his duties, exciting the principles of emulation among his scholars, aiding him by the number of assistants he can thus employ, and by relieving him from the constant necessity of direct supervision of every individual, capacitates him to concentrate his mind and efforts on points and objects of the most importance, difficulty and responsibility. To all which, it may be added, though a consideration less important, yet not to be overlooked, that it is an immense saving both of time and money, in consequence of the far greater numbers which can be taught as well by this mode, as a smaller number can be by the former.”

We are strongly inclined to think, that the foregoing contains, in a few words, a clear and correct statement of the nature of the superiority of the new over the old system; and it is to us a matter of some surprise, that the inhabitants of Boston especially, should have so long hesitated to adopt a system, recommended by so many interesting considerations, and verified by so much weight of evidence and experience. But the Report itself, unquestionably assigns the principal reasons in ascribing it to “the favour naturally entertained for old systems, and the reluctance with which the mind receives a new system, particu-

larly when it affects habits in which we have been educated, and requires modes of thinking and acting different from those to which we have been long accustomed." Independently, therefore, of the sanction which twenty-five years trial of this system in all the countries, nations and languages of Europe, and its application under one or the other forms (that of Bell or Lancaster) in every considerable town in England, Scotland and Ireland, have afforded of its utility and superiority, we hold it to be undeniable that it has undergone a most severe scrutiny in our own country, and that its preference is justified by the most ample and satisfactory proof which any reasonable mind can require for the purpose of rational conviction. The public schools of Philadelphia, Albany and New-York, have been governed and taught upon this system for fifteen or twenty years. They are under the direction of managers, many of whom, from the printed lists which we have seen, we know to be men of literary taste, sound political judgment, and intent upon the great object of their appointment, the extension of education, by the most effectual means, among all classes of the community. The late De Witt Clinton held the station of President of the Public School Society of New-York, during the ten or fifteen years prior to his decease, and, of course, the system received his entire approbation. Indeed, it was the subject of positive and warm recommendation in more than one of his messages.

The moral effect of this system has also been highly spoken of; and it may readily be conceived, that if a scheme of mutual supervision, of alternate subordination and responsibility, can be thoroughly established in a large school of boys—if the more discreet and prudent among them can be invested with a certain share of authority, and rendered accountable for the conduct of the rest—and, if this little *imperium in imperio* can be divested of those features which are apt to render such distinctions odious among boys, by creating an appellat jurisdiction, and referring the decision of doubtful cases to a jury of their fellows—it may, we repeat, be readily conceived, that a sense of honour may be instilled into a large and promiscuous school of boys, which shall go far to elevate in their minds, the standard of justice, and to bring even the most vulgar to a perception of moral worth, and a conformity to the decencies of an obliging and friendly intercourse. We have seen it observed, that there has been but one instance of a conviction in the police courts of New-York, of any person who had received his education in the public school of that city. This, however, was not meant to apply to the thousands of children of the poorer classes, who, from the vices

of their parents, frequent the schools but temporarily and reluctantly, and who make no progress in learning. But the whole scope and mechanism of these schools, if rightly managed, are favourable to moral influence. We say rightly managed—for who can question, that in unfaithful or incompetent hands, schools upon this plan, as well as upon any other, will fail?

If, notwithstanding what has been advanced, there should be any among those that favour our pages with an attentive perusal, who, interested in the promotion of good schools, should wish for further evidence of the superiority of the Monitorial method of instruction, we refer them in a particular manner, to the *American Journal of Education*, published monthly in Boston. This journal is edited with ability and candour, and with a just and honourable regard for the progress of sound instruction throughout the United States. We would also recommend the little volume of Dr. Griscom, noted at the head of this article. This work enters somewhat elaborately into the question of Monitorial instruction, and especially in relation to its application to the higher pursuits of the scholar—to classical learning—to mathematics—physics—chemistry—and mental philosophy. The notes and extracts contain copious and valuable materials, drawn from numerous sources, exhibiting the opinions of men of acknowledged authority in literary matters, and the result of much experience in various foreign schools and institutions, in the kind and mode of instruction intended to be pursued in the New-York High School.

In reading this book, it is impossible to resist the evidence the author has brought forward of the efficacy of the Monitorial system, as a powerful aid to the teacher in any department of literature, high or low, in which it may be his business to give instruction. We mean, of course, in a school which contains more pupils than one man can thoroughly teach. The proper limits of such schools, it would, we admit, be difficult, as an absolute rule, to decide. Our views do not go beyond a dozen, or twenty at farthest. That is to say, if it be an object to cultivate the mind of a child as a skilful horticulturist does his garden, with a view to the greatest possible perfection of beauty and production—a dozen pupils would be more than enough to engage the whole attention of an instructor. Much and various information may, it is true, be imparted in the form of general lectures, of which the whole of a large class may partake at once; but without individual instruction, adapted to the ever-varying progress, genius, perceptions, and habits of each child, properly afforded and combined with a due share of stimulus suited also

to the wants and peculiarities of each, there must ever be a great waste of time and intellectual vigour. We cannot compare the functions of a teacher to the rain and the sun, which fall alike upon all the flowers and plants of the field. He is merely the humble and faithful cultivator; and it would be as reasonable to anticipate the most prolific growth without individual pruning and nursing in the kingdoms of Flora and Pomona, as in the garden of the mind. Admitting, then, the necessity of personal and appropriate instruction to each scholar, it is easy to show, that if a teacher have twelve boys under his care, and six hours a day be devoted to their instruction, he can spend but thirty minutes with each; and where is the man of candour who will say that this is more than enough, when he reflects that each boy must be questioned, and made to recite and exhibit his knowledge,—must be heard to spell, read, parse, construe and scan; must demonstrate his rules of arithmetic and his geometrical theorems,—answer all the needful interrogatories in geography, history, philosophy and mathematics,—and must have all his difficulties cleared up by patient and lucid instruction. It is astonishing how much time is wasted in all our common schools for want of this minute supervision, and timely and appropriate attention to the wants of each scholar. We venture to say that habits of intellectual indolence (if we may use the term) are formed and confirmed in all these schools to an enormous extent. It is not enough to answer, that much of the instruction given to one boy will apply to the whole class—that their wants are similar, their difficulties the same, and that each requires the same sort of illustration. There is no force in these observations, unless it can also be shewn that their wants and difficulties are *simultaneous* as well as *similar*; and no teacher or parent, conversant with the intellectual perceptions of children, will undertake to urge, that if a dozen boys be placed together in a class, and compelled to advance with a uniform march through their studies, there would not be a grievous waste of time and energy on the part of one half of them. It would be the race of the hare and the tortoise between the extremes of talent and dullness. Even admitting, what is scarcely possible, that a class of twelve is likely to be brought together of ages and attainments, so correspondent, as to admit of their being put to the same lessons in all the branches of their study, is it for a moment to be doubted, that before the lapse of a single week, such a divergence would be sufficiently perceptible to enforce the opinion, that to oblige them to continue together, would be to do a *Procrustes-like* violence to nature—

injuring the faculties which it was intended to strengthen and encourage.

The perfection of teaching, therefore, consists in applying the precise kind and quantum of instruction required, at the very moment when it is needed, and this can be effected only when a very small number of pupils is apportioned to one teacher. It is this which renders private instruction, in all cases where there is a strong desire to improve, on the part of the scholars, combined with vigorous application, so much more effectual than the ordinary process of common schools. In many of these the pupil may think himself fortunate if he can procure five minutes uninterrupted instruction from his teacher as his daily average.

Is it then to be inferred that a private or domestic education is the best, and that large public schools are nuisances in the community, and injurious to our youth? Such is not our opinion. The relative merits of these two kinds of education have been the subject of frequent and able discussion ever since the time of Quintillian. By none, perhaps, has the question been more fully examined than by that learned and excellent teacher, Vicessimus Knox, in his *Treatise on Education*. But, agreeing, as we do, with this author, in admitting as a general rule, the superiority of large public schools over private instruction, we ground our opinion on the absolute necessity of applying to the minds of youth a constant and appropriate stimulus to exertion. In this all-important point, private teaching is, in a majority of cases, necessarily and lamentably defective. It has been asserted by some writers, "that mankind are, by nature, thieves and drunkards." With much greater justice may it be said, that children are, naturally, indisposed to mental labour, and rarely inclined from an inherent, organic love of knowledge to "delve in the intellectual mine," or "grow pale over the midnight lamp." Now, we know of no stimulus at once more gentle and efficient, than the excitement of numbers. The emulation arising from the perpetual consciousness of being engaged in the same race, and of aiming at the same goal, with numerous associates; the constant habit of comparing ourselves with others, combined with the rewards and the reproofs which attend exertion or neglect. These incentives are to be found only in large schools, and in them are also to be found the additional advantages of greater animation and activity, of greater facilities for the classification of students, so as to bring those together, who are nearly alike in talent and attainment, and more correct and easy means of frequent promotions. But to secure the advantages thus consequent upon large numbers,



and to prevent the deplorable waste of time, inseparable from the practice of assigning forty or fifty scholars to one teacher, there is no method affording so easy and happy a relief as the Monitorial system. The judicious application of this scheme of management, enables a master to keep his boys constantly employed. He can assign a specific teacher to every four or five scholars,—one who is able to hear all those recitations, at least, which depend on memory or upon the application of common rules—all the problems and propositions which must be solved, agreeably to an established order of demonstration,—one, in fact, who can perform four-fifths of the ordinary labour of the master, and who, at the same time, by this very exercise, is perfecting himself in the studies through which he has just passed. By this method, every boy in a very large school can be made to recite almost every word in each of his lessons. His dullness or his indolence cannot escape for want of time to hear him; as is so often the case, nor can it be screened from observation by the shifts and contrivances incident to a large class.

It would not comport with the proper limits of this article, to attempt any special instructions with respect to the mechanism of a Monitorial school. These may be found to a sufficient extent in the various manuals which have been published both in Europe and in this country.

The most interesting, if not the most important question which remains to be noticed in relation to this modern system of school management, is its applicability to the higher branches of education. Can it be usefully applied to instruction in the Latin and Greek classics, the modern languages, theoretical and practical geometry and other branches of mathematics, to natural philosophy and chemistry. On this point, much weighty evidence is adduced in the notes appended to the Discourse of Dr. Griscom. We have there the strong opinions of the Edinburgh and Westminster Reviews, the very respectable testimony of the learned Drs. Mant and D'Oyley, in relation to the progress of the scholars of the Charter House, London, in the higher classics; and, above all, a detail of the opinions, the practice, and the experience of Prof. Pillans, during his ten years rectorship of the High School of Edinburgh. That ancient and distinguished seminary was never in better repute than while under the care of that gentleman. His very clear and cogent statement (contained in Dr. Griscom's volume) of the successful application of the Monitorial system, to classical studies, in the higher departments of that school, must, we think, satisfy every reasonable mind on the points in question; and we recommend its attentive perusal, not only to the teacher, but to all who take

sufficient interest in the concerns of education, to wish to become acquainted with the amelioration effected in modern times by men of talent and experience in the vastly important, but too often repulsive, duty of conveying instruction to the young.

But, on this subject, we can refer not only to the experience of Europe, but to that of our own country for a demonstration of the value of the new system, in reference not only to the elementary but to the higher branches of learning.

The High School of New-York stands first in the list of the attempts to introduce the new system into the United States, as universally applicable to the various pursuits of the scholar, and is established on a scale commensurate with many other enlightened enterprizes of that enterprising metropolis. It was founded about four years ago by a number of respectable citizens, from the conviction, that although the city contained many excellent private schools, yet, by the application of the Monitorial system to the higher branches of education, a great economy could be attained, and thus, without any public charge, the advantages of education could be brought within the reach of a much larger class. They had observed too, with regret, that in some of the best classical schools, little else was well taught than the classics, and boys left them with a respectable portion of Greek, Latin and Prosody, but grossly deficient in the humblest branches of common education. This, it was thought, could be no necessary condition of excellence in classical attainments, and that the "one could be done" without "leaving the other undone." They, therefore, determined on founding a permanent and extensive establishment for the education of boys, combining all the studies usually taught as preparatory for collegiate or mercantile life, with instruction in modern languages, and the communication of elementary scientific knowledge.

An ample fund for the erection of buildings, was raised by private subscription, and the subscribers became incorporated by law. The management of their concerns was entrusted to a board of trustees, annually elected by the stockholders, and a plain but spacious, substantial and most commodious building erected, containing large halls for the school-rooms of each department; adjoining rooms for recitations, separate instruction, the apparatus, and the use of the teachers, &c. The trustees placed at the head of the Institution Professor Griscom, who had long been known as a teacher of reputation, and as an able and popular scientific lecturer, and who was especially fitted for the organization of such an establishment, from having for some years studied the Monitorial system in all its bearings and uses, and observed the best schools of Europe and America. With

him, was associated the Rev. Mr. Barnes, a gentleman of talent and various science, long distinguished as an excellent classical scholar and teacher. The selection of assistants and teachers of languages, &c. was confided to these associate principals. The trustees retained the power and duty of frequent visitation and examination, by regular committees, whose reports are summed up in an annual Report from the Board.

The immediate result of this school was the reduction of expense, as it was found that at least as good a course of instruction as the best ordinary schools of our country afford, could thus be given at about half the former expense. For the character and efficiency of the instruction given, we must rely upon the Reports.

The third annual Report of this school for 1827, is before us, written, as we are informed, by the then president of the board of trustees. The name of Chancellor Kent gives the highest possible sanction to the correctness of its statements, and to the value of the system by which the institution is conducted:—

“The Monitorial system of instruction [says this Report] has recommended itself by the test of experience, and there is rarely any instance in our country to be met with of such large communities of scholars, affording equally excellent and indubitable proofs of order, discipline, emulation, ardent study and rapid improvement.”

This school, as appears from the several publications respecting it, consists of three departments, styled the Introductory, the Junior, and the Senior. The first or lowest is designed for children of the youngest class. They are admissible as soon as they leave the nursery, and are led on by gentle and easy stages, by pictures and other devices, to a knowledge of the alphabet, to spelling, reading, writing on slates, and the elements of arithmetic and geography. The report thus speaks of this department.

“In the Introductory department of the boy’s High-School, the average number of scholars, during the last year, has been 210, and of that number sixty have been promoted to the higher studies of the Junior department. In this large class of very young boys, there is one teacher, one assistant, and a considerable number of monitors. Here is disclosed the very first symptoms of infant genius, and the tender mind receives its earliest impressions of the elements of science, and the value and beauty of moral principles. The boys in this department study the alphabet, spelling, reading, writing on slates, the simplest and most general principles of arithmetic and geography; and instruction is also given in the most attractive manner, by pictures and familiar lectures on natural history. A committee of the trustees who visited this department observed in one of their Reports, that the boys at that time

amounted to 243, and they found that 184 were studying arithmetical tables, and 64 geography, and nearly all of them were studying words, definitions, and spelling lessons, and that their proficiency in geography in particular, was highly commendable. It is evident, however, that this department cannot appear to very great advantage, because, when a child makes a proficiency that would render his examination very creditable, he is advanced to the next department. But we ought to bear in mind that it is in this department that the foundations of science are laid, and rising talent detected, encouraged and promoted. The best men of the next generation, who are to sustain the business, promote the improvement, and guide the councils of our country, must all start from an equally humble goal.

The second or middle department is thus noticed :—

“The Junior Department of the boy’s school presents the higher interest, of a further enlargement of the faculties of the young scholar. The average number of boys during the last year was 185, and of them 65 have been promoted to the senior department. There is here, one teacher, and two assistants, and the Monitorial system appears in all its advantage. This system throughout the entire school, is now greatly assisted by a double class of monitors, one of which is under the instruction of a teacher, while the other class is on duty. The scholars and the monitors, therefore, advance with equal steps in the course of improvement, and while the one class is instructing the pupils, the other is enlarging its own capacity to teach.

“The studies in this department are Spelling, Reading, Penmanship, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, American History, Elocution, linear Drawing, and the rudiments of Mapping. Familiar lectures are also weekly given on physical and political geography, and portions of natural history.

“The Committee from the Board of Trustees, in the Report of one of their examinations of this department, stated, that the method of teaching arithmetic, adopted by the principles, was simple and comprehensive. The pupils were taught the true principles and reason of the science, and they followed the arithmetical questions stated, with perfect facility and great accuracy. Geography was taught excellently well, and the proficiency in the studies generally, was creditable to the scholars and reputable to their instructors. There was a general spirit of activity and emulation, and a well balanced relation preserved between the teachers and the pupils.”

The senior or higher department brings to the test the main question with regard to the power of the new system to afford essential aid to the master in the highest pursuits of an English and Classical Grammar School.

The following is the statement of the respectable Board of Trustees who supervise this interesting Institution :—

“In the Senior Department, we are presented with the best and happiest results of the system of mutual instruction : a system which awak-

ens emulation, and shows the value of industry, of good order, of mild and efficient discipline, and of the great facility and attractive charm of monitorial teaching, coming from the lips of decorous and ambitious equals.

The average number of scholars in this department for the last year is 148, and there are two teachers and one assistant, besides one teacher of the French, and another of the Spanish language. The studies in this department are Arithmetic, Algebra, Penmanship, linear Drawing, Mapping, Essay Writing or Composition, English Grammar and Elocution; and in those studies, all the pupils in the department partake. But there is in this department a judicious classification of the studies, so as to adapt the course of instruction to the genius of the scholars, and to their future prospects and destination.

"In consequence of this division in the studies, there are thirty scholars who are taught Book-Keeping, and an equal number Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration and Practical Mathematics. There are one hundred who are taught Geography, thirty who are taught Greek, seventy who are taught Latin, 80 who are taught French, twenty who are taught Spanish, and forty are instructed in landscape Drawing. Weekly lectures are given on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, and other portions of Natural History, and the lectures are accompanied with experiments by means of a good apparatus.

"The reports from this department by committees of the Board of Trustees, who have frequently examined it, have been highly encouraging, and very honourable to the character of the institution. The specimens of penmanship, book-keeping, arithmetic and drawing, have been neat and accurate. The scholars have been examined in the learned languages, and passages were promiscuously selected from Homer, Xenophon, the Greek Testament, Livy, Cæsar, Virgil, and Cicero's Orations; and the proficiencies of the students were very gratifying.—The large class which read and translate French, showed that they had been well taught, and possessed a familiarity with the phrases and peculiar idioms of the language. It further appeared that the classes in Geometry, Algebra and Arithmetic, understood the rules and possessed great readiness in applying them; and the more advanced algebraists in particular, showed an accuracy and quickness which would do honour to any Seminary. Questions are dictated to the scholars, who write them simultaneously on slates, and almost simultaneously give prompt and accurate answers. A select class appeared to possess a solid and correct acquaintance with the general principles of natural philosophy and chemistry; and the interest which the scholars generally took in their studies, and their proficiency in all the branches of education taught in this department, equally surprised and delighted those who attended the examination."

Stronger evidence than this of the correctness of the views and hopes entertained by the founders of the school, would scarcely be called for by the most incredulous. We are further informed, that the High School is an object of attraction to numerous visitors, among whom have been many philanthropic

and literary gentlemen from different parts of the United States, and that the sentiment of approbation on the order and fine appearance of the scholars, and on the exhibition of talent and literary acquirement, is by no means equivocal. A report of the committee of the trustees, appointed to examine the higher department, dated no longer ago than the 13th of March, 1828, confirms in the strongest manner, the result of prior examinations.

A still more convincing proof of the confidence reposed by the intelligent patrons of this institution in the efficacy of the system is, that after two years experiment in the school for boys, they resolved to extend the system to female education. They accordingly, at the expense of about \$20,000, erected another large and commodious building, and employed able and experienced teachers, who have applied the Monitorial system with the happiest effects, to all the most useful and many of the ornamental branches of female education. This school, like the other, is divided into three departments, which contain from one to two hundred pupils in each, who are taught in as many neat and spacious halls, with smaller rooms adjoining, for separate reading, drawing, &c. We abstain from going into any of the details of this experiment at present, because the subject of female education is of too much importance and interest to be discussed in a hasty digression, and we reserve it for a separate and more deliberate consideration.

In relation, however, to the efficacy of the Monitorial system in this new application of it, we cannot omit to state, that the two last reports of the Trustees of the High School Society, one of them drawn up, we understand, by Mr. Verplanck, the other, as above intimated, by Chancellor Kent, express the fullest satisfaction in the success of this new branch of the institution, and represent the school as exhibiting a beautiful scene of order, neatness, cheerful and well-directed industry.

It would thus appear to be established almost beyond the power of denial, that the agency of mutual instruction is exceedingly favourable to the developement of the mental faculties, and that it facilitates the operations of a school in all the branches of study which ordinarily engage the attention of youth.

We discover, on glancing over various Northern periodicals, that since the evidence afforded by the High School of New-York, of the successful application of this system to classical and mathematical teaching, High Schools have been established in various other places, upon large foundations. The Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, patronized about two years since, the

erection of a similar school, in which the ancient and modern languages hold a prominent place. The Monitorial system is pursued in a single room, containing about 300 scholars. A similar institution, called the Livingston County High School has been commenced, under favourable auspices, at Genesee, in the State of New-York, and others have been or are about to be erected at Rochester, Buffalo, and other places in that State, and in several of the towns of Massachusetts.

Another recent testimony to the value of this system of instruction, may be found in the report of a committee in Boston, "appointed to make the experiment of introducing the Monitorial system into the primary schools of the city." These primary schools are supported at the public expense, are taught by females, and are intended to furnish the means of an incipient education to every child in the city. They are very numerous and well attended. The Monitorial system had not been tried in their schools; serious doubts were entertained of its fitness for very young children, and some of the teachers were averse to its introduction. The committee, in deciding upon the schools in which the system should receive a trial, selected some which they deemed the least propitious, on account of the contracted and inconvenient dimensions of the rooms, and the repugnance of the teachers to a change in the mode of instruction. The trial was made in seven of these schools, the whole number being about fifty-six. Our limits will scarcely admit of extracts from this valuable report, but we cannot well withhold from our readers some of the principal results.

"It will be recollected that the advantages proposed to be attained by this system, were—

"1st. Relief to the labours of the teacher.

"2d. Better order and discipline, without the necessity of constant and irksome punishment.

"3d. More animation and interest to the pupils.

"4th. Greater rapidity of tuition.

"These objects were to be effected in our plan by the assisting agency of monitors: the constant occupation of the classes, and a division of time, and change of occupation, to produce variety.

"With regard to the first of these designs, the relief of the teachers, we have no hesitation in saying, that it has been but slightly, if at all accomplished. The unremitting supervision of the whole school, by the teacher, seems to be as necessary on this system, as the common one. We ought not, perhaps, to have calculated, that, in a system entirely new, and apparently complex, where much was to be learned by the teacher, as well as the pupils, one of the earliest results would have been relief; and should this always continue to be the case, in its maturer perpetuation, we should not feel great disappointment; for we

consider this to be a very subordinate object. It has not been a subject of complaint that the duties of the teachers were too arduous for their strength and compensation; and the design of relieving them, was merely that the exertions which were saved to them, might be directed to better effect than at present; and this, we are abundantly satisfied, is the fact on our system. The teacher is, indeed, constantly and arduously occupied, but far less irksomely and more effectually. The exertions which were formerly wasted in unavailing attempts to preserve discipline, have now a more direct and influential bearing on the order and tuition of the school."

"Order and discipline—which form the second object proposed, are attained, to a very gratifying degree; punishments are obviously far more rare, in the monitorial, than in the other schools; and we are not without hope, that a further continuance and improvement of the plan, would banish severity entirely.

"The increased animation and interest imparted to the pupils by this system, are unquestionable—this is an invariable fact, in the worst, as well as the best of these schools, and it requires ten minutes presence only of the most sceptical observer in one of them, at any period, as usually conducted, to be convinced of it.

"We are equally satisfied with the result of this system, in respect to rapidity of tuition; the most important of the improvements contemplated. A system which gives constant and almost involuntary action to all the pupils, upon every branch of their studies, must, of necessity, communicate to them materials of the memory, in greater number and frequency than could be effected, when the reception of them depended on their own reluctant exertions, and the uniform testimony of the teachers, and of our own observations, only confirm our expectations on this head. But a question here arises, whether the solidity of the attainments, or in other words, whether the accuracy and perfection with which the various exercises are fixed on the memories of the pupils, are proportioned to the celerity of acquisition, or whether the former is sacrificed to the latter.

"If the pupils on the common system were really engaged in study, when not in examination, and were found to be desirous of employing all their time, diligently in their own improvement, this question of the accuracy of their acquirements would be a more serious one; and even then, would be but a doubtful question. But while the fact obviously is, that the greater part of the children in our schools, spend in idleness and play most of the time allotted to them for study, we cannot perceive how they are enabled by this conduct to imbibe the various branches of their education, with greater precision and permanency, than by an active operation in the school, which compels their participation. The question, however, is to be decided like all others, by observation; and so far as ours have extended, we have not perceived any defect in the thoroughness with which exercises are performed by pupils, which we could trace to our plan. In regard to reading and recitation, two very important branches, the advantage of perfection is decidedly on the side of the Monitorial system.



"We learn from a member of the Standing Committee a fact, which throws some light on this subject. He examined, last September, a school in district No. 1, where the Monitorial system, on our plan, is in operation. The teacher had been but a short time elected. She received the school in a low state; the two first classes which had received their incipient instruction on the common system, were still at the time of examination, inferior in their acquirements to the average of other scholars of the same classes in the district, while the two lower classes which had been educated by herself entirely on our system, exhibited a degree of perfection very rarely seen in pupils of that standing. We think this fact serves as much as any single instance can do, to indicate the influence, a complete tuition through all the classes will have on the ultimate perfection of the pupils.

"The second objection, (the incompetency of monitors) has, in one instance, been realized, and has occasioned some embarrassment. This has not, however, arisen from the youth of the children generally; for there are some pupils under six years of age, who are quite competent to the office, and in the majority of the schools of the city, there are enough of qualified pupils in the first classes, for all the purposes of the system; but it is owing to the inequality of the schools in this respect—for there are some, in which there is scarcely any first class; while in others, nearly one third of the school is advanced to that grade. In the seven schools selected by us, without any consideration of this circumstance, there was only one (as has been stated) where the experiment was defeated, or even obstructed by the incapacity of the monitors. The fullest force of this objection, would only, therefore, go to prove, that the system is inapplicable to some of the schools, and those we believe to be few; while it would have no bearing on the greater number. But the example of Miss Quincy's school will serve to show, that even where there are no competent monitors for the object of instruction, a partial application of the plan may be made with advantage.

"With regard to the novelty and complexity of the plan, we have found it to be an objection which has vanished upon trial. There is no teacher who has yet adopted it, who has not found it perfectly easy and practicable in every part, even when deterred by its appearance at first; nor do we believe there is any teacher in the city, who is at all competent to be such, who would not be familiar with its execution in less than a month. 'The explanations' to be given or required on a 'story' is the only part of a plan which has given any embarrassment to any instructor; and this has been soon relieved, while on the other hand, some have managed this point in an ingenious and highly interesting manner, and one which we think peculiarly beneficial to the children.

"But we will go further, than simply to deny this objection; and assert, that the plan is more useful to a dull, than an able instructor; as it is minute in its detail, and leaves less to the judgment of the teacher, than the common system. An instructor who follows its provisions exactly, could not but teach her pupils, whether her own capacity is great or small. We have noticed a greater and more perceptible improvement in schools of ordinary, than those of higher character, and hence we infer that a general introduction of the system would tend to

the equalization of the schools, which has always been a desideratum with the Board."

We have thus endeavoured to throw before our readers the evidences which we find in the publications before us of the advantages to be expected from the introduction of the new system and the erection of High Schools (to use the fashionable appellation) in towns, and wherever a sufficient population may be found to justify the attempt. An extension of the means of obtaining for our youth a sound and liberal education, must be one of the objects which lie nearest the heart of every patriot; for, in the language of the New-York Report—"Unless we can diffuse, very extensively, among the rising generation, a knowledge of the ordinary details of practical science, they will be unfitted for public trust. Our free governments require a sober, well-instructed, and virtuous population, furnished with a knowledge and capacity for business, and educated in the strict discipline of well organized schools. All our hopes and wishes rest on this foundation. Without this controlling principle, popular government is liable to be perverted, and to become formidable by its abuses, to the safety and happiness of the people."

We cannot dismiss this subject without indulging the animating hope, that the time is not distant when the statistical annals of every State in the Union will exhibit, with becoming emulation, the numbers of its children engaged in the progressive course of a useful and appropriate education:—and that the highest ambition, both of rulers and people, will be to manifest their gratitude to that Providence which has marked our nation and country with so many signal favours, by transmitting to their posterity the blessings of a free government, in combination with the means by which alone their liberties can be amply secured and rationally enjoyed.

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ART. IX.—*A Selection in Prose and Poetry, from the Miscellaneous Writings of the late WILLIAM CRAFTS. To which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life.* 8vo. Charleston. C. C. Sebring, and J. S. Burges. 1828.

WE have read through this little volume with a melancholy interest. Having been intimately acquainted with Mr. Crafts,

we can add our testimony to that of his biographer, in favour of the amiableness of his disposition, and the gentleness and suavity of his manners, which were such as to disarm even the hostility which his imprudencies occasionally excited, and to awaken in this community a very general feeling of regret, we might almost say, of affectionate sorrow for his premature death. We remember what he was, and what he was expected to become—under what favourable auspices he entered upon life—admired even to idolatry for his talents and accomplishments—honoured with the confidence of the virtuous, and the attentions of the fashionable and the gay—and seeming to have, at his command, whatever could gratify the fondest ambition of an aspiring young man. It is, at all times, painful to reflect upon the disappointment of such hopes, but there is an air of pensive sadness—a tone of settled, though subdued melancholy, and of meek resignation under misfortune—pervading some of his later Essays, which imparts to them a still deeper interest of the same kind, whilst it presents the character of Mr. Crafts to us, we confess, in a new light. We had always given him credit for an irrepressible buoyancy of spirit, and a self-complacency which defeat and disappointment never seriously disturbed—but the Essays alluded to are too much “sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought,” to have been the effusions of so light a heart.

These “Miscellaneous Works” are preceded by a well written and interesting biographical memoir of their author, from the hand of a literary friend. It appears, from this sketch, that Mr. Crafts was born in January, 1787, and was consequently in his fortieth year, when he died at Lebanon, in September, 1826. After being prepared for college, as boys generally are in this country, he was admitted in the autumn of 1802, into the Sophomore class of Harvard University. We are told by his biographer, that “he has retained to the present day, within those walls, a sort of traditionary reputation as one of the most brilliant *Belles Lettres* scholars who ever passed through them.” His attention, at the same time, to the regular exercises of the institution, entitled him to the highest rank, as (what is called,) a general scholar. We should form rather an exalted idea of his ambition and his assiduity, if we believed with the author of the memoir, that in addition to the ordinary studies of his classes, he became a “tolerable proficient in the Hebrew.” But we were not before aware of the fact, and we doubt extremely whether his knowledge of that language ever went beyond a mere smattering. Mr. Crafts’ own notion, that the neglect with which the Hebrew was generally treated at Cambridge,

was as unjust as "the treatment a Jew receives from a Christian," although it proves him to be free from the prejudice, is not absolutely decisive as to his own *conduct*. We are informed, however, that

"The high collegiate reputation of Mr. Crafts must principally have depended on his *vivâ voce* qualifications—such as his readiness at every exercise of memory, his happy and elegant construction of the languages, and his beautiful declamation. It may appear somewhat remarkable, that his admirable talent at English composition had not yet proportionally developed itself. On inspecting his college themes, and other contemporaneous exercises, we could find not one, of a *precocious* character, not one, from which his subsequent eminence as a writer would have been predicted, or which we could submit to the reader as a worthy and kindred gem in the present crown of his fame. They are all, indeed, correct and respectable, and written with praise-worthy care ; nor had William Crafts, the *collegian*, cause to be ashamed of them. But still they never rise above the mark of a good college theme. He even adopted, for his English oration at the Major Exhibition, the ominous subject of Fancy, which he treated, sometimes in a prosaic, and sometimes in a puerile style, that must have owed very much to his fine delivery for whatever enthusiastia reception it met from the audience. It would seem as if the hand of time had not yet stretched to the requisite point, even for some prelusive notes, that particular chord of his forming genius, which, after a very few years, was to throw off sounds that should enchant and instruct every hearer. The sphere, moreover, in which he now moved, was comparatively contracted. His intellect was one of those that rise with circumstances, and perhaps, we may add with regret, that sink them too. When transferred from the walls of the seminary, when starting on the labours and hopes of a noble and arduous profession, when the eyes of a community, or rather of a country, were directed, or to be drawn towards him, he was still found equal to the highest demand of favouring *circumstances*, in achieving, as he at that time did, some of the splendid productions which open the ensuing selections from his writings.

Much of these inspiring influences his sanguine mind already seems to have caught from without, when he arrived at the close of his college life, and felt himself approaching the responsibilities, trials and honours that awaited him in the field of public society. His Latin Oration, at the taking of his first degree, evidently exhibits a remarkable *move* in the progress of his powers. Happy in the choice and management of his subject, manly in his tone throughout, and nearly ripened in those external graces which were peculiarly his own, he now made an impression on his audience, and through them on the public, sufficient to satisfy any young man at his entrance into life. We should probably have given this oration a place in the selection, much as every educated reader would demur at the thought of having one's commencement exercises thus exposed, and small as might be the number of any readers who would feel interested in a Latin composition ; but pre-

suming that many of the author's friends would expect the insertion of his oration for the *second* degree, it seemed advisable to tread no further on questionable ground, than the admission of this last mentioned performance alone." pp. xi-xiii.

We agree with the author of the Memoir as to the propriety of omitting one of these orations, and only regret that he ventured so far upon "questionable ground" as to publish the other. We have nothing to say against the translation. The conception of the orator was a very happy one, and all that prevented the execution being quite as good, was his ignorance of Latin, or to express the same thing less harshly, his evident want of practice in Latin composition. His Latinity is execrable, but the substance of the Oration, as it is conveyed in an English version in the Memoir, is so piquant, that we cannot refrain from extracting it for the gratification of our readers. We are not at all surprised at the impression it is said to have made upon the afflicted audience:—

"From time immemorial, the audience at Commencement had listened with meekness to the Latin valedictory, as to a performance, whose lugubrious solemnity, stately march, and arbitrary length, were altogether matters of prescription, and must be borne with, like a fixture of the day, or a decree of fate. When, therefore, our young orator came forward on this occasion, and in an address of three or four minutes, rather bantered his hearers with playfulness, than taxed their resigned attention, there was something so daring in the originality, and so unexpected in the relief, that the company present were thrown unawares into that state of "sudden glory," described by Hobbes, as causing the most grateful of all our convulsions. Every sentence and word, too, were spoken so distinctly, deliberately, and emphatically, and with a grace so peculiarly insinuating, that those who possessed the slightest acquaintance with the Latin, readily comprehended, while even the uninitiated could almost as easily imagine, what was meant. Just as they were expecting a great deal of parade, a great many words, and a tedious detention, he began to this effect:—

'Enough of ceremony, and enough of talk. It is full time to retire. This day, O friends, you have listened to a variety of tongues—the Greek, with its rolling accents—the Latin, surpassing in elegance—and the English, more copious than all; and you now turn your wearied ears to me. The Hebrew alone we have missed, that sweet-toned, that heaven-invented language, which was once cherished among us with peculiar honour, but is now, with sorrow be it said, thought worthy of contempt. Yet we have been entertained by youthful orators of happy promise; a throng of fair spectators, and the Muse, have favoured us with their inspiring presence; so that the air is resounding with varied song. Nothing remains, but that you, whom either the love of science, or a crowd, or noise, or any other cause hath attracted hither, should in due form be dismissed. Brief shall be my harangue. The parting of

friends is to be marked by tears rather than by words.—Indeed, so agreeable is your presence, so enchanting the proud power of beauty, so delightful the fair countenances which beam down upon me, that I fear lest I should utterly forget mine office, and be incapable of pronouncing Farewell in a tone of sadness. Nor will such a tone be demanded of me. Already a large number of you appear to be retiring, and the whole of you seem on the point of saying, Merciful Powers, when will it be over? How can my poor eloquence, how could the wisdom of a Cato, or the matchless rhetoric of a Cicero, or any thing short of manacles and fetters, hope to detain within these sacred precincts, those, who are impatient for their dinner? The renowned Socrates himself, when unveiling the mysteries of philosophy, was almost deserted by the Athenian populace. But neither have I the skill of Socrates in speaking, nor have you the taste of the Athenians in hearing. Should I attempt, therefore, to beguile you longer, I should probably be left alone. And I have not so great a rage for talking, as to discourse before the bare walls.

‘I bid you then, all, farewell!’

‘He now, after the usual custom, analyzed his audience, uttering short and graceful valedictories, in succession, to the Governor, Lieut. Governor, President of the University, Professors and Tutors, Classmates and Friends. Next followed the peroration, of which the following is the substance, the manner being untranslatable’ :—

‘Farewell, I repeat again and again, a long Farewell.

Farewell, my Companions!

Farewell, ye Virgins, dearer than the light!

Farewell, ye Youths, with vigour crowned!

Farewell, grave Seniors, on the verge of Heaven!

Farewell, ye regions, to the Muses dear!

And Good day to the Multitude!

Enough of ceremony,” &c. &c. pp. xvii, xviii.

Mr. Crafts returned to his native city at the age of nineteen. He immediately entered upon the study of law, to which, it seems, he devoted himself with assiduity and success, “though not abandoning his favourite intercourse with the Muses, or the indulgence of his natural taste for the Classics and *Belles-Lettres*.” And, we are further assured, that

‘The high expectations formed as to his future celebrity both by his brethren and the public, were justified by his earliest exhibitions. As an advocate before a jury, he was surpassed by none. A classical education gave him an eminent command of language; an acute, logical mind gave clearness and spirit to his reasonings, which he illustrated and adorned by rhetorical aids drawn from ancient and modern literature. Nor in his public harangues, while he was admired for his oratory and pointed reasonings, did he appear to be deficient in the knowledge and application of such parts of the law as were appropriate to the matter in hand. In his occasional arguments on points of law before the judges, he seldom failed to bring out the principles and au-

thorities that were proper to be adduced, and these he always blended with so much of his favourite play of fancy as to make the dryest discussion matter of entertainment to the bench and the bar. In the Court of Sessions, and the defence of the accused, he was remarkably successful. In this court, his aid was often sought; and when the judges had occasion to assign counsel from amongst the Bar, for the defence of the accused, he was often called upon by the court, and considered as a favourable selection by the destitute prisoner. His eloquence was popular, and as an advocate he stood high in the public estimation. He had a considerable extent of practice, although his friends often wished that he could have spared more time from the pursuits of literature and cultivation of the Muses, to be devoted to the severe studies of the law. Those who knew the powers of his mind, were well convinced, that in such case, there was no point of legal erudition, however lofty, which he would not have attained if his life had been spared.' pp. xx, xxi.

In another extract, we are told that Mr. Crafts did not choose to become "a *special pleader*," because the "classic structure of his mind could never relish prolonged investigations, or resort to the common practice of common lawyers, that of exhausting every topic and hackneying every argument that either principally or incidentally belongs to the case."

Now, let us pause a few moments, and consider the justness of the preceding observations, and the truth of the facts to which they refer. We are arrived at the most important period of Mr. Crafts' life—that which decided his fate. He was now of age—had been admitted to the bar—was admired as a popular speaker—was esteemed and beloved even by his political opponents—and, in addition to all this, and what a thorough-paced lawyer would consider as *instar omnium*—"his business increased with a rapidity before unknown at our bar." How is it to be accounted for, that with all these advantages, natural and subsidiary, Mr. Crafts never attained to any eminence in his profession, and that even in public life, to which he was more inclined, after enjoying a momentary éclat, he, at an early age, so completely lost his influence and reputation? This interesting question, we think, may be answered in one word; Mr. Crafts never did make himself a lawyer. Without fortune, he depended absolutely upon his own exertions at the bar, not only for preferment in the world, but for his regular support. Yet, whatever may have been his progress in them at first, he must, in a very short time, have utterly neglected his professional studies, for, at no period, since our acquaintance with him began, could he pass even for an ordinary lawyer, and that belief had already taken a strong hold upon the public mind. *Inde prima mali labes.*

On this subject, Mr. Crafts laboured under a fatal delusion. We have frequently heard him express it as his deliberate opinion, that a profound knowledge of the law was quite unnecessary here. Instead, therefore, of sitting down to acquire it by severe and unremitted study—the only price at which it can be had—he ridiculed those who did so, as mere plodders that had forfeited all claim to the reputation of men of genius. There were two characteristics of his, which inclined him especially to entertain such a notion—he had more vanity than pride, and his extraordinary facility in composition and in speaking, made labour unnecessary to him for any occasional display. As soon, therefore, as he began to appear at the bar, his ambition took a wrong turn. Instead of projecting a scheme of study and exertion, requiring the utmost efforts of his industry and talent to accomplish it, but promising him at the end of a few years, a complete and triumphant and permanent success, he aimed always at immediate effect, and the fleeting and delusive applauses of the day. His love of praise, inordinate at best, was thus more and more inflamed until it became an incurable disease. He thought no longer of the future. It was the height of his ambition to pass for a man of genius among the “men of wit and pleasure about town.” His fine talents were thus prostituted and perverted. They were talked of by every body, and neglected by none but him—the *enfant gâté*—upon whom they had been lavished. Man, woman and child ran after Mr. Crafts’ society, repeated his brilliant sallies, and laughed at his witty jokes. He was universally caressed—but his admirers were “hugging him into snares.” He contracted a distaste for study—indeed, for all serious occupation. Whatever he was to do was to be done quickly; and he just reversed the maxim, “*sat cito, si sat bene.*” He began to boast less of the merits of his compositions, than of the facility with which he could throw them off, and to write and memorize an ordinary oration in two or three days, soon appeared to him a greater exploit than to send forth a work worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Meanwhile, he became every day less capable in the management of affairs, whether public or private—business which had long courted, now deserted him—those coruscations of a lively fancy which had delighted and dazzled in the youth, seemed to be out of place in the senator of mature years—his little stock of knowledge, acquired almost exclusively by his early studies, was exhausted—his exertions as an advocate ceased to be called for, because his opinions as a counsellor were not respected, and at



the age of thirty-five, Mr. Crafts had already survived his hopes, his popularity and his reputation.

This is a brief but just account of the signal and melancholy failure of a man from whom so much was expected in his youth. It is a mistake to suppose, that devotion to literary pursuits had any thing to do with it, and that for the best of all reasons, viz. that Mr. Crafts never was devoted to literary pursuits, at least, after he came to the bar. "His favorite intercourse with the Muses," if by that is meant inditing sonnets for the newspapers, and songs for "festive occasions," may, indeed, have contributed to bring him into disrepute with men of business—but these effusions did him quite as little honour in the opinion of men of letters. The truth is, that so far from suffering by his reputation as a scholar, he was very much, if not mainly indebted to it, for his extraordinary popularity and success at the outset of his career. A felicitous allusion, an apt quotation, the elegance of his diction, and the various other graces of a classical education that adorned his style, were quite peculiar to him among his contemporaries, and contributed very much to secure for him the character, which he ever afterwards enjoyed, of *the man of genius par excellence*. In this respect, as in many others, Mr. Crafts was eminently fortunate—for there can be no doubt but that, throughout the Southern States at least, and, perhaps, throughout the whole country, a taste for literary studies (*much more any serious or continued application to them*) stands very much in the way of a young man in the pursuits of active life. It raises a presumption among worldly people, that he can never become *practical*, and such a notion when it has once taken root in the public mind, is, beyond all comparison, the most formidable obstacle a man of talents can encounter in such a state of society as ours. Still further is it from being correct, that the "classic structure" of Mr. Crafts' mind, was what prevented him from becoming sufficiently conversant with special pleading. A "classic structure of mind," if there is any meaning in the phrase, is precisely the thing that is wanted in that most refined of all intellectual exercises—for we will take it upon us to assure the very respectable author of the "Memoir," that the notions of his correspondent upon this subject, are as far as possible from being just. "Pleading," or as it is vulgarly called, "special pleading," is neither more nor less than the art of stating a case upon paper, with the utmost brevity and precision that its circumstances will admit of. Instead of "exhausting," it teaches a lawyer to *exclude* every topic that is not necessarily connected with the issue to be submitted to the Court, and instead of "hackneying every argument," however

incidental or unimportant, to select and to set forth the strongest point of his case, and that alone. It has been said a thousand times, and deserves to be repeated a thousand more, that there is nothing out of the exact sciences, that can bear a moment's comparison with the subtle and rigorous logic of our Common Law Pleadings.\* "Let none enter here without a knowledge of geometry," was what a Greek philosopher is said to have written over the door of his school. We say the same thing of pleading, in reference to the bar. If a young man finds that he cannot understand the principles, or relish the beauties of this admirable system of reasoning, let him be assured that law is not his vocation. His ignorance may escape detection in the haste and confusion of a *Nisi Prius* scramble, and he may even be pre-eminently successful in the management of his cases before juries; but his want of that exact and scientific knowledge of legal principles, of which good pleading is at once the fruit and the test, must make itself glaringly manifest in every argument before the higher tribunals. We have no manner of doubt, (be it recorded in passing) that much of the confusion and delay attendant upon our judicial proceedings, are owing to the increasing deficiency of the bar in this particular.

We have dwelt the longer upon this part of the subject, because we fear that the unfortunate error which led Mr. Crafts to neglect his professional studies, and proved ultimately fatal to his hopes, still prevails among our young barristers to a most pernicious extent. His example is an impressive one. We are confident, that had he employed the first four or five years after his admission to the bar, in the assiduous study of law, he would have continued, to the end of his life, to hold the same elevated rank in society, which his talents had commanded for him at first. We are aware that a notion has generally prevailed, that his reasoning powers were irremediably feeble, and that he could never have done much in a mere didactic and and practical style of speaking. We are not of this opinion ourselves. The frivolities and crudities with which all his later speeches, whether at the Bar or in the Legislature were overrun, furnish no fair criterion of his intellectual character, which had been for a long time sadly on the wane. Nay, for the reasons already given, we do not think that he ever did full justice

\* As the Common Law is said to be the perfection of reason, so its system of pleading is the perfection of reasoning. However, in England, not unfrequently,

*Le raisonnement en bannit la raison :*

and some improvements, though, perhaps, they might mar the science would help justice.

to his talents for public speaking. The specimen of forensic eloquence, preserved in the present collection (p. 83) although, perhaps, creditable enough to a young man, is by no means a flattering representation of Mr. Crafts' talents as an orator. It was our good fortune to hear him, in the winter of that very year, deliver at Columbia, an incomparably better speech—the only one, indeed, which ever gave us an idea of what his powers in debate would have been, had he cultivated them with care, and employed them seriously and zealously for the accomplishment of important practical ends, instead of wasting them upon occasions of mere parade and show, and directing them to no other object than the obtaining for himself a little ephemeral applause. The earnest and strenuous advocacy of some real interest—an effort in the orator to impart his own convictions to his audience, and to persuade them to act in conformity with his views—this is an essential element of “true eloquence,” which, as Milton\* admirably expresses it, “we find to be none but *the serious and hearty love of truth*.” Now, it was precisely this all-important ingredient of “true eloquence” that was wanting in Mr. Crafts' ordinary style of speaking. He sunk the orator in the rhetorician—he forgot the subject in the manner, and sacrificed the end to the means. Instead of pushing his point with might and main, with powerful argument, and an honest, hearty zeal, like a man of business, a statesman, an advocate, a patriot intent upon the matter in hand—he thought of nothing but the appearance he was to make before his audience. There was always something in his manner that reminded one of an under-graduate at a College exhibition. His whole air and demeanour and diction were expressive of artifice and study. His passion for producing effect, was perpetually breaking out, and his style was depraved and deformed by every variety of *concetti*—we mean, of course, his general style; for there were times when he spoke with more simplicity and singleness of purpose, and consequently, with much greater eloquence. The occasion alluded to just now, was one of these. He was urging the impeachment of a man who had been guilty of many outrageous acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of an inferior judicial office. All the leading lawyers of the House opposed him. We shall never forget his manner of delivering that speech, which was, for a young man, truly admirable, and has, in some respects, probably, never been surpassed on that floor. His shrill but musical voice, elevated to a thrilling pitch—his fine countenance animated with the ardour of

\* An apology for Smeectymnus,

debate—the perfect grace and *decorum* of his gesticulation, free from all constraint or artifice—the unaffected elegance and manly simplicity of his diction—the clearness of his statements—the closeness and cogency of his reasonings—the apparent disinterestedness of his zeal—his lofty indignation against injustice—the vigour and perseverance with which he maintained his ground in the debate, against a formidable array of talent and influence—all conspired to give earnest of a high degree of excellence at a more advanced period of life.

We do not mean to say, that by any application to study or business, however serious and intense, Mr. Crafts could have made himself a *first-rate* debater or an orator after the manner of Demosthenes. Nature had not cast him in that mould. His character was more distinguished by the amiable, than by the sterner virtues, and his understanding was not one of the very largest capacity. Even his physical qualities, although all of them exceedingly prepossessing and attractive, were not of a commanding cast. He was more remarkable for the grace than the dignity, for the beauty than the strength of his person, and there was something effeminate in his exquisitely touching and melodious voice. In short, he was not what is called in a phrase of the day, a man of great calibre, but he had, certainly, marked talent, and nothing but his suicidal indolence and perverse vanity prevented his becoming able in business and debate. He might have made himself a most brilliant and effective orator in any assembly in the world. Perhaps no public speaker in this country, ever expressed himself with more uniform purity and elegance, and, occasionally, with more felicity and beauty. He had the great merit of never fatiguing his hearer, while he seldom spoke without delighting him with the point and brilliancy of his occasional sallies, and supplying him with excerpts for his common-place book or the next conversation. It was these shining passages, indeed, the *dulcia vitia* of his style—that attracted so much attention from bad judges, and, at last, as we have already observed, took the place, in almost all that he wrote and spoke, of the simple elegance and severe graces which he had emulated in his early studies.

Montesquieu defines talent “un don que le ciel nous a fait en secret et que nous révélons sans le savoir. We like this definition, although it is not the most precise that can be imagined, and were we called upon to exemplify it, we should cite the instance of Mr. Crafts. He was not a man of genius—for that is a word not to be profaned—he never became an able

man, as we have seen—yet it is impossible to read these imperfect remains, picked up here and there, out of a heap of ephemeral rubbish, without perceiving that he was highly gifted by nature. It is very remarkable, too, that (so far as our intercourse with him enabled us to judge) he seldom knew when he had done a good thing. His most hasty and careless compositions, often happened to be his best, while those which he took the most pains with, were sure to be written in his worst taste. He set most value upon such of his compositions as were overrun with metaphor and exaggeration, with antithesis and epigram—while these were simple effusions—spontaneous beauties—which flowed from his pen without his knowing it—which, to borrow a very pretty thought of Sir Walter Scott's, his fancy yielded him with as little effort as a tree resigns its leaves to the gale in autumn; and which he appreciated as men are apt to do, whatever costs them least. But though their merits escaped him, they were at once perceived and felt by others—by the unlearned as well as the learned, by gentle and simple, by people of taste, and by people of no taste. We were very much struck with the effect which his editorial essays in the *Courier* immediately produced. We have heard him say with a good natured triumph, that, by the end of each month, he regularly got back what he had published, with interest, from all parts of the United States.

We shall, doubtless, be considered by his friends as greatly underrating his poetical talent, when we say that nothing of his that we have seen in verse, would deserve to be published in a separate volume. The author of the "Memoir" entertains a very exalted opinion of some of his minor poems, which he pronounces the best specimens of the Anacreontic style, that are to be found in our language. We think this altogether extravagant. We do not consider these verses as at all better than can be had at any time for the "poetical corner" of a fashionable newspaper, or monthly magazine. We have read over all that are collected in the volume before us, with great attention, but our previous opinion has only been confirmed by the attempt to correct it. The poem entitled the "Raciad," is lively and spirited, and may be read through with interest. "Sullivan's Island" is equally commendable—but their merit is not high enough to challenge honour from gods, or men or pillars. However, as they are far from being bad, and many of our readers may think more highly of them than we do, we will submit some extracts for their perusal. There are at least half a dozen bagatelles, in each of which, the poet tells us of some new exploit of Love. The first time we meet with him, he is going

to the races, having made a car for himself out of "a part of the ceiling of the sky," which happened to fall "when Love was nigh" enough to catch it. The whole history of this excursion is as follows :—

" Love went out to see the race;  
I marvel if there be a place  
Where Love goes not ; unless it be  
Some place unknown to you or me.

Love did not in a sulkey go,  
The surly equipage of wo ;  
Nor rode he in a coach and four,  
By vulgar eyes gazed o'er and o'er

Nor travelled like the common throng,  
Who mutter as they trudge along ;  
Nor like the Dandy, turning round,  
To look contemptuous on the ground :

Part of the ceiling of the sky,  
Happening to fall when Love was nigh,  
He made of it an azure car,  
And placed on either side a star.

His chariot opened from above,  
For Love sees Heaven and Heaven sees Love ;  
But when a *tête-à-tête* he chose  
Love bade it like a violet close.

He harnessed Hope and young Desire,  
And lest the generous steeds should tire,  
With kisses he supplied their fare,  
And baited them with capillaire.

Love's wheels were of the sandal tree,  
Sweet circles of perfumery ;  
Each spoke, entwined with jasmine flowers,  
Like Love's sweet dial of the hours.

Dreams curtained little Love around,  
And Zephyrs played and Pleasures crowned.  
The seats are myrtle—only three ;  
For Love himself, for you and me.

Love marvelled when the race was done,  
To find the prize so quickly won ;  
Yet turned contemptuous from the sight,  
And plumed his wings with self-delight.

"Why, we, ourselves can better do;"  
 So said Love, to me and you ;  
 There's not a steed beneath the sun,  
 That Love in rapture, can't outrun." pp. 356, 357.

The next thing which the gallant little god does, is to indite a billet-doux :—

"Love wrote a billet—what do you think  
 Was Love's paper, pen and ink ?  
 Not such things as mortals use ;—  
 Ink of sable quill of goose,  
 Pewter stand, and paper, wove  
 Out of rags, won't do for Love.  
 He cut the heart of a dove in two,  
 And mixed the drops with honey dew ;  
 In an amber vase he plac'd it then,  
 And went to seek for a lover's pen.  
 He plucked a ray from the setting sun,  
 A plume of light, as the day is done,  
 For Love is warm, tho' night invades,  
 And Love is bright among the shades.  
 He waited till the stars arose,  
 Ere he his billet would compose ;  
 He wrote on rose leaves newly blown,  
 Because their fragrance is his own.  
 A glass of capillaire he quaffed,  
 Then laughing wrote, and writing laughed :

*"We were for each other born,  
 We are from each other torn ;  
 Where we should, then let us be,  
 I with you, and you with me."*

Love copied then his Billet-Doux,  
 One for me and one for you ;  
 He sealed them with his own dear kiss,  
 And sent them by the mail of bliss." pp. 357, 358.

He next falls asleep, and we have his likeness thus portrayed :—

"Awake him not—he dreams of bliss,  
 His little lips put forth to kiss ;  
 His arms entwined in virgin grace,  
 Seem link'd in beautiful embrace.

He smiles, and on his opening lip  
 Might saints refresh, and angels sip ;  
 He blushes—'tis the rosy light,  
 That morning wears on leaving night.

He sighs—'tis not the sigh of wo,  
 He only sighs that he may know  
 If kindred sighs another move,  
 For mutual sighs are signs of love.

He speaks—it is his dear one's name—  
 He whispers—still it is the same—  
 The imprison'd accents strive in vain,  
 They murmur through his lips again.

He wakes—the silly little boy,  
 To break the mirror thus of joy!  
 He wakes to sorrow, and in pain—  
 Oh Love renew thy dreams again." pp. 359, 360.

Then follows "Love's Benediction," which (to the scandal of our fair readers) is scarcely worth repeating—and an account of his being made a prisoner in a myrtle bower, and bound with garlands of jessamine. The first stanza of this little poem is very pretty; but the two others are not quite as intelligible or rather as sensible as might be wished:—

The snow-drop is in bloom,  
 And the young earth's perfume,  
 Scents anew the floating air;  
 It is the breath of love—  
 Beneath, around, above,  
 Young love is there.  
 Come, let us strive to snare him—see,  
 Love smiling waits for you and me.

Bind him with the jasmine flower,  
 Hide him in a myrtle bower,  
 On thornless roses let him rest;  
 See his gracious eyelids move,  
 Hope and joy are eyes of love,  
 Kiss them and be blest,  
 Love gives his own dear heart to be  
 One half for you, one half for me.

The tongue may lose its power  
 As Babel's noisy tower  
 Confounded it of yore;  
 But the language of the eye,  
 Survives, (though others die,)   
 Delicious as before.  
 Love gives his darling eyes, to be  
 One eye for you, and one for me." p. 361.



He is seen for the last time upon earth at the Capuchin Chapel, and as in the next poem we hear of the Rapids of Love, there is some reason to fear (qu. hope) that he is come to an untimely end in his own cataract, and been sent after the head of Orpheus—"down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore."

The lines entitled "A Dying Mother to her Living Daughter," are very pathetic, and bating some blemishes here and there, perhaps the best in the book :—

"I call'd for thee to bless thee—once I thought  
 Thou wouldst have sooth'd this bleeding, breaking heart,  
 A daughter's blessed consolation brought,  
 And ere the ebbing drops did all depart,  
 I hoped to see thee on the shore of life,  
 Where I would linger for thy sweet farewell,  
 And dying bless in thee a virtuous wife,  
 Then yield me to the flesh-dissolving cell.  
 I wept before thou wast, that thou might'st be;  
 And yet I leave thee, and I cannot weep;  
 I waked with joy to guard thy infancy,  
 Now all I hope for is unbroken sleep.  
 Thou wert my first, my last, my only child,  
 How happy was I, blest with only thee.  
 The treacherous favour, murdered as it smiled,  
 I could have wished for more—unconscious me;  
 Yet pardon me—it was the flush of shame,  
 That mantling o'er this frozen cheek of mine,  
 Called forth the accents of reluctant blame—  
 Thou hast my pardon, daughter—yield me thine.  
 Come let me bless thee, with my last, last kiss;  
 These cold, cold lips, inhaled thy infant breath,  
 They hailed thee virtuous, with extatic bliss,  
 Tho' fallen, they bless thee, 'mid the pangs of death." p. 377.

Among these "occasional poems," there is one purporting to be an extract from "Kitty, an unpublished manuscript." The following paragraph is prefixed to this fragment. "In New-York, they have Fanny; in Boston, Sukey; and why should we not have Kitty in Charleston? We can give at present but a glimpse of her." Now, with great deference, we submit that the fact mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph, was the best of all possible reasons why we should *not* have a glimpse of her. We think that all three of these damsels, (two of them certainly) might have been kept at home in single, or rather solitary blessedness, without any loss to mankind. Of Sukey, it is due to candour to confess, that we judge according to the rule, *noscitur a sociis*. Fanny we have read, and Kitty. The latter is a great deal worse even than its prototype. It is a bad

thing badly imitated—the exaggeration of a caricature. Lord Byron with his Beppos' and Juans' has done infinite mischief in the rhyming world. There never was a more striking example of the *decipit exemplar vitis imitabile*. Nothing is so easy as to rival the noble poet in his slipshod, zig-zag, desultory style, and doggrel versification—but nothing is more difficult than to pour out, with such perfect *nonchalance*, strains of the most beautiful poetry, and sallies of incomparable wit. The humour of a man of genius, however eccentric and even extravagant, is one thing, and the buffoonery of an awkward mimic, is quite another. Beppo and Don Juan possess attractions of the most interesting kind. They exhibit genius in sport. The mighty frame, the imposing air, the noble proportions are there, and all the strength, and the grace and the beauty—but there is no artifice or constraint, or pretension or effort. These works bear the same relation to Childe Harold, for instance, or the Corsair, as the conversations of a great orator (who happens to excel in conversation) to his harangues before public assemblies on solemn occasions. There is the same talent, but one is more charmed, and even struck with its wonderful readiness, vivacity and point in familiar impromptu table talk, than with its more perfect, perhaps, but more stately, and as it were theatrical exhibitions before the world. But it is a grievous mistake to suppose, as Lord Byron's imitators seem to do, that any body may rival Beppo or Juan, by making himself perfectly at home, and writing away at random with visible and invincible determination to transmute doggrel and absurdity into the rarest wit in spite of Minerva. What, for instance, can be said of such lines as these—

“ I love the Fourth of July, that is true,  
 And when it comes, 'twill be in vain to say,  
 That I shall stay at home and darn and sew,  
 Nor promenade on that triumphant day.  
 So bring my shawl, my parasol and bonnet,  
 Since head, and heart, and feet are set upon it.” p. 346.

Or these—

“ I like the short coats, and the long coats too,  
 The cocked hats, and the hats that are not cocked,  
 I love the green, the red, the grey, the blue,  
 The scattered yagers, and the artillery locked,  
 Their hands in brotherly affection meeting,  
 Like parted lovers at a happy greeting.

I love a horseman on a likely horse,  
 But precious few of these, alas! there are ;

I have seen better, but I ne'er saw worse,  
 For either purpose, whether peace or war.  
 'Tis rather strange, since ev'ry one is able  
 To hire a good one at a livery stable.

I love the march majestic, long and slow,  
 When the pois'd sword attests the due salute.  
 I love the big drum, and the small drum too,  
 And I admire the shrill note of the flute.  
 But much do I pity the peaceable mutton  
 Whose garments these drums are so cruelly put on." p. 347.

Or these—

"The night was dark, but Kitty must be seen,  
 So to the Fireworks trippingly she went;  
 Such as they kindle, on the Inspection Green,  
 To show the crowd, and then the firmament  
 For when the *Fourth of July*'s in the socket,  
 They send to its relief a blazing rocket,

Needs it to tell, that Kitty then went home,  
 As other modest maids are wont to do;  
 For tho' all day they gad about and roam,  
 It does not follow that they at night do so.  
 Kitty reclined, fatigued upon her pillow,  
 A pensive, drooping—not a weeping willow." p. 349.

Turn these lines into plain prose, which may be done without making any sensible change in them, and every body would acknowledge them to be the dullest trash that was ever printed—what is there in the *metre* to recommend them? Do nonsense and vulgarity cease to be so, because they are aggravated by doggerel?

The other writings of Mr. Crafts preserved in this collection, are Orations on various occasions, and fugitive Essays, moral and sentimental, or literary and humorous.

The former, although certainly not free from blemishes of taste, are uncommonly good in their kind. We will remark in reference to these compositions, that the class to which they belong,—that, namely, of Demonstrative Eloquence—which, circumstances have made far more common in the United States than any where else, is to be treated with a more indulgent criticism than the oratory either of the bar or of the popular assembly.\* As they are calculated only for a sort of holiday

\* Genus demonstrativum, (says Cicero somewhere) potest eos lisentiam quodam modo viudicat. Isocrates says the same thing in still more pointed language—  
 πῶς Ἀντιδιδόντες.

ceremony of parade and amusement, they are not confined to that severe and simple style which is essential to effective public speaking upon matters of business. The epithet "lyrical," happily used by the author of the "Memoir" in reference to Mr. Crafts' orations, would be quite absurd if applied in the way of compliment to the style of a debater. A Fourth of July orator finds it hard enough, even with the assistance of a little poetry, and the whole artillery of tropes and figures, to say any thing that can be listened to, or deserves to be printed. And so it is of other similar occasions. But although all this is certainly true, yet we must not allow these "fancy" speakers to abuse their privileges so sadly as they have been in the habit of doing on this side of the Atlantic. We do not suppose that it would be possible in any other country under the sun, or at least in Christendom—not even excepting Spain—to make such a collection of vapid bombast and rhodomantade, blended with every vice of style for which grammar or rhetoric furnishes a name, as might easily be got up in any single city in the United States, under the title of "American Eloquence." It is wonderful what a rage there is amongst us for exhibitions on the rostrum. Societies are formed, apparently, for no other purpose but to afford young gentlemen an opportunity of "coming out." What an immense accession to the stock of the national literature did the deaths of Messrs. Jefferson and Adams occasion! Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider the vast multitude of funeral orations and eulogies upon very common persons that have been published at different times, and the eagerness with which every opportunity is laid hold of to inflict a harangue upon our beloved "friends and fellow-citizens." In short, our society resembles in this particular a Court of Equity, and almost every one you meet with, is, or has been, or may be "your orator."

Mr. Crafts composed his orations with great facility. He had quite a gift in that way, and his elocution was, for such purposes, of the very best kind. But it must be reckoned among his greatest misfortunes that this could be said of him. He was always making orations either for himself or for others, and by the applause he was sure to excite, was encouraged in all those faults to which, whether as a man or a public speaker, he was most prone. He became as fond of conceits as the Seicentisti. What for instance can be in more wretched taste than the following paragraph from one of the orations preserved in the volume before us. "When they (videlicet, great and good men) disappear, their memory stands in the place of their presence—although cold, they still are luminous—and having gladdened, as like the sun in the

meridian, they yield from the night of the grave, the chaste, pensive and consoling splendour of the stars." Such things are absolutely inconsistent, both with effective speaking and with fine writing, of which the only sure basis is sound, manly good sense.—*Sapere est, et principium et fons.*

We select as specimens of Mr. Crafts' manner, the following passages, with the remarks of his biographer upon them:—

"In the year 1817, he delivered the annual address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Harvard College. It is true, an awful weight was imposed upon him, not only by public expectation, but also by his succession to the rostrum, from which Buckminster, Dehon, and others of the same mint, had stretched out a fostering, forming, and guiding hand over the young literature of our country. The subject selected by Mr. Crafts, was, *the influence of moral causes over national character*. Whether it was too abstract for his image-loving mind to cope with, or he was too impatient to give it that deliberate consideration which such a subject required, it must be confessed, that he did not entirely *come round it*. There are, certainly, about the composition, many marks of effort, and of a consciousness on the part of the author, that he had much to accomplish. The paragraphs are all brilliant, and the sentences all pointed. No common talent could have been employed in its production. It was delivered in the speaker's best style. But as he proceeded, the audience continued rather to be expecting than receiving the whole of their anticipated gratification. Neither was his subject precisely announced, nor was it clearly developed in the course of discussion. Bead after bead dropped glittering, yet unthreaded from his hand. With much elegant common-place, were mingled many valuable and beautiful reflections; yet no stranger to William Crafts, then present, would have known of what he was capable, had it not been for his affecting, his unrivalled peroration.

"Tidings had just been received from Charleston, announcing the premature decease of Bishop Dehon, by the fever of the climate. Few names were so dear as his to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, or even to the country at large. And it was an affecting coincidence of events, which brought Mr. Crafts, his townsman, his parishioner, his friend, his associate in some of the higher gifts of genius, to proclaim the account of his death, on the spot, where but a few years before, the deceased himself had impressed every hearer with feelings of profound admiration. How vividly Mr. Crafts felt the whole interest of his position, and how happily he discharged the duty it involved, will be manifest from the following extract, which is inserted with the greater pleasure, as, for reasons above suggested, the entire oration is omitted from our selection.

"Gentlemen of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.—When, in connexion with the pleasure of revisiting, after a long interval, the scenes of my boyhood, and the land of my ancestors, I contemplated the danger and difficulty of addressing this fraternity of scholars and critics, I shrunk intuitively from a feast, where the sword of Damocles was suspended over me. Political pursuits had estranged me from the path of letters; and

to recal me was only to shew how far I had wandered. But I knew that I could rely on the hospitality of Massachusetts—I thought that I could rely on the hospitality of letters—and rescuing something from indolence, and something from ambition, I came, with the feelings of the prodigal son, to ask forgiveness of the Muses.

"And I wish that I had not been afflicted with a more melancholy errand. It was my misfortune to apprize his relatives of the death of one of our brethren,\* who, not many years since in this place, so much more appropriate for himself than me, addressed and delighted you. I need not name him, who was distinguished in yonder seminary for his early talents and virtues; and who employed the learning he there acquired, in the service of religion, in reclaiming the sinful, in confirming the pious, in convincing the sceptical, and in soothing the mourner. I need not name that pure and spotless man, whose example illustrated all the precepts he so eloquently uttered. Cut down in the midst of his days, from the object of universal love, he has become, alas! the object of universal lamentation.

"He sleeps, by his own request, under the altar where he ministered—in life, as in death, adhering to the Church. The sun shines not on his grave, nor is it wet with the morning or the evening dew. But innocence kneels upon it—purity bathes it in tears—and the recollections of the sleeping saint mingle with the praises of the living God. (Oh! how dangerous it is to be eminent) The oak, whose roots descend to the world below, while its summit towers to the world above, falls with its giant branches, the victim of the storm. The osier shakes—and bends—and totters—and rises, and triumphs in obscurity. And yet, who of you would owe his safety to his insignificance?

"Beneath that living osier not an insect can escape the sun. Beneath that fallen oak the vegetable world was wont to flourish—the ivy clung around its trunk—the birds built their nests among its branches, and from its summit saw and welcomed the morning sun—the beasts fled to it for refuge from the tempest—and man himself was refreshed in its shade, and learned from its fruit the laws of nature. Oh! how delightful it is to be eminent! To win the race of usefulness—to live in the beams of well-earned praise—and walk in the zodiack among the stars.

"Fame, with its perils and delights, my brothers, must be ours. Welcome its rocky precipice! Welcome its amaranthine garlands! We must wear them on our brow—we must leave them on our grave. We must, we will, fill our lives with acts of usefulness, and crown them with deeds of honour; and when we die, there will be tears on the cheek of innocence, and sighs from the bosom of virtue, and the young will wish to resemble, and the aged will lament to lose us.

"No person present on that occasion can ever forget the electrical emotions produced by the delivery of these passages—particularly of the last, in which the orator's voice arose to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, while exclaiming—"We must, we will, fill our lives with acts of usefulness, and crown them with deeds of honour"—and then again sank from one musical, sweet, and melancholy cadence to another, until it reached a murmur, which the deepening silence alone of the multitude

\* The Right Rev. Theodore Dehon, Bishop of the Diocess of South-Carolina.

rendered audible, as he uttered—"and when we die, there will be tears on the cheek of innocence, and sighs from the bosom of virtue, and the young will wish to resemble, and the aged will lament to lose us." pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

"Having now, in so many ways acquired the admiration of his fellow-citizens, it was in the course of only the succeeding year (1814) that, by performing a melancholy duty of friendship, he secured a still larger portion of their affections and esteem.\* His "Eulogy on the Rev. James Dewar Simons" is to this day alluded to much more frequently than any of his other orations, and is regarded indeed as a kind of landmark to his reputation:—a proof of how much deeper are the impressions made upon the heart, than those upon the merely intellectual faculties. On repeatedly perusing this celebrated eulogy, we have missed discerning in it that peculiar stamp of originality and literary excellence, which we have generally held in view, as a standard in the compilation of the present volume. For much of the effect with which it was received and remembered, it must, we think, have been indebted to the nature of the occasion, to the imposing night-solemnities of the surrounding funeral scenery, and to the fond and glowing, but undoubtedly correct delineations, presented by so engaging a speaker, of a most amiable, and extensively beloved and admired young clergyman. The reflections are on the whole very obvious, and the principal interest belonging to the production is not at all of a general description. We have deemed it proper to state these reasons for omitting the performance in question, as an apology to many readers, who, we believe, were expecting its insertion. Yet in justice to them, to the author, to the subject, and to our own feelings, we cannot resist transcribing one or two impressive and characteristic extracts:—

"This is the exordium:—

"Death has been among us, my friends, and has left a melancholy chasm. He has torn his victim from the heart of society, and from the altar of the living God. He has triumphed over the blushing honours of youth, the towering flight of genius, and the sacred ardour of devotion. Virtue, philanthropy, religion are bereaved, and in tears. Death, terrible and insatiate, hath been among us, and we are met to pay him tribute.

"O thou destroyer of human hope and happiness! was there no head, frosted by time, and bowed with cares, to which thy marble pillow could have yielded rest? Was there no heart-broken sufferer to seek refuge from his woes in thy cheerless habitation? Was there no insulated being, whose crimes or miseries would have made thee welcome! who had lived without a friend, and could die without a mourner?

\* These, alas, could give no celebrity to thy conquests, for they fall, unheeded as the zephyr. Thy trophies are the gathered glories of learning, the withered hopes of usefulness, the tears of sorrowing innocence, the soul-appalling cries of the widow and the orphan. Thou delightest to break our happiness into fragments, and to tear our hearts asunder. We know that thou art dreadful, and unsparing, and relent-

"In this year also appeared his "Ode to Alexander," some stanzas of which immediately fastened themselves on the memory of every lover of poetry in our country."

less—else our departed friend would have continued with us. His tomb would have been, where our hopes had placed it, far distant in the vale of years. Still would his manly and generous affections warm and delight the social circle—Still would his pure and spotless manners invite the praise and imitation of our youth—Still would he fill that sacred desk, with its appropriate virtues—Still would his impressive eloquence illustrate the truths of Christianity, with the countenance of an angel, and the fervour of a saint—Still would he be the assiduous servant of religion—the golden cord of connubial affection would gain strength and beauty from time—and still his children would call him father. Vain and deceitful illusion!

“For him no more the blazing hearth shall burn,  
Nor tender consort watch with anxious care;  
No children run to lip their sire's return,  
Nor climb his knee the envied kiss to share.”

“Towards the conclusion, occurs the following passage, gliding with a certain Attic rapidity, and closely crowded with rhetorical beauties:—

“If some ingenuous youth, marking the gloom which pervades our city, should inquire, what dread calamity has damped the public feeling—why our churches are clad in mourning, ‘and woman's eye is wet, man's cheek is pale’—tell him that these are the sorrows which embalm the virtuous. These are the sensibilities, which honour the living and the dead. These are the signs, which speak the bleeding heart. And if he ask, what aged benefactor of the land has fallen into the grave?—What time-struck venerable head has bowed beneath the scythe of death? Tell him, the object of our mourning was a youth, like himself, who by the excellence of his disposition, and the purity of his life, had conciliated universal esteem, and had rendered essential services to the cause of religion—That his days, though short, had been full of charitable actions—That his perpetual aim was to enlighten, and reform, and save mankind—That we mourn not for him, but for ourselves. We know, that he was innocent; we believe, that he is happy. We weep for the community. Tell him, this is the godlike influence of virtue; and if he would thus live, and thus die—And, if he would be thus canonized in the affections of men—Let him follow the bright example of our friend—Let him keep himself unspotted from the world—Let him devote his talents to the service of God—Let him cling around, and support the tottering edifice of religion, and the prayers of the pious shall ascend for him—He shall live in honour, and if, (which Heaven avert!) he should be thus early called from this mortal scene, the gracious drops of pity shall bedew his urn, and he, too, shall be welcomed by the angels, to the mansions of eternal joy.” pp. xxvii, xxx.

The “Essays” which occupy much more than half of the volume, will be read with interest. Many of them are written with uncommon felicity—and all of them bear the stamp of a decided talent for that sort of composition. But they are, generally, mere fugitive pieces, very short, and evidently thrown off in haste, and without revision. When we first read them



through, it was our intention to have made copious extracts from them, but, upon a second perusal, we doubt whether it would be quite fair to single out a few passages, and expose them to the severe criticism which the preference implied in such a selection is so apt to provoke. However, it may not be amiss to furnish a few specimens—*merely as specimens* of his general manner.

The following is an effusion on “Spring:”—

“It is pleasing to turn aside from the jarrings of party and political strife, to the welcome and auspicious harmony of nature. Now, when the zephyrs are fanning with their wings the fragrant air—when the birds are carolling their songs of gladness—when the green earth is putting forth its flowery perfume, and its vegetable harvest—when the painted insects of the atmosphere revel in their wonted sweets, and a smiling and a gracious sky looks down as if to bless this beautiful development of the Creator’s goodness, what an opportunity of calm contemplation, and of peaceful repose, is afforded to him, who, loving as he may, with the purest philanthropy, the institutions of men, perceives with melancholy, their inevitable imperfections, and resorts for truth, and beauty, and order, to the harmonious design of the Universe. Here is, indeed, a constitution that requires no amendment. Here is a theme that admits of no party dissensions. The Universe, without exception, is loyal to its maker. It obeys his mandates without murmuring—it produces and reproduces as he has ordered—it exults in the glorious livery of Heaven. And all these beautiful results, why were they designed except for the happiness of man? All the productions of earth have been placed gratuitously within his reach, and, invested with rich and radiant forms and colours, to allure his pursuit, and to gladden his enjoyment. In these doth *Spring* abound. Welcome then, thou season of the Heart, so full of the sources and the suggestions of gratitude to the Almighty, and of gratulation among mankind.” pp. 234, 235.

There is quaintness, and perhaps, bad taste in the following contrast between the land and the ocean, in an Essay on the “Mariner’s Church,” yet, both the thoughts and the language are very striking:—

“The chief attributes of the Deity, are power and goodness; and it has seemed to us that while the former is strikingly exemplified in the grand and tempestuous ocean—the latter remained to be illustrated on the firm and staple earth. Love is never the offspring of fear, and there is too much to dread in the tumults of the sea.

The ocean is bleak and destitute of fire, which is essential to life—it is fickle and tempestuous, and affords no habitation for man—its bosom is barren, and it yields no harvest—its paths are devious and obscure, and it confounds the traveller—when agitated by storms, it exhibits the Almighty in his anger, and man in the depth of humility and insignificance—when calm and serene it images to the mariner the short-lived

repose of a sleeping lion, who may at any moment awake and destroy him—it is lonely and desolate, without the joys or the protection of civilized society. If, therefore, we suppose a being endued with reason, to have been conversant with the ocean only, we may well imagine him impressed with humility and awe, at the visible majesty of the divine power. And a belief of this is one of the elements of Religion.

"The land is the theatre of the *mercies* of God, and forms an amiable counterpart. Its bosom yields us sustenance—its fields afford us fruit—its forests provide us shelter—its fleeces supply us with clothing—its cities civilize—its schools instruct—its institutions guard—and its religious temples enlighten us in the duties of this and of another life. Here is learned the science which designates the paths of the sea, and conducts the mariner in safety to distant parts of the same world; and here are instilled the doctrines, which fit us alike, for this world and the future. And if it be hospitable to throw out to the distressed mariner, the signal of welcome as he approaches the borders of repose, is it not amiable and praiseworthy to hold out to his wandering spirit the signal of salvation? And if we teach him the knowledge of the stars, that he may pass the waters in safety, shall we not instruct him in the knowledge and love of Him who created the stars, and before whom they are dim?" pp. 237, 238.

There is great force and justice in the following remarks upon "Lord Byron," whose perverse conduct and licentious muse were, on more than one occasion, the subject of Mr. Crafts' reprobation. The work to which these strictures had immediate reference, were the 3d, 4th and 5th Cantos of *Don Juan* :

"If ever Lord Byron, in a serious, not a misanthropic mood, shall reflect on the high mental gifts and graces, with which he was favoured by Heaven, the power to discern, feel, and pourtray in the glowing and animated colours of song, the outward mould of nature, and the more mysterious and hidden shapes of thought and passion, imprinted on the innermost heart of man—if, with the conscious possession of the moral influence which great genius exercises over mankind, and a sphere of exertion the most alluring and popular, enhanced by the further auxiliaries of birth, and rank and fortune—if aware of all these rare endowments and high responsibilities—aware too of the favour, applause and admiration which followed his efforts, and bore him at once to the throne of modern poetry, amid the innocent chorus of youths and virgins—if Lord Byron, called now to account to his conscience and God for the use of these peculiar and honoured privileges, should search his life for an answer, what could he reply? How shall genius which is the heaven-sent light of truth to guide and to save, excuse itself for the voluntary extinction of its purity and fire, in the chilling and loathsome damps of error, which allow it to re-appear only for mischief and ruin? How shall Poetry, the refined companion of the Graces and Virtues, with Honour on her brow, Inspiration in her bosom, and Immortality in her right hand—palliate her abandonment of her high destiny, and polluting intercourse with sin and infamy! That the chaste

lyre should echo the song of sensuality—and the harp that was wont to inspire the patriot and the hero, should become the gratuitous pander of base licentiousness! That great ability, should be evinced only in mischief—great fruitfulness, in the growth of poison—and the clear and beautiful expanse of intellect, become a nauseous, slandering pool of corruption and pestilence! These are the achievements and triumphs of Lord Byron, patronized by Heaven, only that he might abuse its favours—exalted by genius only that he might degrade it—admired by the innocent, only that he might insult them—and blest with reputation, that he might throw it away and trample it under foot.” pp. 254, 255.

We close our extracts with the following humorous description of a certain renowned sand-bank in the neighbourhood of this city :

“The little city of Moultrieville, the *Sybaris* of the South, rapidly renews its luxurious population, and is the general resort of the indolent, and refuge of the invalid.

“As a body politic, it enjoys the most perfect leisure for experiments in government.

“It is a state subsisting without a revenue—because taxes are unnecessary; without labour, for the soil can produce, and the inhabitants will do nothing. It is a city asleep for all the uses and purposes of life, except ease. There are no shops—no public library—no museum—no court-house—no jail—and only recently a church. You can neither buy nor sell there—so there is no bank. There is no traffic except of cake, which gets hard, and ice, which melts in its voyage from Charleston. There are no town-meetings there, except a medley of carriages, chairs, cavalry and pedestrians, collected in the evening at the cove, to witness the departure of the sun, and of the steam-boat. There is no Custom-House—there being nothing to collect but sand, which the wind gathers and disperses. They have no press, wherein they do suffer much imposition, being compelled to swallow the absurd crudities of the Charleston prints. They have a fort where they all resort on the approach of a storm. Quere: would they do so on the approach of a battle? They have no fee-simple of the soil, their tenure being at the will of the State, and by courtesy of the air and the water. It is famous for crabs that are not aquatic, and fiddlers\* that make no music. They have no bell “to fright the Isle from its propriety,” no watchman to disturb their slumbers, and no militia duty to annoy their leisure. There is a great scarcity of trees, so they enjoy the full benefit of the sun, and they can at any moment be flooded, if they wish to make salt. It is a bad place for horses who cannot digest its sand—equally so for cows, salt marsh having a tendency to produce salt milk. Pigs used to thrive there, it is said, until they were deprived of the freedom of the city.

“An hour's idleness may obtain you a curlew, and having blistered your fingers, you may catch a sheephead. The Island air rusts metals, destroys shoe leather, and inspires verse-making. It is not the ocean

\* A small animal of the Crab kind.

air, nor the land air, but a mixture of both, and not so good as either. It is of doubtful benefit to the lungs, but has a good effect upon the appetite, and is an excellent specific against the yellow fever. The Island itself is known in history, and will long remain so. Moultrieville can give a reason for its name, which is generally not an easy matter. It was derived from the intrepid valour of Moultrie and his associates, who, in the morning of the revolution, on that spot, defeated the British invading squadron, thinking, that barren as it was, it was too good for the enemy." pp. 297-299.

We here close our observations upon the character and writings of Mr. Crafts. We have discharged our duty, we trust, with candor and fairness. Where we thought his example calculated to do harm, we have spoken with the freedom, and even the severity of criticism; but none, we are persuaded, entertain a higher opinion than we do of his natural endowments, and the gentleness and kindness of his disposition, or are less inclined to dwell upon recollections which charity should bury with him in the grave. We will add, that the very laudable object which has mainly induced his friends to publish this little volume, can scarcely fail to secure for it the patronage of the public.

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#### ERRATA.

Page 370, line 7, for *oration*, read *ovation*.

" 379, note, reference to Herodotus, instead of c. 83, read c. 117.

" 390, line 22, for *inaffabilis*, read *ineffabilis*.

" 392, " 8, for *Tyrranus*, read *Tyrannus*.

" 411, " 31, for *Marius*, read *Cellarius*.

" 416, " 35, for *preceding*, read *succeeding*.

" 508, " 44, for *Inde*, read *Hinc*.

In page 341, note, for *Cneii* and *Pompei*, read *Cnei* and *Pompeii*.—The line in Sallust is, "*Equites illos Cn. Pompeii veteres adosque*," &c.

In a part of the impression, "*Quintilian*" in page 493, is spelt incorrectly.



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